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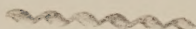
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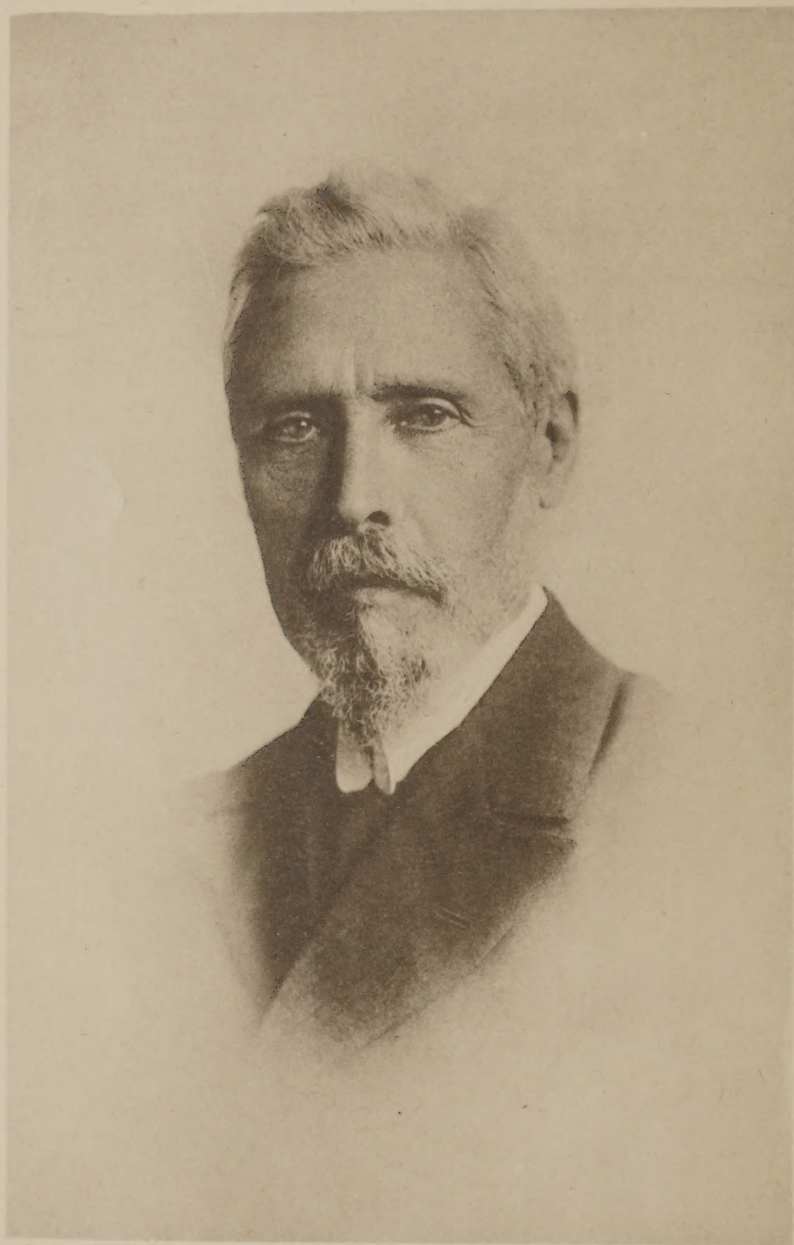
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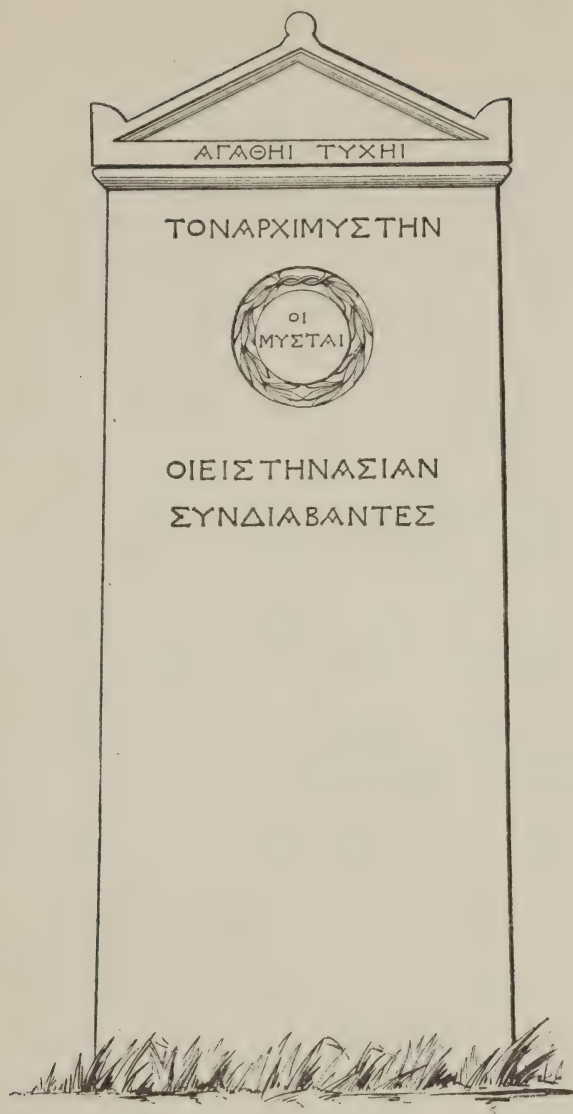
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LIST OF THE COMMONER ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME

<i>Acad.</i>	<i>Academy.</i>
<i>Am. J. Arch.</i>	<i>American Journal of Archæology.</i>
<i>Am. J. Phil.</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology.</i>
<i>A.B.S.A.</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
<i>Ath.</i>	<i>Athenæum.</i>
<i>Ath. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts, athenische Abteilung.</i>
<i>Berl. Phil. Woch.</i>	<i>Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.</i>
<i>B.M.C.</i>	<i>Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum.</i>
<i>B.C.H.</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique.</i>
<i>Chron. d'Or.</i>	<i>Chroniques d'Orient, par S. Reinach.</i>
<i>C.B.</i>	<i>The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, by W. M. Ramsay.</i>
<i>Class. Rev.</i>	<i>Classical Review.</i>
<i>C.R. Acad.</i>	<i>Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</i>
<i>C.I.G.</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, ed. Boeckh.</i>
<i>C.I.L.</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>
<i>Dittenberger, O.G.I.</i>	<i>W. Dittenberger, Orientis Græci Inscriptiones selectæ.</i>
<i>Dittenberger, Syll.</i>	<i>W. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum.</i>
<i>Ency. Brit.</i>	<i>Encyclopædia Britannica.</i>
<i>Expos.</i>	<i>Expositor.</i>
<i>Exp. Times.</i>	<i>Expository Times.</i>
<i>Geog. Jour.</i>	<i>Geographical Journal.</i>
<i>H.D.B.</i>	<i>Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.</i>
<i>H.G.A.M.</i>	<i>The Historical Geography of Asia Minor, by W. M. Ramsay.</i>
<i>Hom. Rev.</i>	<i>Homiletic Review.</i>
<i>I.G.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Græcæ consilio . . . Academiæ . . . Borussia editæ.</i>
<i>I.G.R.P.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Græcæ ad res Romanas pertinentes.</i>
<i>Dessau, I.L.S.</i>	<i>Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinæ selectæ.</i>
<i>J. Am. Or. Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
<i>J.H.S.</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>
<i>J.P.</i>	<i>Journal of Philology.</i>
<i>J.R.S.</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies.</i>
<i>J.R.A.S.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>L.B.W.</i>	<i>Le Bas - Waddington, Voyage archéologique en Asie Mineure.</i>
<i>Mélanges d'Arch.</i>	<i>Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire publiés par l'École française de Rome.</i>
<i>Oesterr. Jahresh.</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts.</i>
<i>Pauly-Wissowa, R.E.</i>	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie.</i>

<i>P.R.G.S.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society.</i>
<i>Rev. arch.</i>	<i>Revue archéologique.</i>
<i>Rev. de Phil.</i>	<i>Revue de Philologie.</i>
<i>Rev. Ét. anc.</i>	<i>Revue des Études anciennes.</i>
<i>Rev. Ét. gr.</i>	<i>Revue des Études grecques.</i>
<i>Rev. Univ. Midi.</i>	<i>Revue des Universités du Midi.</i>
<i>Rev. num.</i>	<i>Revue numismatique.</i>
<i>Rhein. Mus.</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.</i>
<i>Röm. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts, römische Abteilung.</i>
<i>Roscher, Myth. Lex.</i>	<i>W. H. Roscher, Ausführliches Lexikon der gr. u. röm Mythologie.</i>
<i>Stud. Bibl.</i>	<i>Studia Biblica.</i>
<i>Stud. Pont.</i>	<i>Studia Pontica (Anderson, Cumont, Grégoire).</i>
<i>Stud. E.R.P.</i>	<i>Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces, ed. W. M. Ramsay.</i>
<i>T.A.M.</i>	<i>Tituli Asiæ Minoris.</i>
<i>Zft. f. ver. Spr.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.</i>
<i>Zft. f. Numism.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik.</i>

A LIST OF THE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF
SIR WILLIAM MITCHELL RAMSAY

compiled by A. MARGARET RAMSAY

1879—

About 100 articles, Mythological, Geographical, and Historical, in *Ency. Brit.* (9th ed.). Most of these were too short to have signature appended. 'Mysteries,' 'Smyrna,' etc., were signed. They began with 'Ganymede' and ended probably with 'Smyrna.'

1880

- 'Newly Discovered Sites near Smyrna.' *J.H.S.*, i, pp. 63 f.
'On Some Pamphylian Inscriptions': explanation of the Pamphylian alphabetic symbols. *Ibid.*, pp. 242 f.
'A Romaic Ballad.' *Ibid.*, pp. 293 f.

1881

- 'Contributions to the History of Southern Aeolis.' Pt. I. On the Course of Some Roads in the Province of Asia. *J.H.S.*, ii, pp. 44 f. Pt. II. Myrina, Larissa, Neonteichos, Temnos and Aegæ.' *Ibid.*, pp. 271 f.
'Notes and Rectifications, Pamphylian Inscription.' *Ibid.*, pp. 222-224.
Review of Weber's 'Le Sipylos et ses Monuments.' *Acad.*, April 30.

1882

- 'Studies in Asia Minor.' Pt. I. The Rock Necropoleis of Phrygia. Pt. II. Sipylos and Cybele. *J.H.S.*, iii, pp. 1 f.
'Inscriptions from Nacoleia.' *Ibid.*, pp. 119 f.

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- ‘Some Phrygian Monuments.’ *J.H.S.*, iii, pp. 256 f.
- ‘The Tale of St. Abercius.’ *Ibid.*, pp. 339 f.
- ‘Inscriptions inédites de Marbres phrygiens.’ *Mélanges d’Arch.*, pp. 5 f.
- ‘Trois Villes phrygiennes: Brouzos, Hieropolis et Otrous.’ *B.C.H.*, vi, pp. 503 f.
- ‘Inscriptions of Cilicia, Cappadocia and Pontus.’ *J.P.*, xi, pp. 142 f.
- ‘Prymnessos and Metropolis.’ *Ath. Mitt.*, vii, pp. 126 f.
- ‘Asia Minor and Turkish Feeling (the Mohammedan Revival).’ *Scotsman*, September 16, 19, 28; October 3, 20; November 18.
- ‘An English School of Archæology (Athens).’ *Ath.*, February 18.

1883

- ‘The Graeco-Roman Civilization in Pisidia.’ *J.H.S.*, iv, pp. 23 f. Much enlarged as ‘The Tekmoreian Guest-friends,’ 1906 and 1912.
- ‘Metropolitanus Campus.’ *Ibid.*, pp. 53 f.
- ‘The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,’ i. *Ibid.*, pp. 370 f. (Pt. ii in 1887.)
- ‘Inscriptions de la Galatie et du Pont.’ *B.C.H.*, vii, pp. 15-28.
- ‘Unedited Inscriptions of Asia Minor.’ 1. Pamphylia; 2. Lydia; 3. Phrygia; 4. Lycaonia; 5. Cappadocia; 6. Cilicia; 7. Notes and corrections on previous articles, proofs of which were not revised by the author. *Ibid.*, pp. 258-278, 297-328.
- ‘On the Early Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia.’ I. The Royal Road. II. The Rock Sculptures at Boghaz-Keui and Euyuk. III. Archaic Phrygian Inscriptions (with concluding note on Neo-Phrygian Inscriptions). *J.R.A.S.*, xv (new series), pp. 100 f.
- ‘Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor.’ I. Anaboura of Pisidia. II. Neapolis of Pisidia. III. Carallia of Pamphylia. *Ath. Mitt.*, viii, pp. 71 f. (cont. *ibid.*, 1885).

Letter to S. Reinach on 'Discoveries in Asia Minor.' *Rev. arch.*, 3^e Sér., ii, pp. 192-195 = *Chron. d'Or.*, i, pp. 24-28.

(First of a series of letters printed by S. Reinach, in whole or in part, in the *Rev. arch.*, and afterwards reprinted in his *Chron. d'Or.*)

'Some Recent Researches in Asia Minor.' *Acad.*, August 11.

1884

'Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia.' *J.H.S.*, v, pp. 241 f.

'Recently Discovered Monuments from Asia Minor.' (Read at meeting of the Archäologische Gesellschaft at Berlin, February 5.) *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, iv, cols. 316-319, and *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, i, cols. 348-349.

Letter to S. Reinach on 'Discoveries in Asia Minor.' *Rev. arch.*, 3^e Sér., iv, pp. 96-98 = *Chron. d'Or.*, i, pp. 84-86.

'Explorations in Asia Minor during 1884.' *Ath.*, December 20 and 27.

'Notes from Asia Minor; Hierocharax; Krassou-pedion; Restoration of the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus (St. Aberkios) etc.' *Acad.*, March 8.

1885

MODERN ATHLETICS AND GREEK ART: NOTES ON THE BORGHESSE GLADIATOR AND THE APOBATES-RELIEF OF THE ACROPOLIS: Clarendon Press.

'The Bas-Relief of Ibriz.' *Archäologische Zeitung*, xliii, pp. 203 f.

'Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor.' IV. Milyas and Cabalis. V. Trebenna of Pamphylia. VI. The Province Pamphylia. VII. Corrections. *Ath. Mitt.*, x, pp. 334 f.

'Phrygian Inscriptions of the Roman Period.' *Zft. f. ver. Spr.* xxviii, N.F. Bd. viii, pp. 381 f.

Letters to S. Reinach. *Rev. arch.*, 3^e Sér., v, pp. 75-80, 83-84 (Site of Tavium) = *Chron. d'Or.*, i, pp. 110-115, 118-119.

'Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor.' I. The Society of Ganymedeitai at Smyrna. II. The Porters of Smyrna.

xvi A LIST OF THE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF

III. A Phrygian Epigram. IV. The Good Fortune of Antioch. V. M. Aponius Saturninus, Proconsul of Asia. VI. The Inscriptions of Assos. *Am. J. Arch.*, i, pp. 138 f. (cont. *ibid.*, 1886).

Corrections to 'Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor.' *Ibid.*, pp. 385-386.

1886

'Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor.' VII. Hadrianopolis-Stratonikeia. VIII. A Hyrgalean Verb. IX. Manuel's Campaign against the Turks, A.D. 1176. X. Fines Saggassensium. *Am. J. Arch.*, ii, pp. 21 f, 123 f.

Letter to S. Reinach. *Rev. arch.*, 3^e Sér., vii, p. 165 = *Chron. d'Or.*, i, p. 226.

Review of S. Reinach's 'Traité d'Épigraphie grecque.' *Ath.*, August 28.

'The River Cestrus.' *Ath.*, January 2.

1887

'The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' ii. *J.H.S.*, viii, pp. 461 f. (Part i in 1883.)

Note appended to Hogarth's 'Apollo Lermenus.' *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400.

Review of E. Robinson's 'Descriptive Catalogue of the Casts from Greek and Roman Sculpture.: Boston Museum of Fine Arts.' *Ibid.*, pp. 530 f.

'Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the Border Lands,' i. *Am. J. Arch.*, iii, pp. 344 f. (cont. *ibid.*, 1888).

'Phrygian Inscriptions of the Roman Period.' *Zft. f. ver. Spr.*, pp. 381-400.

'The Pilgrims' Route through Asia Minor': Appendix I to A. Stewart & Sir Charles Wilson's edition of the Bordeaux Itinerary (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society), pp. 36-41.

Letters to S. Reinach. *Rev. arch.*, 3^e Sér., ix, pp. 90-99; x, pp. 352-357 = *Chron. d'Or.*, i, pp. 310-319, 388-393.

Letter to Th. Mommsen on the rediscovery and copying of the Charter of Orcistus (*C.I.L.*, iii, suppl. 7000). *Hermes*, xxii, pp. 310-314.

1888

- ‘Latin and the Version.’ *Aberdeen Free Press*.
- ‘A Study of Phrygian Art,’ pt. i. *J.H.S.*, ix, pp. 350 f. (Pt. ii in vol. x.)
- ‘Early Christian Monuments in Phrygia: A Study in the Early History of the Church.’ *Expos.*, October and December (cont. *ibid.*, 1889).
- Review of Pottier-Reinach, ‘La Nécropole de Myrina.’ *Class. Rev.*, ii, pp. 50 f.
- ‘Note on Ephesian Terra-cottas.’ *Ibid.*, p. 235.
- Review of Roberts’ ‘Introduction to Greek Epigraphy,’ i. *Ibid.*, pp. 193 and 263.
- ‘Note on Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος.’ *Ibid.*, p. 262.
- Review of Preller’s ‘Griechische Mythologie,’ ed. Robert. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
- ‘Note on Inscription from Oinia.’ *Ibid.*, p. 326.
- ‘Phrygian Notes.’ *Bezzenbergers Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, xiv, pp. 308 ff.
- ‘Laodiceia Combusta and Sinethandos.’ *Ath. Mitt.*, xiii, pp. 233 f.
- ‘Note on the Map of Lycia-Pamphylia.’ *P.R.G.S.*, x (new monthly series), pp. 160-164.
- Letter to S. Reinach. *Rev. arch.*, 3^e Sér., xii, pp. 218-226 = *Chron. d’Or.*, i, pp. 495-504.
- Review of Roberts’ ‘Introduction to Greek Epigraphy.’ *Ath.*, August 25.
- Reviews of Sterrett’s ‘Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor’ and ‘Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor,’ and of ‘Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, vol. iv.’ *Ibid.*, November 24.
- ‘Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the Border Lands,’ ii, iii. *Am. J. Arch.*, iv, pp. 6 f, 263 f.

1889

- ‘A Study of Phrygian Art,’ pt. ii. *J.H.S.*, x, pp. 147 f. (Pt. i in vol. ix.)
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xviii A LIST OF THE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF

- ‘Early Christian Monuments in Phrygia : A Study in the Early History of the Church.’ *Expos.*, February, April, May.
 Review of Le Bas-Reinach, ‘Bibliothèque des Monuments figurés grecs et romains, i.’ *Class. Rev.*, iii, pp. 83 f.
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 Review of Sterrett’s ‘Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor’ and ‘Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor.’ *Ibid.*, pp. 325 f.
 Letter to S. Reinach. *Rev. arch.*, 3^e Sér., xiv, pp. 134-136 = *Chron. d’Or.*, i, pp. 573-576.
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 ‘Ad inscriptiones Phrygias.’ *Philologus*, N.F., i, pp. 754 f.
 ‘Syro-Cappadocian Monuments in Asia Minor.’ *Ath. Mitt.*, xiv, pp. 170 f.
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 Review of S. Lane-Poole’s ‘Turkey.’ *Oxford Magazine*, March 6.
 Biography of Donald Sime, H.M.I.S., Lieut. Inverness Artillery Volunteers. *Alma Mater* (Aberdeen University Magazine), November.

1890

- THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA MINOR : Supplementary Papers, R.G.S., vol. iv. John Murray : London.
 ‘Oxford Explorers in Asia Minor.’ *Speaker*, August 9.
 ‘The Antonius and Sallustius of Horace.’ *Acad.*, May 31.
 ‘Notes from Pisidia’ (with D. G. Hogarth). *Ath.*, July 26.
 ‘Notes from Isauria and Cappadocia’ (with D. G. Hogarth). *Ibid.*, August 16.
 ‘Notes from Cappadocia.’ *Ibid.*, October 18.
 ‘On a Christian Basilica at Apameia-Kelainai.’ *Trans. of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society*, iv, pp. 2-4; cf. *Rev. arch.*, 3^e Sér., xvi, p. 263 = *Chron. d’Or.*, i, p. 719.
 Letter to S. Reinach. *Rev. arch.*, 3^e Sér., xv, pp. 295-297 = *Chron. d’Or.*, i, pp. 654-657.

1891

‘Glycerius the Deacon : the Story of a Heresy.’ [Paper read to the Cambridge Clerical Society, October 17, 1889.] *Expos.*, May. (Republished in *THE CHURCH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.*)

Review of S. Reinach’s ‘Bibliothèque des Monuments figurés grecs et romains, ii.’ *Glass. Rev.*, v, p. 131.

‘Notes from Asia Minor.’ *Ath.*, August 15, September 5.

Review of Kondakof, Tolstoi & Reinach’s ‘Antiquités de la Russie méridionale.’ *Oxford Magazine*, pp. 313 f.

1892

‘St. Paul’s First Journey in Asia Minor.’ *Expos.*, January, September, October, November.

Review of S. Reinach’s ‘Chroniques d’Orient.’ *Glass. Rev.*, vi, p. 422.

‘The Newton Stone.’ *Acad.*, July 2 and September 17.

Review of Murray’s ‘Handbook of Greek Archæology.’ *Bookman*, April.

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‘Mr. Gladstone on Homer.’ *Ibid.*, October.

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ANATOLIAN STUDIES

I.

SOME QUESTIONS BEARING ON THE DATE AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION OF STRABO'S *GEOGRAPHY*

by J. G. C. ANDERSON

I.

NINE or ten years ago I began to prepare a commentary on Strabo's description of Pontus for a projected edition of the books dealing with Asia Minor, which, in the present state of the world, is not likely to see the light—a fact to be deplored, if only because we lose the valuable information and well-pondered ideas which would have been contributed by the scholar in whose honour this volume is written. In preparing the commentary, I had to review afresh some old problems, and the renewed study of them led me to examine, more carefully than I had done, the question of the date of Strabo's *Geography*. Life is too short, and leisure too scanty, to permit of the independent examination of every question which arises in the course of one's work, and many have too readily accepted Niese's view that the first part of the *Geography* was written in the second half of A.D. 18, and the second part in the first half of A.D. 19, before the death of Germanicus in October. For speed of composition that would surely be a record; Strabo himself compares his work to a colossal statue. Book XVII, indeed, points to a later date, since it mentions the death of King Juba, which appears to be fixed with fair certainty to A.D. 23 by the combination of literary and numismatic evidence, and Niese's effort to disprove this conclusion was unsuccessful. But even if the period of writing be extended to A.D. 23, difficulties arise. In A.D. 18 Strabo would be in his eighty-first year,¹ and it is not

¹ He was born probably in B.C. 63, as Niese showed by an ingenious argument.

likely either that he would have deferred his task till he reached that great age, or that he could produce at that time of life such a voluminous work, full of freshness and vigour. It was no light task for one who had travelled comparatively so little as Strabo, and depended on written and oral sources (*ἀκοή*) for the bulk of his information.¹ It required long years of preliminary work in collecting materials; much was probably collected in Alexandria, where he stayed a long time (II, 3, 5), possibly before he returned to Rome about B.C. 20.² There is another weighty consideration, which cannot escape the notice of any careful reader, viz. the quite extraordinary dearth of allusions to facts belonging to the latter half of Augustus' reign, a strange silence about events of the first importance and about other facts which Strabo is specially fond of mentioning.

It was such considerations that led Prof. E. Pais, in 1886, to put forward his view about the date of composition, a view which he re-stated in 1908, and reinforced by new arguments.³ Briefly, he holds that the *Geography* was begun not long after the completion of the *Historical Memoirs* (i.e. soon after B.C. 27), and was completed by B.C. 7; afterwards it was hastily touched up by the insertion of references to Tiberius and to some recent events, particularly events concerning the eastern provinces. The accession of Tiberius and Germanicus' visit to the East were both very important events. There was good reason, therefore, for revision.⁴

It seems difficult to disagree with the conclusion that there was an incomplete revision, in or about A.D. 18, of a text which had been written many years before. There can be no doubt about the almost unbroken gap that extends over the second half of Augustus' reign. Clearly, so far as this period is concerned, it is hazardous to argue from Strabo's silence, or to infer that his

¹ II, 5, 11, p. 117.

² Strabo (I, 1, 23) tells us that he resolved to write the work after he had finished his 47 books of *Historical Memoirs*, the last 43 of which continued Polybius' history down (apparently) to the beginning of the Empire. This work Niese assigned to the period B.C. 22-A.D. 18.

³ Opinions differing from Niese's had already been expressed by several writers. Pais' view was adopted by the late Prof. Sterrett in the *Introduction* to his translation in the Loeb series.

⁴ *Riv. di filol. class.*, XV (1886), pp. 97 ff., and *Ancient Italy*, translated by C. D. Curtis, Chicago, 1908, pp. 379 ff.

statements always represent facts as they were at the apparent date of composition, about A.D. 18-23.

The nature of the difficulties raised by his narrative may be illustrated by two instances from Book XII, which are not utilized by Pais.¹ The first concerns Garsaoura, a Cappadocian town lying on the great trade route from Ephesus to the Euphrates, close to the border of Lycaonia. It is mentioned three times in Book XII,² and once in Book XIV, where he is quoting from Artemidoros (c. 2, 29). The first passage describes it as a *komopolis*, which was once the metropolis of the district. The second does not define it. The third calls it a *polichnion* and a *phrourion*, and the fourth a *polichnion*. These terms, though not identical in meaning, are all differentiated by Strabo from *polis*, an "autonomous" city-state more or less fully organized on the Hellenistic model.³ Now, as Leake showed, Garsaoura was identical with Archelais, a foundation of the last king of Cappadocia.⁴ The town, therefore, had been organized as a *πόλις* some time before Archelaos was summoned to Rome by Tiberius.⁵ As the summons followed soon after Tiberius' accession, there is little doubt that the re-foundation of the town dated from the time of Augustus. The change of status and the change of name are facts which Strabo would certainly have recorded, had he known of them when he was writing Books XII-XIV. As he is in general well informed about Cappadocia under Archelaos, they probably occurred after the time when he wrote, and were overlooked on revision, if, indeed, they ever became known to him (see below). In any case, his statement was not true in A.D. 18.

The second instance is furnished by the chapter in which the third mention of Garsaoura occurs (XII, 6). One cannot fail to be struck by the omissions in the account of the subjugation of the Pisidian-Cilician mountaineers of the Taurus

¹The second is mentioned, but the date and the facts were not then properly known.

²XII, 2, 6; 2, 10; 6, 1.

³The term is, however, sometimes used loosely of cities which were not organized in that manner, e.g. Pessinous and the two Komanas.

⁴Ramsay, *H.G.A.M.*, p. 284, who concludes that "probably Strabo's information was not up to date." Under Claudius the town became a *colonia*.

⁵Tac., *Ann.* II, 42.

region. Strabo describes in detail the operations of King Amyntas against these wild tribes, and narrates how, after capturing Kremna and other fortresses, the king lost his life in his campaign against the Homonadeis (or rather Homanadeis, as Sir W. Ramsay has shown),¹ and how he was subsequently avenged by Quirinius, the governor of Syria. We now know that the operations of Quirinius took place in the years following B.C. 11/10, and that they were succeeded by a systematic reorganization of the whole region, in the course of which Augustus planted no fewer than five Roman colonies to act as garrisons, connecting them with the older military centre Colonia Caesarea (Antioch) by a great system of roads, the *Viae Sebastae*, which were under construction in B.C. 6. This carefully-planned work of pacification would take some years to complete.²

Strabo's account breaks off with Quirinius' victory, and the removal of the population from their mountain fastnesses to the neighbouring cities. His sole reference to the subsequent settlement—the most important piece of work done by Augustus in Asia Minor during the latter part of his reign—is contained in a single clause stating that "Kremna is now occupied by Roman colonists." How are we to account for Strabo's failure even to name the other four *coloniae*? The establishment of a *colonia* is a type of fact which he constantly mentions, and the planting of four simultaneously in a single inland district was a notable event. The quality of his account of the country concerned, and his outline of the operations, have led Sir W. Ramsay to think that his information was derived from an officer who served in the war. It would seem that his information about the reorganization following the war was extremely limited, and we shall find other evidence that for the years following B.C. 6 the information which he had was insufficient to enable him to comprehend its full significance. It might, indeed, be argued that such knowledge as he possessed of Augustus' work in Pisidia reached him after the completion of his account, and that the mention of the colony at Kremna was inserted later; certainly

¹ *J.R.S.*, VII (1917), pp. 263 ff.

² Cheesman, *J.R.S.*, III (1913), pp. 253 ff.; Ramsay, *Bearing of Recent Discovery*, 1915, pp. 275 ff.; *J.R.S.*, VI (1916), pp. 83 ff., and especially VII, pp. 229-283. Cp. Bleckmann, *Klio*, XVII (1920), pp. 104 ff.; and Dessau, *ibid.*, pp. 252 ff.

it is somewhat oddly inserted in the middle of the account of Amyntas' operations, and the occurrence of Kremna in the original narrative would naturally suggest a reference here to the colonization scheme. But Strabo knows of other events that occurred not only in B.C. 6/5, but also in B.C. 3/2 (below) and we can hardly suppose that they are all later additions.

Still more noteworthy is Strabo's want of full and accurate knowledge about events affecting his native land and the immediately adjoining districts which were included by him (as they were at one period) in the region of Pontus. His definition of Pontus as a territorial designation is based on the arrangements of Pompey, who included under it all the lands held by Mithradates in Asia Minor, except Lesser Armenia and Colchis, and joined it with Bithynia, to form a dual province. So it remained until Antony partitioned the whole of it, except the littoral west of the Halys, the *ora Pontica*, among "kings and dynasts," and this system of principalities continued till B.C. 6, when Augustus began to re-incorporate the more westerly districts in the Empire. In his opening sentences (XII, 3, 1), Strabo notes these later developments, in general language, and adds: "As we go through the details, we shall describe things as they now are, making a few references to older facts, where it is useful to do so." It is natural, then, that his description should have been regarded as an authoritative statement of the conditions existing at the apparent date of composition (A.D. 18 foll.).

Now, Mithradates' realm included not only the Paphlagonian coast-land, but also two valleys of inland Paphlagonia, running parallel to the coast range, the valley of the Amnias west of the Halys (in which Pompeiopolis lay) and the rolling district of Phazimonitis (which continues that depression east of the Halys, and contained Pompey's city Neapolis). In Strabo's earlier life these two districts were separated from the province of Pontus, and separated permanently. The separation took place in B.C. 40, when Antony bestowed them (together with the rest of inland Paphlagonia and the kingdom of Galatia) on Kastor II, who ruled till B.C. 36. He was succeeded in Paphlagonia by his son Deiotaros Philadelphos, who died in B.C. 6/5. Augustus then annexed the principality, and added it to the province of

Galatia, in which it remained till the time of Diocletian.¹ The date of annexation is proved by inscriptions, which also show that the Paphlagonian principality included Pompeiopolis and Neapolis.²

What is Strabo's account? In § 9 he tells us that "Mithridates held the nearest portion of inland Paphlagonia, which extended in part even beyond (east of) the Halys (i.e. the districts of Pompeiopolis and Neapolis), and this is the limit which the Romans have drawn for the province of Pontus; the rest remained even after the fall of Mithridates under the rule of princes." That is to say, thenceforward the districts of the two cities formed part of the province of Pontus. The perfect tense "have drawn" (*ἀφώρισται*) would naturally be interpreted as implying that Pompey's arrangement still existed when Strabo wrote.³ This is in such complete conflict with ascertained facts that formerly I sought to save Strabo's repute for accuracy.⁴ In vain. Section 40 reveals clearly that Strabo was totally unaware that Pompeiopolis had ever ceased to belong to the province of Pontus (it is *χώρα τῆς Ποντικῆς ἐπαρχίας*), that it had passed into the hands of "dynasts," that it had been finally annexed only in B.C. 6, and that it was then added to the province, not of Pontus, but of Galatia. Here there is no question of the date of composition. Strabo's statement is false. His knowledge was defective, and his information about the change of B.C. 6/5, following on the death of Deiotaros (which he mentions in the very next section), was too incomplete to enable him to detect and correct his mistake.

Next, as regards Neapolis and its territory (§ 38). After describing Pompey's arrangements here, he merely adds: "But his successors assigned this district also [like Zela and Megalopolis] to kings," and there he stops. He is unaware that the last king had died in B.C. 6, and that the district was then annexed

¹ This is proved by the evidence of Roman milestones *C.I.L.*, III, *Suppl.*, 14184, 25, 27, 30. Ptolemy also states the fact correctly.

² *Stud. Pont.*, I, p. 91 ff., III, no. 67 = *I.G.R.P.*, III, 139; and *I.G.R.P.*, III, 135, with Ramsay, *Rev. Ét. gr.*, 1893, p. 251 f.

³ J. A. R. Munro, in *J.H.S.*, XX (1900), p. 160 f., and XXI (1901), p. 61, note 1.

⁴ *Stud. Pont.*, I, pp. 95 ff.

and added to Galatia;¹ he is also unaware that it had formed part of the principality of Deiotaros, whose death he records in § 41 as the occasion of the annexation of inland Paphlagonia. He did not realise that the prince's death had any bearing on his narrative in § 38. He failed to appreciate the full meaning of reports which reached him about the political changes of the year B.C. 6/5, even though the districts affected immediately adjoined the territory of his native city Amaseia.² In consequence, his account is not true to the facts as they were after B.C. 6/5.

Our discussion appears to throw light on the vexed problems connected with Karana and Megalopolis which arise out of § 37. There has been general unanimity until recently among scholars that Pompey's city Megalopolis is identical with Sebasteia, the modern Sivas, and this view carried conviction. According to Strabo, Pompey transformed what had been a native village or town into a πόλις which he named Megalopolis, and to which he assigned the districts of Kouloupene and Kamisene. There can be no doubt about the interpretation of his words: πόλιν ὠνόμασε καὶ ταύτην (i.e. Zela) καὶ τὴν Μεγαλόπολιν, συνθεὶς ταύτην τε εἰς ἐν τὴν τε Κουλουπηνήν καὶ τὴν Καμισηνήν . . . οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν δυνεῖν πολιτευμάτων τούτων τὰ μὲν τοῖς Κομάνων ἱερεῦσι προσέειμαν, τὰ δὲ τῷ Ζήλων ἱερεῖ, τὰ δὲ Ἀτεπόριγι κτλ. Strabo's style is unhappy, as it often is, but the second ταύτην can only be referred to Megalopolis, as the ordinary grammatical rule suggests, and as the sense requires. Kouloupene and Kamisene formed the territory of Megalopolis, and this city and Zela, with their *territoria*, are the two πολιτεύματα of the next sentence. Both districts can be identified with certainty. Kamisene is the district round Kamisa, and Kamisa, "an ancient fortress now in ruins" (says Strabo), is the modern Kemis, in the upper Halys valley. Kouloupene contained the towns of Sebasteia and Sebastopolis (Sulu Serai, SSE. of Zela), as we learn from Pliny

¹ He does not add, as in the case of Amaseia, νῦν δ' ἐπαρχία ἐστὶ (§ 39). Amaseia was annexed in B.C. 3/2, Dessau, *Zft. f. Numism.*, XXV (1906), pp. 339 ff., *Stud. Pont.*, III, p. 109 f.

² Neapolis is only forty miles in an air-line north-west of Amaseia. In view of the fact that Strabo mentions events of B.C. 3/2, it would be an improbable hypothesis that § 41 was re-written or added at a later date, while § 38 was left uncorrected.

(*N.H.*, VI, 3, 8) who is the first author to mention them under these names.

When Antony, in pursuance of his Eastern policy, suppressed the municipal autonomy of Zela and Megalopolis, he divided their territory between Lykomedes, priest-king of Komana, the priest of Zela (who recovered his autonomous position), and a Keltic prince Ateporix. On the death of the last, proceeds Strabo, his fief, which was not large, became a Roman *ἐπαρχία* (i.e. was incorporated in the province of Galatia), and the town of Karana was formed into a *πόλις* by concentrating the population there (*συνοικισμός*). The other territories "are still held" by Pythodoris, queen of Pontus, and Dyteutos, priest of Komana. Now the era of Sebastopolis is shown by inscriptions to have begun in October, B.C. 3, and so the town was annexed (like Amaseia) in the year Oct., B.C. 3-2.¹ The conclusion followed that Sebastopolis and its territory formed part (and probably the greater part) of the fief of Ateporix. Karana therefore was apparently the earlier name of Sebastopolis.² On the other hand, the era of Zela and the rest of Pontus Polemoniacus dates from A.D. 64, and Sebasteia is assigned by Ptolemy to Pontus Polemoniacus. So it seemed clear that Sebasteia was the later name of Megalopolis.

But a difficulty arose when Imhoof-Blumer identified as belonging to Sebasteia certain coins which used an era dating from B.C. 2/1-A.D. 1/2. As this attribution has been accepted by numismatists, we are faced with the difficulty that Sebasteia was annexed by Augustus, and probably (since it was in the same district of Kouloupene as Sebastopolis) in B.C. 2, though apparently later than October, when the local year in Asia Minor began.³

¹ Dessau proposes to dissociate the era of Sebastopolis and Amaseia from the date of their annexation (*Zft. f. Numism.*, 25 (1906), pp. 339 ff.), but this is contrary to many analogous cases, and appears wholly unacceptable. Cp. *Stud. Pont.*, III, p. 73 f. and the commentary to No. 66, ll. 1-3, which give a simple explanation of the peculiar dating of this inscription, on which Dessau's argument rests. The particular date, and the manner of stating it, were affairs of the Roman Government; the cities had no voice in the matter.

² Ramsay in *Rev. Ét. gr.*, 1893, p. 252.

³ Dessau's argument (*op. cit.*, p. 342, n. 3), that the era is consistent with annexation at a much later date, is based on the same grounds as in the previous cases, and seems to me to fail for the same reasons. The name Sebasteia coupled with the era is surely conclusive.

On the other hand, Strabo affirms more than once that Megalopolis was still ruled by queen Pythodoris (§§ 31, 37).

How is this contradiction to be resolved? One solution is to deny the identification of Megalopolis with Sebasteia, as M. Th. Reinach does, and to seek for a site elsewhere. But it appears impossible to find a site that will satisfy the conditions. Reinach's suggestion that it may have lain in *haut Halys*, i.e. east of Sivas, is a counsel of despair; he suggests no possible site there, and a situation at the extreme east end of a vast territory would be a very unlikely choice for Pompey to have made. Nor can it be sought in the hill country north of Sivas, where natural roads and modern towns are alike lacking. All Pompey's cities were founded at important points on great natural lines of communication, and the strategic and commercial importance of Sivas is (now at least) too well-known to need emphasizing. Further, the fact that Ptolemy assigns Sebasteia to Polemon's Pontus shows that Sivas was originally included in the realm of that king; and there is no reason to doubt his accuracy.¹ Indeed, he is corroborated by two coins of Neocaesarea belonging to the period when the two Pontic districts, Polemoniaca and Galatica, were conjoined as *Pontus Mediterraneus*. These coins, dated A.D. 209/10, represent the cities of the *Koinon* as five goddesses (*Tychai*), grouped around the standing or sitting *Tyche* of the metropolis Neocaesarea. In each case they are arranged in groups of three and two, the three standing in front of the *Tyche* of the metropolis on her right, and the two behind on her left. The three are to be identified² as Amaseia, Komana, Sebastopolis (Pontus Gal.) and the two as Zela and Sebasteia (Pontus Pol.). Though merged officially, the two districts retained their separate individuality, a characteristic trait of provincial life in the East. Till A.D. 64 Sebasteia must have been attached to Pontus Galatica. On the annexation of Polemoniaca it was restored to its old connexion.

The true solution appears to me to be that Strabo's narrative

¹ Cp. Ramsay, *H.G.A.M.*, p. 69, on the general accuracy of his description of Pontus Polem. and Pontus Galatica. There are some bad blunders in his account, but they appear to be confined to the coast districts, where he had other sources, such as *Periplus*, to confuse him.

² This suggestion, made in *J.H.S.*, XX (1900), p. 155, is adopted by Babelon-Reinach, *Recueil*, p. 25.

reflects a state of things which ceased to exist in B.C. 2. The territory of Megalopolis was withdrawn from queen Pythodoris, in whole or part, when the town was annexed by Augustus. It is to be noted that Strabo does not mention the new names Sebastopolis and Sebasteia, fond as he is of mentioning such things. Yet the form of the names and the era show beyond reasonable doubt that they were adopted in honour of Augustus, in gratitude for the dignity conferred on the cities by admission within the pale of the civilized world of the Roman Empire. Strabo's narrative about Karana and Megalopolis seems explicable only on the view that it was completed before the re-naming of the former, and before the annexation and re-naming of the latter. If the later facts ever came to his knowledge, he did not make the necessary corrections in §§ 31 and 37, although he describes the fortunes of queen Pythodoris' family in A.D. 18-19 (§ 29). Perhaps they never came to his knowledge. It is obvious that the appointments of a king of Armenia and a prince of Thrace were events which would come to Strabo's ear, wherever he was residing, but that he might remain ignorant of the minor matters with which we have been dealing.

We have seen that Strabo's knowledge about Eastern affairs was becoming meagre by B.C. 6/5, but that it extends to B.C. 3/2. The latter year seems to mark the beginning of the great lacuna, which appears to admit of no satisfactory explanation, except that the work of composition was then drawing to an end, to be followed many years later by a superficial revision which took note of some important events that had happened recently (*νεωστί*).¹ But however the gap is explained, it is clear that the *Geography* cannot be regarded as giving an authoritative statement of conditions as they were in the later years of Augustus or in A.D. 18.

II.

While the above discussion lends support to Pais' view about the date of composition, it does not tell in favour of the

¹ On Strabo's use of *νεωστί*, which betrays various dates of composition extending over a great number of years, see Pais, *Anc. Italy*, pp. 383 ff. He uses it in reference to Jul. Caesar's re-foundation of Corinth in B.C. 44, sixty-one years before A.D. 18, when he uses it of Zeno's accession to the throne of Armenia. Niese's suggestion that *νεωστί* nur soviel als etwa καθ' ἡμᾶς bedeutet, z. B. VI 258, *νεωστί* ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἡνίκα Σέξτος Πομπήιος ἀπέστησε τὴν Σικελίαν, is unconvincing.

theory which he has put forward concerning the place where Strabo wrote, and the readers whom he had specially in view. He rejects Niese's view that Strabo wrote at the instigation of Roman friends, and for a Roman public, and holds that he wrote from the point of view of a Greek of Asia Minor, and in the interests of Greeks, who probably belonged to Asiatic dynasties. He believes that it was events in Pontus and Cappadocia that gave occasion for the first and second redactions of his work. "It seems most probable," he says, "that just as the death of Polemon (B.C. 8) and the incorporation of Amaseia in the Roman Empire marked the end of the first redaction and first definite arrangement of the text, so the arrival and sojourn of Germanicus in Asia Minor (A.D. 18/19) caused Strabo to take up the work which he had written twenty-five years earlier,¹ and to bring it down to date by inserting recent events" (p. 408); at the same time he took the opportunity of paying homage to the new emperor, Tiberius.

Further, he rejects Niese's view that Strabo wrote in Rome. Niese's arguments are indeed invalid,² and Pais adduces very strong evidence against the theory.³ His own belief is that the *Geography* was composed, from materials collected at Alexandria and

¹ He assumes the old date (B.C. 7) for the annexation of Amaseia (see above, p. 7, note 1).

² Two of them are based on the use of *δεῖπο* and *ἐνθάδε*, but these adverbs are often used by Strabo, not in the sense of "the place where I am," but in the sense of "the place of which I am speaking." The third is drawn from the reference in XIII, 1, 19, p. 590, to Agrippa's removal of the lion of Lysippus to Rome, but the passage points so definitely to Rome that even a more careful stylist than Strabo might regard the express mention of the city as unnecessary. Cp. Haebler in *Hermes*, XIX (1884), pp. 235 ff.

³ The evidence, of course, is cumulative, but the strongest arguments are:—

(i) Strabo's complete silence about the German and Illyrian wars of A.D. 4-11 (the latter being regarded by Romans as the most serious war since the wars with Carthage, Suet., *Tib.*, 16).

(ii) His lack of knowledge of such an important geographical document as the map of Agrippa, or of recent works, like that of Isidoros of Charax on Parthia (written for C. Caesar, and therefore before B.C. 1) or those of King Juba on Libya and Arabia (the latter written for the use of C. Caesar).

(iii) His statement that the temple of Ceres at Rome had been burnt "recently" (i.e. in B.C. 31), without any allusion to the fact that a new temple had been dedicated by Tiberius in A.D. 17 (VIII, 6, 23; Dio., L, 10, 3; Tac., *Ann.*, II, 49).

(iv) His silence about the great monument to Augustus above Monte Carlo, with its inscription (B.C. 7-6) preserved by Pliny, commemorating the reduction of the Alpine tribes.

(v) The fact that Strabo's work was entirely unknown to the elder Pliny.

Rome, in some distant city of Asia Minor, possibly (as some older scholars thought) at Amaseia, and that it was written in the interests of Pythodoris and her family. Strabo, he suggests, may have held a social and political position at her court, similar to that of Nicolaus at the court of Herod; he used the historical works of Nicolaus freely, and may have known him personally. In support of this view he points to Strabo's lack of knowledge of western events during the later years of Augustus, to the special interest which he displays in the fortunes of Polemon and his house, to the striking warmth of his eulogy of queen Pythodoris as a capable ruler, and to the frequent allusions in various places to her and her family. Apart from Augustus, Tiberius, and the governors of Egypt, she is the only ruler whom Strabo compliments and eulogizes; and none other is so frequently mentioned in the entire *Geography*. He also points out the opportunities which Strabo had of becoming acquainted with Pythodoris' family before she became queen of Pontus, and reminds us that he belonged to a family which had held the highest offices under Mithradates, and that Polemon was, perhaps, one of the kings to whom Amaseia was handed over by Pompey's successors.

This theory is at first sight attractive, and it has won some acceptance. Its author frankly admits that it is necessarily problematical. The suggestion that Strabo held an official position is, of course, purely conjectural. The evidence may be thought to suggest a personal acquaintance with the royal house. Certainly it indicates a lively interest in its fortunes. But such interest was natural. The Polemonian house played a highly important part in the history of north-eastern Asia Minor, Bosphorus, and Cilicia. Its rulers were outstanding figures in the public life of the country, and, by the marriage of Pythodoris and Archelaos, the dynasty became closely connected with the Cappadocian kingdom. But our discussion does not favour the view that Strabo was, in later time at least, in close relations with the Polemonian court, or that he was writing at Amaseia. If he had been, we should have expected fuller and more recent knowledge about political and administrative changes in districts adjoining his native city, and more accurate information about the geography of some parts of the kingdom of Pythodoris, a subject which we cannot enter into here. Nor do Pais' arguments lend adequate support to the sup-

position that the work was composed for Pythodoris. It is clear that Strabo regarded himself as the successor of the Hellenistic geographers, carrying on the study in the spirit of Polybius and Poseidonius, who insisted strongly on the intimate connexion between geography and history. For him geography is a description of the world as the scene on which human history is enacted (I, 1, 16). It is a part of philosophy, it is the handmaid of *πολιτική*, the science which directs the system of life in civilized states, it furthers scientific knowledge and serves the needs of states (*τὰς χρείας τὰς πολιτικάς*) ; the geographer is the philosopher who is concerned with the art of life, with *εὐδαιμονία*. His geography is to be both scientific and practical. Like his history, it is addressed to the *πολιτικός*, defined as the educated man who has taken the course of study usually pursued by free men and students of philosophy. It is intended for such readers, and especially, he adds, for those concerned with the government of states, *οἱ ἐν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς, οἱ ἡγεμόνες*. The mention of this class of readers accords with the political conditions of his time. No doubt his frequent insistence on the utility of geography for rulers suggests a purpose, but he seems to be thinking primarily of Roman rulers and generals.¹ His treatise was certainly not very suitable for a Roman public. The frequent lengthy discussions of mythological and historical matters, the tedious excursions on Homeric geography, the notices of notable men produced by various cities, men distinguished in literature, science, and art—all these were much more likely to appeal to Greeks than to Romans. But the introductory chapters give the impression that he is attempting to enlist the interest of Roman readers also, especially Roman public men. If so, he signally failed. The omnivorous Pliny knew nothing of his work.

If we reject the view that Strabo wrote at Amaseia, and the view that he wrote at Rome, we are left with the alternative that his work was composed in some provincial city in the eastern Mediterranean, where he would be out of touch with western affairs, and not in close touch with the progress of events in his own country.

¹ *Στρατηλάται* ; see especially I, 1, 16.

II.

LYCIAN EPITAPHS

by W. ARKWRIGHT

EXCEPTING the Hittites with their twenty thousand cuneiform tablets, the Lycians have left much larger remains of their language than any other nation in Asia Minor. Not less than 150 inscriptions have been preserved, exclusive of coins, and a good many are of considerable length. The longest of all, on the well-known Xanthian stele, originally contained 243 lines of native writing, of which two-thirds are complete or nearly complete.

Some of these have been known for over a hundred years, and many for over eighty. The excellent Austrian edition is itself now over twenty years old.¹ It might naturally be expected that the language would by this time be fairly well understood, especially as there are five bilingual inscriptions in which the Greek text is either partly or throughout equivalent in meaning to the Lycian. But in fact, besides these and a certain number of short epitaphs which can be understood with their assistance, there are hardly any others which can throughout be translated with proveable correctness, and the renderings of the longer ones are for the most part pure conjecture.

The chief cause of this slow progress is the peculiar nature of the language, which has few points of resemblance to any other at present known. It has generally been classed among the Indo-European dialects. To these it shows certain striking resemblances, but the differences appear to be more striking and far more numerous. In respect of the vocabulary, the words of actually known meaning which much resemble Indo-European words of

¹ *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Vol. I, edited by Kalinka. I quote all native inscriptions by the numbers there given.

similar meaning are few in number. In some cases the likeness is due to borrowing. For example, the verb *sttati* and the substantive *sttala* are shown to be foreign by the initial *s* before a consonant, and are no doubt taken from the Greek ἵστημι and στήλη. There are indeed some instances, especially that of the negatives *ne* and *ni*, where borrowing is very improbable, but these are so rare that the possibility of coincidence is by no means excluded.

With regard to the grammar, the Indo-European case is in some ways stronger. The language is inflectional, and there are certain obvious resemblances both in declension and conjugation. Of the three cases of the noun, the accusative singular in *ā*, *e*, and *ñ*,¹ and plural in *as* and *is*, shows a likeness to the Greek in particular, and the same may be said of the adjective in *-hi* (for earlier *-si*, as in *atlasi* from *atla*) which does duty for a genitive in common nouns. Yet there is a radical distinction, for in Lycian the declension is entirely regulated by the law of vocalic harmony, which forbids the employment of *e* in words which contain *a*, and vice versa, *i* and *u* being neutral.² The case-suffixes are therefore formed in accordance with the vowel which occurs in the stem, so that, for instance, the dative plural of *lada* is *lada*, but that of *tideimi* is *tideime*. So also with formative suffixes, as in the adjectives *atlahi* from *atla*, but *prñnezijehi* from *prñnezi*. Another important distinction is the absence in Lycian of any trace of grammatical gender.

In the conjugation there is one striking point of resemblance to the Indo-European group. The third person plural (*-āti*, *-ēti*, etc.) is distinguished by the nasalization of the vowel from the third person singular (*-ati*, *-eti*, etc.). The other persons are not known. Here again, however, there are marked differences. There appear to be only two tenses, for the future is identical with the present. Though there is an "optative" in *-u*, and a kind of verbal noun in *-ne*, *-na*, and *-ni*, there is no indication of a

¹ The nasalized vowels and the sonant nasals are usually written in this way.

² Some terminations are not harmonized, chiefly the *e* of the genitive and dative of proper names, and the *e* and *ē* of the third person of the past tense of verbs. These are probably distinct enclitic words, as has been suggested for quite other reasons in the case of *ē* (see Thomsen, *Études lyciennes*, p. 34). Other apparent exceptions to the law are mostly either crases or imperfect compounds. Foreign proper names are not harmonized.

subjunctive mood, or of participles. Even more remarkable is the absence of any passive voice, the place of which is taken by an impersonal plural of the active verb : the Lycians regularly said "they shall bury him" when they meant "he shall be buried."

There is a simple and even primitive appearance about the declension and conjugation, but it is very much more noticeable in the syntax, which is more like that of Polynesians than of any European nation, ancient or modern. There are no dependent clauses whatever. The whole construction consists of a series of brief co-ordinate sentences, generally connected together by a conjunction, either *se*, *καί*, or *me*, which also means "and," but as a rule is only used to join clauses, not words.¹ When a Lycian wished to say that Zahama built this tomb "in order that he may be buried in it," what he actually said was "and they shall put-on Zahama." For conditional statements *me — me —* (*καὶ — καὶ —*, "both — and —") was used : instead of "if anyone shall bury anyone else, the proper authorities shall prevent him," the Lycians said "both anyone shall put over him in it, and the (proper authorities) shall prevent him." According to the view generally held, there is an exception to the rule that in Lycian all clauses are co-ordinate. The *me* of the protasis is sometimes replaced by *ti*, and this is taken to be a relative pronoun. But though in this particular set of phrases such a rendering of *ti* would be very possible and sometimes very appropriate, the word occurs most commonly in what are *prima facie* evidently principal clauses, and it would hardly have been taken for a relative except for the reason that no other could be found. But in my opinion it is certain that the language possesses none, and that *ti* is not a pronoun at all, but a particle somewhat similar in usage to the Greek *μέν*.

Besides its rudimentary grammar, Lycian is very unlike any Indo-European language in its phonetic system. Without going any deeper it will be sufficient to quote such strange combinations of consonants as *kpparama*, *kssbezē*, *wzza*, *tdi*.

¹Thomsen, who first discovered the real meaning and usage of *me*, suggests rightly that it is not purely copulative like *se*, but "l'action exprimée dans la proposition commençant par *me* a pour base—par rapport au temps ou à la causalité, ou comme condition,—l'action exprimée par la proposition qui précède" (*Études lyciennes*, p. 17). He does not notice the double *me*, marking the protasis as well as the apodosis, which is proved by phrases like *tibe mei martti tice*, "or if anyone shall authorize," 109, 4.

The isolated character of the speech is perhaps best shown by the failure of many attempts to interpret it by the usual methods of comparative philology, made by men thoroughly competent to use them, such as Schmidt, Deecke, and Bugge. The prevailing opinion at present is probably that of Prof. Kalinka, who believes it to be a mixed language. A more interesting suggestion has more than once been made that it belongs to a family distinct from the Indo-European but akin to it, and is in fact not a sister-tongue but a cousin. Which of these theories, if either, is correct cannot, I believe, be determined without a deeper knowledge of Lycian than we yet possess. For practical purposes of interpretation it is sufficient to admit that the method of external comparison, which in itself is the best, cannot in this case be safely employed.

The process of internal comparison, if it is to lead to any results which can be called certain, must be carried on by Bacon's method of exclusion. In theory a scholar with sufficient sagacity, sufficient time, and sufficient material to work upon, should be able to conjecture every possible meaning of every word, and by comparison of every passage in which each occurs, completely to eliminate every interpretation but one. Unfortunately, not to dwell on the other conditions, the material is not in this case sufficient. Comparatively few words are found repeatedly in varying contexts along with other recurring words, and, without this, complete exclusion is rarely possible. Therefore most interpretations reached by this method must be considered as conjectures, often very probable, but not scientifically certain.

There remain, however, three sources of information, from which, in fact, most of our solid knowledge is derived; the bilingual texts, the later Greek inscriptions, and the very rich contemporary coinage, supplying a great number of personal and local names, many of which reappear on the monuments.¹

The bilingual inscriptions are, of course, invaluable, but they do not carry our information very far. The statue-base at Tlos (No. 25) is of direct use for the interpretation of a very small number only of other texts, since almost all that we possess are

¹ The Lycian inscriptions date from about the middle of the 5th to about the end of the 4th century B.C.

epitaphs. No. 23 from the same place is almost too mutilated to be of service. No. 117 from Limyra, though short, is literal throughout, but in two longer specimens (No. 6 from Levisi and No. 56 from Antiphellus) the Greek only translates the Lycian at the beginning, and in the last part the two versions entirely diverge. The Greek pronounces a curse in No. 6 on anyone who injures the tomb, in No. 56 on anyone who injures or buys it (*ἀγοράσῃ*). The Lycian in No. 6 fixes a sum of money to be paid in case of future burials, and in No. 56 invokes the intervention of two bodies named, apparently against any future heir who attempts to alienate the tomb. The divergence was long ago correctly explained by Imbert. Two different publics are addressed, and the Greek version appeals to foreign settlers or visitors over whom the native law had little control, but who might hesitate to bring a curse upon their heads.

In their general intention, the later epitaphs, when Greek had become the language of the country, come nearer to the native inscriptions, and the actual phraseology is often reproduced almost unaltered. Lycian tombs were hereditary, and continued in actual use by the founder's descendants for centuries, as is shown especially by No. 73. Here a rock-tomb, made and inscribed in Lycian by Kudrehila, probably early in the 4th century B.C., is claimed by Jason and Seras in the 1st century A.D. as their *ἡρώδιον προγονικόν* for their own use and that of anyone to whom they gave their consent (*συνχωρήσαι*).¹ It is, moreover, proved by this, and by various other examples, that the heirs were not bound to keep the tomb for the founder's descendants only, but had the free use of it, unless they were expressly restricted by the terms of his will, which here was not the case.

For this reason almost all the later Greek epitaphs consist of what is practically a will, regulating with varying degrees of severity under a penalty the uses to which the tomb might be put. The very great majority employ one of two formulæ varying only in the wording. In one the founder builds the tomb for (generally) himself, wife and children (including descendants), and no one else may be buried; if anyone buries anyone else, he

¹ It appears from *C.I.G.*, 4245, that the receiver of a *συνχώρημα* had the right to bury anyone he chose.

shall owe (varying sums) to the *δημος* (*πόλις*, etc.) of the place. In the other, no one else (except the heirs) may bury anyone: if anyone else buries anyone, he shall owe, etc. The first form withholds from the heirs the right to bury any who were not heirs. The second allows them to bury other persons themselves, but they may not give the right of burying to anyone else. This is equivalent to the right of consenting (*συγχωρῆσαι*) which they would otherwise have possessed. Not uncommonly, consenting is expressly forbidden. Another rather common clause prohibits opening (*ἀνοίξαι*) by anyone else (except the heirs).¹

It is remarkable that none of the acts which are normally forbidden in these later epitaphs are in themselves illegal: they only become so in consequence of the founder's prohibition. For this reason, apparently, the remedy is a civil suit, somewhat analogous to an action for damages. In other districts breaking open and injuring tombs or disturbing the dead are often forbidden, and the most extravagant curses pronounced against the sinner, but in Lycia such offences are hardly ever mentioned. They were no doubt dealt with by the criminal law, which it was the business of the state to enforce, and in such a well-ordered community private persons had no need to put up notices warning the public against committing open crimes of violence. Similar reasons account for the absence of clauses against selling family tombs, which, it would seem, was illegal in itself.

There is no doubt that these later Greek epitaphs are a direct continuation of the older Lycian. When the Hellenization of the country began, the two languages were for a time used side by side, and the founders of tombs expressed their wishes in the same terms, whichever they adopted. In the native inscription subsequent burial is spoken of as "putting over," i.e. on the benches by which the interiors of the rock-tombs are surrounded, while burial in general is "putting-on."² It would

¹ "Opening" is shown by such phrases, as well as by the epitaph of Perpenenis (shortly to be quoted) and others, to imply nothing more than moving the door or cover of a tomb to admit burials: it does not mean breaking open or violating it. In hereditary sepulchres it was a normal and legal proceeding when carried out in a proper way by the proper persons.

² The adverb *ñte*, up (whence *ñtepi*, on, from which the verb *ñtepitadi*, bury, is formed), has been taken to mean "within." The true meaning is clear from No. 72, etc.

evidently have been impossible to use these family graves for generations without placing the dead on the same benches on which their predecessors had already been laid. Therefore putting over was not generally illegal, but the founder often forbids it, in terms closely similar to those used later, in the case of himself, or himself and wife. The prohibition applies only to one particular bench.

As in the later epitaphs, clauses are often introduced dealing with the admission of persons who are not heirs. The term commonly used corresponds very nearly to the later *συνχωρήσαι*,¹ and the right is sometimes refused to any but the heirs, sometimes reserved for the founder himself, and sometimes allowed under special conditions.

But though the intentions of the builder and even the formulæ in which he expressed them remained almost unaltered, it was otherwise with the procedure by which he sought to enforce them. The recovery by an action at law of a named sum to be paid to different public bodies, such as the *δῆμος* or the *πόλις*, appears to be a legal device of Greek origin, and is not mentioned until the 1st century B.C.² It was believed by Schmidt, whose opinion has been generally accepted, that an equivalent clause occurs in Lycian epitaphs. But in such phrases as *mene tubidi trqqas*, which has been translated by "he shall owe it to the gods," the word *trqqas* must be nominative singular, not dative plural, and the meaning is possibly that the god *Tapkus*³ shall have power over him (or over it).⁴ Various other words have been rendered by "he shall pay," but, I believe, only one (*ttiti*) correctly, and this probably has no connexion with paying a penalty. In fact in all intelligible passages in which the payment of a named sum is prescribed, it seems to be a fee for legal, not a fine for illegal burial.

¹ This verb *alahadi* does not seem to imply more than consent to use the tomb for the burial of a particular person.

² See *J.H.S.*, XXXI, p. 273.

³ See Imbert, *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique*, IX, p. 232.

⁴ All datives plural end in *-a* or *-e*, and there is no known dative singular in *-s*. An accusative plural would give no sense. *Trqqas* is therefore the subject of the singular verb *tubidi*. When it is replaced by *itlehi* the verb is *tubeiti*, which must be plural, since *itlehi* is elsewhere combined with the undoubtedly plural verb *qãñti*. In Lycian, as in Latin, connected subjects may govern a singular verb, and if they are both singular and plural, the verb is generally governed by the nearest. Therefore we find *mene tubidi trqqas se itlehi*, but *mene itlehi tubeiti . . . se trqqas*.

It was usually payable to the *mindis*, a body mentioned in a Greek inscription probably of the end of the 4th century B.C. (*Reisen*, etc., II, 27), in which Perpenenis bequeaths the various chambers in the tomb, except one, for the use of all his kinsmen. No one is to open without consent of the *mindis*, but they (the *mindis*) are to join in approving of them (the *συγγενεῖς*), and otherwise are to have full powers to prevent and fine them.¹

The jurisdiction of the *mindis* seems to have extended over the kinsmen only, not over the outside public. It clearly had power to withhold their privileges from offending heirs, and this would enable it to enforce the payment of penalties without the assistance of the state; there is here no question of a legal action as in later times, and its authority is derived from the will of the founder. It seems, however, to have been already existing, not especially created like a body of trustees. The wording does not in my opinion tell in favour of the view² that the *mindis* was the whole body of *συγγενεῖς*, though other inscriptions to be quoted later suggest that it represented the *γένος* and was composed of members of it, forming possibly a kind of board or council, whose duty it was to ensure that the intentions of their kinsmen with regard to their tombs were respected by their heirs. If so, the *ζημία* which they were to exact was not analogous to a statutory penalty, but to a fine inflicted by a corporation on its members under its by-laws.

Another inscription, at Telmessus, is little if at all later in date:³ Μοσχίωνος τοῦ Πεδετεριος Λιμ[υ]ρώς · ταγὴν δὲ ἔταξαν οἱ μενδῖται τοῖς ἀνοίγουσιν τὸ μνήμα Ἀλεξανδρείου δραχμῶν ἑξ.

It seems certain that the end is complete, and that it is impossible to read *ἑξακισχιλίων*, as would be necessary if a penalty

¹ τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τάφοις . . . χρήσονται πάντες οἱ συγγενεῖς. Μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ ἀνοίγειν μηθεὶν ἄνευ τῆς μινδῖος, ἀλλὰ συμπαρανέτωσαν αὐτοὺς · εἰ δὲ μὴ, κύριοι ἔστωσαν κωλύοντες καὶ ζημιούντες αὐτούς.

² In *Reisen*, etc., II, p. 22, note 5, it is suggested that *mindis* may mean the *Gesamtheit* of the *συγγενεῖς*, who in that case are the object of *συμπαρανέτωσαν*, and in *κύριοι* are the subject. The construction and rendering intended are obscure to me, but if the first *αὐτοὺς* must grammatically be the *συγγενεῖς*, the second must surely refer to them likewise. The *mindis* must then be the subject of *συμπαρανέτωσαν*, which indeed merely explains *ἄνευ τῆς μινδῖος*. In Lycian, as in Latin, collectives may govern a plural verb: their very frequent use is a characteristic of the language.

³ *T.A.M.* II, 40.

were in question. If so, the sum of six drachmæ of Alexander is merely a charge analogous to modern burial-fees, payable to the *mindis* whenever the tomb was used. The wording supports this opinion, for *ταγή*, like *τάξις*, only means an assessment, without any implication of a penalty; and *ἀνοίξαι* is not in itself an illegal action, but the normal opening of the grave for burial, an idea also conveyed by the use of the present participle. The strongest confirmation, however, is found in a Lycian inscription at Antiphellus (No. 57), of which the general meaning is not disputed, though the *verbatim* rendering is by no means certain. Here Ida Makzza built the tomb for his wife and children, and the *mindis* were directed to charge a shekel for the lower chamber¹ and two (?) shekels for the upper. "In the upper chamber shall be buried Ida Makzza and his wife, and no one else shall be put over them. (If) anyone shall be put over them," then the offence is to be dealt with by two bodies described as *māhāi hurwedri* and the Lycian *itlehi*.² The builder adds a clause at the end, almost identical with one sometimes appended in the same manner to later Greek epitaphs, to the effect that he himself shall permit burial here (probably in the upper chamber).

On the assumption that the sums to be paid to the *mindis* were penalties, it was hard to understand why no mention was made of the offence for which they were to be inflicted and why, when a trespass was afterwards specified, it was to be dealt with by other authorities.³ Again, no one would be deterred by a fine of one shekel, which was half a stater, and weighed at its heaviest less than a shilling. The difficulties disappear if the sum was only a fee, and if the *mindis* here, as in the epitaph of Perpenenis, had no general jurisdiction.

A formula almost identical with the phrase in the epitaph of

¹ Literally, I believe, "to grant afterwards the lower tomb for a shekel."

² The exact rendering of the verb *tubeiti* is not very certain, but the general meaning seems to be that they had jurisdiction. The punishment was probably a fine, but it is not specified.

³ The meaning of *itlehi* (nominative plural, or possibly a collective) is uncertain, but they evidently represented the state. The *māhāi hurwedri* were possibly the chief men of various tribes or clans forming a union. This is almost certainly distinct from the *mindis*. It is doubtful if a *mindis* as such was ever solely entrusted with the protection of the tomb against the general public, but in No. 75 the members of one seem to share the duty with other bodies. In three other epitaphs (Nos. 58, 135, and 139) the context is obscure.

Moschion is common in Lycian inscriptions, especially at Xanthus. Here No. 36, in archaic lettering of about B.C. 450 on a large sarcophagus, states that Ahqqadi built the tomb, and for it the mindis set-up for after-consent a payment of 10 (shekels)¹ and for the lower grave a payment of 3 (shekels). And he assigned the upper grave to his wife and to the posterity of Mñneteide, and he assigned the lower grave to his own house.

The word *aladehali*² cannot correspond to the *τοῖς ἀνοίγουσι* of the Greek inscription. That it refers to the consent of the mindis (the *συμπαραίνειν* of Perpenenis) seems to be proved by the phrase in No. 11, "and in it the mindis shall consent for a payment-each of 10 (shekels)."³

The same formula occurs many times with varying figures, but elsewhere the single word *minti* is replaced by *tesi mñti* or *tasa mñta*. These appear to be two substantives in the nominative case,⁴ simply put in apposition, in a manner perfectly regular in Lycian,⁵ and together forming the subject of the verb, which is sometimes singular and sometimes plural; both are therefore collectives. *Tesi* appears with a further collective suffix in the phrase *tesēti trmñmijēti*, or *teseti trmñmili*, which is very probably equivalent to the *Λυκίων τὸ κοινόν* of later inscriptions. If so, *tesi mñti* may be the *κοινόν* (of) the mindis.

Similar payments are sometimes to be made to the *ēni qlahi*

¹ It is probable that a circle stands for 10, and a half-circle to the right for 5. Shekels seem to be indicated by a bar (—) after the figures, almost always present (though not rarely overlooked) when a sum of money is in question, but invariably absent when it is not. *Ada* (equivalent, I believe, to *ταγή*) has been taken for the name of a coin, but if so it should be accusative plural, which however always ends in -s. Queen Ada of Caria, from whose name it has been derived, reigned 100 years later.

² By crasis for *alade ahali* (No. 16). The verb *alahadi* (for *ala ahadi*) with which it is obviously connected, is not *ἀνοίγειν* since it is used with a locative referring to the tomb in No. 57, and I have no doubt that it means consent or agree. The adverb *dde*, after, is incorporated.

³ Here *adai* is probably a denasalized form for *adāi*, with a suffix which seems to have a kind of distributive effect, as in *tijāi*, each-one, *ladāi ebtehi*, their respective wives, *se zurttāi lada*, and (their) wives (are) partners-respectively, *māñāi*, the various chiefs (?), etc.

⁴ The inscription of Moschion gives strong evidence that the mindis fixed the fee, and No. 50 (a distinct inscription complete in itself) further proves that it was not fixed by the founder.

⁵ As in No. 25, *tucedris—atru ehbi se ladu ehbi*, statues (of) himself and his wife. Examples are far from uncommon.

ebijehi,¹ of which the most probable rendering is "the brotherhood of this tribe." The context is in no instance to be translated with certainty, but the meaning seems to be that anyone who makes any further burials must obtain the leave of this body, and must pay them a named sum for the additional burials. Sometimes leave must apparently be obtained² from the brotherhood of this tribe (?) or simply from this tribe, without mention of payment. In a few other isolated cases a payment is specified, but either the body to which it is to be made, or the reason for which it is payable, is doubtful: in all of them it is probably a fee for consent.

In the present state of our knowledge, it can only be conjectured, certainly not ascertained, what the native law with regard to the use of tombs really was. It is an unsatisfactory conclusion that it differed more than has been supposed from the system which prevailed later, and in consequence that we know less than we were thought to know. In the study of Lycian conjecture has too often been founded on conjecture. The structure has not been very lofty, but even so it has been more imposing than solid. It is safer never to forget how little firm foundation there is to build upon.

¹ As a term of relationship, *eni* is not uncommon. It is almost certainly a collective, and "brethren" is the most likely meaning. If *qla* is *φυλή*, the classification must have been by kinship, not by locality, since the same *qla* occurs in different cities, and different *qla*'s in the same city. This system seems to have prevailed in Caria (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, V, p. 131).

² The verb *tlidi*, plural (impersonal) *tleiti*, has been taken to mean "pay," and the words which follow it to refer to a sum of money. If so, in No. 102, two distinct payments, expressed in different coins, would be ordered to be made to the same body as a penalty for the same offence. If a numeral is present, probably a limited number of burials is to be permitted, as in several later epitaphs. On the Xanthian stele (44, c, 15) the restoration *cizzaprññã tli[di]* is almost certain, in which case Tissaphernes would be the object of the verb. His consent was apparently to be obtained as arbitrator or judge.

III.

LABOUR DISPUTES IN THE PROVINCE OF ASIA

by W. H. BUCKLER

OUR information as to the working life of artisans in Greco-Roman towns is far from abundant, and as to their conflicts with employers surprisingly meagre. The papyri tell us much about strikes in Egypt, but owing to the peculiarity of its labour conditions such struggles are not analogous to those in other parts of the Roman world.¹

Leaving Egypt aside, we find the evidence as to labour unrest supplied almost exclusively by inscriptions from the province of Asia. These, of which copies will here be given, are (1) an edict of the proconsul of Asia respecting a strike of bakers at Ephesus about the end of the 2nd century A.D.; (2) a similar edict relative to building labourers at Pergamon toward the middle of that century; (3) a record of the settlement of a building dispute at Miletus in the same century; (4) an agreement made in A.D. 459 by the builders' union of Sardis for the purpose of averting strikes. This last document is the most instructive of the four, and more so than when commented on by Waddington, because its text is now revised. After briefly discussing each of these inscriptions, I shall summarize a few of the points deducible from them. As to these a word of explanation seems necessary. For convenience "union" will here denote an association of artisans, and "strike" a deliberate abandonment of work by any group of workers, but these terms are not meant to imply that a union or a strike was in the 2nd or 5th century

¹ Professor Rostovtzeff, to whom I am indebted for references to the papyri, says that "to show discontent through strikes was almost customary in Egypt among a population working under constraint. It is the usual protest of an enslaved population." *J. Egypt. Arch.*, VI, 1920, p. 178.

what is connoted in the 20th by the same word. Remembering that an authority has said: "The 'strike' is one of the rarest of phenomena in ancient society,"¹ we shall do well to approach our texts with scepticism, and to refrain from reading into them modern ideas.

Here we may notice two documents which, though not referring to city working-men, throw some light upon their condition. The first is a decree of the council and people of Paros in the 2nd century B.C. paying a tribute to the efficiency as market director (*agoranomos*) of a citizen who had twice filled that post. He is praised because "in respect to those who work for wages and those who hire them he saw to it that neither should be treated unjustly; according to the laws he compelled the former not to break their agreements but to go to their work, and the latter to pay the workers their wages without litigation."² Nothing indicates that his successful intervention affected artisans; it may have applied only to agricultural labourers hired in the market-place to work for the island landowners;³ and as Paros is not known to have been a centre of urban industry, these quarrels about wages were probably not of the kind which we are examining. But the inscription shows that the duties of the *agoranomos* included a certain control over the relations between employers and employed, so that we can understand why in a big industrial town, such as Thyatira in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., the unions of artisans erected monuments in honour of that official.⁴ Such expensive compliments imply that to be on good terms with him was distinctly to their interest.

¹ J. S. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 1913, p. 514. In *J.R.S.*, X, 1920, p. 100, he says: "The absence in the ancient world of the familiar modern 'strike' is most remarkable." In these passages "strike" doubtless denotes "a concerted cessation of work on the part of a body of workers for the purpose of obtaining some concession from the employer" (Murray's Dict.), whereas here the term conveys no implication as to their purpose.

² *I.G.*, XII, 5, 129: περί τε τῶν μισ[θο]ῦ ἐργαζομένων καὶ τῶν μισθουμένων [αὐ]τοὺς ὅπως μηδέτεροι ἀδικῶνται [ἐφ]ρόντιζεν, ἐπαναγκάζων κατὰ τοὺς νό[μους] τοὺς μὲν μὴ ἀθετεῖν ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργ[ον] πορεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς [ἐργ]αζομένοις τὸν μισθὸν ἀνευ δίκης.

³ This is suggested by the phrase ἐπὶ τὸ ἔ. πορεύεσθαι, not ἐργάζεσθαι. Cf. the poor free herdsmen in Dion of Prusa's romance (*Or.* vii, I, p. 191, Arn.) who were μισθοῦ βουκόλοι βοὺς νέμοντες ἀνδρὸς μακαρίου τῶν ἐνθένδε τινὸς ἐκ τῆς νήσου.

⁴ Dedications by the dyers: *C.I.G.*, 3496, *B.C.H.*, XI, 1887, p. 100, n. 23; by the bakers: *C.I.G.*, 3495; by the shoemakers: *B.C.H.*, X, 1886, p. 422, n. 31.

The second inscription¹ deserving mention contains the copy of a letter written about A.D. 200 to a provincial subordinate by the Minister of Food (*praefectus annonae*), in which he deals with certain complaints of the Seafaring Shipmasters of the five unions of Arles in connection with the cargoes of corn carried by them to Rome. "Inasmuch," he says,² "as the said protest is of wider scope, since the others³ are also appealing for the help of justice, and are virtually giving notice that their service will shortly be suspended if the grievance continues, I request . . ." From this it appears that the Shipmasters' Union of Arles, which served the Ministry of Food under contract, had intimated that its members would strike⁴ if their demands were not satisfied. Such a threat from organized employees of the State and its apparent success are interesting from our point of view, as showing how effectively a union connected with the food administration could exercise pressure by merely hinting at a stoppage of work. But the dispute has only one feature, the strike, in common with the struggles of urban labour.

The remarkable fact that these are seldom mentioned, even in the inscriptions of Asia Minor, might, if unaccounted for, be taken as evidence that such troubles seldom occurred. But the texts here collected suggest a plausible explanation; for they show that in those times, when as a rule only things of good report were commemorated in stone, labour disputes were regarded as discreditable.⁵ This may well have been the reason why epigraphy ignored them; in any case their infrequency ought not to be inferred from the mere rarity of documents such as the following:

¹ First published by Cagnat, *C.R. Acad.*, 1899, p. 353; secondly by Waltzing, *Étude hist. sur les corporations prof.*, III, 1899, p. 526, and again, IV, 1900, pp. 616-623, with full commentary.

² "Cum eadem querella latius procedat, ceteris etiam inplorantibus auxilium aequitatis cum quadam denuntiatione cessaturi propediem obsequi si permaneat iniuria, peto . . ."

³ This probably means the other unions of *naucularii maritimi* in the same province, at Narbonne, etc.; see Waltzing, *ibid.* IV, p. 620.

⁴ Though a strike is not mentioned, Waltzing (IV, pp. 620, 623) seems right in taking *cessaturi* as implying it. This word suggests deliberate stoppage.

⁵ In our 1 and 2, the proconsuls who had to deal with them mention them with marked disapproval; in 3 they are hinted at, but not mentioned; in 4 they are severely condemned even by the working-men who are supposed to have promoted them.

1. *A Bakers' Strike at Ephesus.*¹

- (a) - - - - -
 δὲ καὶ κατὰ συνθήκ[as αντων
 λικ ὥστε συμ-
 βαί]νειν ἐνιότε τὸν δῆμον ἰς ταραχὴν καὶ θορύβους ἐνπίπτειν διὰ
 τὴν σ[καιο- (?)
 λ]όγον κα(τ)α(θ)ρασίαν τῶν ἀρτοκόπων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγορᾷ στάσεων,
 ἐφ' οἷς ἐχρῆν [αὐ-
 τοὺς μεταπεμφθέντας ἤδη δίκην ὑποσχεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τῇ πόλει
 συμφέ[ρουν
 5 τῆς τούτων τιμωρίας μᾶλλον προτιμᾶν ἀναγκαῖον, ἡγησάμην
 διατάγ[ματι
 αὐτοὺς σωφρονίσαι. ὅθεν ἀπαγορεύω μῆτε συνέρχεσθαι τοὺς
 ἀρτοκ[ό-
 πους κατ' ἐταιρίαν μῆτε προεστηκότας θρασύνεσθαι, πειθαρχεῖν
 δὲ π[άν-
 τως τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος ἐπιταττομένοις καὶ τὴν
 ἀ[ναγ-
 καίαν τοῦ ἄρτου ἐργασίαν ἀνευδεῇ παρέχειν τῇ πόλει. ὥς ἂν
 ἀλῶ τι[ς αὐ-
 10 τῶν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἢ συνιῶν παρὰ τὰ διηγορευμένα ἢ θορύβου
 τινος [καὶ στά-
 σεως ἐξάρχων, μεταπεμφθεὶς τῇ προσηκούσῃ τιμωρία κολασ-
 θή[σεται·
 ἐὰν δέ τις τολμήσῃ τὴν πόλιν ἐνεδρεύων ἀποκρύψαι αὐτόν,
 “δεκνείρ[ίης” ἐπὶ πο-
 δὸς προσημιωθήσεται, καὶ ὁ τὸν τοιοῦτον δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος [τῇ
 αὐτῇ τιμωρία ὑπεύθυνος γενήσεται.
- 15 (b) ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Κλ(ανδίου) Μοδέστου, μηνὸς Κλαρεῶνος δ'
 ἰσ(ταμένου), βουλῆς ἀγομέ[νης κατ' (?)
 ἄλλο μέρος, Μαρκελλεῖνος εἶπεν· τῆς δὲ ἀπονοίας τῶν ἐργασ-
 τηριαρχῶ[ν μέγι-
 στον δεῖγμα χθὲς Ἑρμείας ὁ πρὸς τῇ ΓΑΜΙΑΩΜΕΤ . . .
 ANTH.

¹ *B.C.H.*, VII, 1883, p. 504, n. 10 = *Inscr. v. Magn. a. M.*, 114 = Waltzing, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 49-50, with translation. The inscription is now known to be from Ephesus (see notes below), and as the railway from Ayasoluk, near Ephesus, was working as far as Serai-keui in 1883, it seems probable that this stone was brought by rail from Ayasoluk and left near the site of Magnesia. See Pl. II.

(a) [Edict of the Proconsul.¹]

"and according to agreements . . . *thus it comes about* at times that the people are plunged into disorder and tumults by the *recklessness in evil* speaking² of the seditious groups of bakers in the market-place, for which they ought already to have been arrested and put on trial. Since however it is necessary to consider the city's welfare much more than the punishment of these men, I have resolved to bring them to their senses by an edict.

"I therefore order the Bakers' Union³ not to hold meetings as a faction nor to be leaders in recklessness, but strictly to obey the regulations made for the general welfare and to supply the city unflinching with the labour essential for bread-making.

"When from this time forward any one of them shall be caught in the act of attending a meeting contrary to orders, or of starting any tumult and riot, he shall be arrested and shall undergo the fitting penalty. And should anyone plotting against the city dare to hide himself, he shall in addition have '*decuria*' marked on his foot, and the receiver of such a man shall be liable to the same penalty."

(b) [Decree of the Ephesian Council.]

"In the year of the prytany of Claudius Modestus, on the 4th day from the beginning of the month Klareon, at a meeting of Council *held* out of the regular order, Marcellinus said: 'Of the folly of the workshop foremen Hermeias yesterday (gave) a very great example' . . ."

This official language almost rivals in vividness the speech of Libanius⁴ on the Antioch bread-riots, in which his friend the

¹ This is shown by the term *διάταγμα* (l. 5) which at that period seems to have exclusively denoted an edict of an emperor or provincial governor; cf. *O.G.I.*, 665⁹, 669¹; *Syll.*³, 888¹¹², 905¹⁰; Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, s.v. Our document was correctly classified by S. Reinach, *Manuel de Phil. class.*, 1884, p. 41: "Édit d'un gouverneur romain à l'occasion d'une grève."

² Or "recklessness in complaints about trifles," if *σ[μικρο]λόγον* be restored, as Wilhelm suggests; see notes below.

³ *οἱ ἀρτοκόποι*, the title of the *collegium pistorum* at Thyatira (*C.I.G.*, 3495) here denotes the similar union at Ephesus; the order to furnish labour could not have been effective unless given to an organized body of workers. For a list of bakers' unions cf. i. Stöckle, *Spätrom. u. byz. Zünfte*, 1911 (*Klio*, Bht., IX), p. 49.

⁴ *Or.*, 29; III, 63 Först.

baker was hurt, and of which bakers were not, as here, the promoters but the victims. Libanius, who knew as well as did our proconsul the importance of the baking industry, shows us how easily serious disturbances could be caused in a large Greco-Roman city by rumours as to any scarcity of bread. Such rumours may have been spread by the "evil speaking" of which our bakers were guilty.

From the proconsul's orders (ll. 7-10) we gather what their union's main offences had been : holding seditious meetings which had led to riots ; reckless disregard of public regulations ; and striking, which had reduced the bread supply. In order not to aggravate this shortage of bread, the proconsul decides neither to arrest nor to try the men—a leniency which he emphasizes. But he promises to punish any repetition of such acts, and threatens with special severities any offender caught in hiding and anyone who shall have hidden him ; they are, it seems, to be branded on the foot, in token of infamy. But the point of chief interest to us, namely the reason for this strike, is obscure. Were the workmen, as in modern cases, opposed to the master-bakers, or had all bakery workers been protesting against some grievance affecting their trade as a whole ? Was it *Employees vs. Employers*, or *Bakers vs. The Authorities* ? Was the friction purely industrial ? An imperial rescript issued at Pergamon, perhaps not long before the time of our edict, shows that much hardship was inflicted on small dealers by the premium on exchange which kept the market almost in a state of war.¹ Our strike may have been a protest by the bakers against that injustice, or against some other of the same kind, and may have had no connection with any dispute between employers and employed. The only indication that there was such a dispute is given by the fact that Hermeias (l. 18), one of the men who displayed folly, presumably by rioting, seems to have been foreman of a workshop, and therefore not an employer ; but on so fragile a basis no solid theory can be built. Our text shows however (a) that the bakers, with the assent if not the approval of their union, sometimes went on strike ; (b) that, when disorderly, such strikes were vigorously suppressed ; (c) that striking, apart from riot or sedition, was not a punishable

¹ Cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1902, p. 87, where the strife in the Pergamon market, as to what class of dealer should bear the κόλλυβος, is compared to a "Kriegszustand."

offence. Three points are noteworthy: (1) the offenders were not punished, but merely warned what punishment to expect in case of any future disobedience; (2) no penalty was threatened in the event of another strike; (3) while the bakers' union was forbidden to hold seditious meetings (ll. 7-8, 11), there was no ban upon its ordinary business and no threat of its dissolution.¹

2. *Labour Troubles at Pergamon.*²

	- - -	ἀν]θύ(πατος) λέγει .
	- - -	ὁ]σοι μὲν παρήσαν ὅτε περὶ τῶν
	- - -	αν τῆς τῶν ἔργων κατασκευῆς
	- - -	ἴδω πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦς
5	- - -	φιλανθρωπία κέχρημαι καὶ α
	- - -	ὅσ]οι δὲ τῷ μὲν μὴ ἀντειπεῖν πρὸς
	- - -	ὅθεν γεινωσκέτωσαν ὅτι ἐὰν
	- -	γεινώσ]κειν αὐτοὺς ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
	- - -	τ]όκους αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου
10	- - -	ἐ]κτελέσαι τὰ ἔργα . τοὺς ἐργε-
πιστάτας	- - - -	-]ων ἀποθέσθαι παραχρῆμα
	- - -	προieiσιν τριβῆς ἐν τ.
	- - -	κότες, εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ εὖ . .
	- - -	ἐργε]πιστάται ὅσον ὑπο . . .
15	- - -	νη καὶ γεινωσκέτ[ωσαν . . .
	- - -	μισθ]ὸν λαμβάνειν ἐπ
	- - -	οιντο ἐκ τοῦ
	- - -	ο ἐπ - -

This edict of the proconsul of Asia, fragmentary as it is, manifestly deals with certain delays in the erection of buildings (ll. 3, 10). The trouble must have been serious, for the proconsul, who personally held an inspection or enquiry (l. 4), shows leniency (l. 5) to the men who duly appeared (l. 2), while those who failed to answer (l. 6) are differently treated. By way of penalty the offenders are apparently required to pay

¹ At Pompeii in A.D. 59 all the *collegia* were dissolved in consequence of a riot; Tac., *Ann.*, XIV, 17. At Alexandria in A.D. 215 all industrial unions, except the three regarded as vitally necessary to the city's well-being, were dissolved for a similar reason; *P. Giss.*, 40, with Meyer's note. I owe these references to my wife's Gamble Prize Essay, 1916 (unpublished), and much more to her criticism.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 1899, p. 198, n. 62, with explanation by U. v. Wilamowitz.

interest, presumably on the instalments of the contract price already received by them, from the date when the work ought to have been completed (ll. 9, 10). The building overseers have duties in connection with the settlement (ll. 10, 14).

It is evident that delays caused by artisans, possibly through striking, were the main reason for the proconsul's intervention. A building job was not undertaken in those days, as it usually is in our own, by an *entrepreneur* organizing the work which other men execute, but by actual working-men contracting individually or as a group directly with the employer. That practice, which we shall see illustrated in 3 and 4, doubtless prevailed at Pergamon; and the artisan-contractors must have been responsible, whether by striking or in other ways, for the troubles dealt with in our edict. The fact that the governor of the province took personal part in the settlement may have been due to the importance of the public building affected, or, as in 1, to some breach of the peace; but in view of the apparent mildness of the penalties the latter supposition seems the less probable. The only conclusions which may safely be drawn from this fragment appear to be: (1) that the proconsul sometimes intervened in serious industrial crises; (2) that the men's original offence, whatever its nature, was gently dealt with, whereas failure to appear or to answer here, as in 1, aroused particular displeasure.

3. *Settlement of a Building Dispute at Miletus.*¹

οἱ οἰκοδόμοι οἱ περὶ Ε νι . . .
 Ἐπίγονον, ἐργολάβοι τοῦ μέρους τοῦ
 θεάτρου οὗ ἐργεπιστατεῖ ὁ προφήτης
 θε[ι]οῦ Οὐλπιανὸς Ἡρώς, ἐργοδοτεῖ ὁ ἀρ-

¹ First published in *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.*, 1904, p. 83; again in *Jahrbuch*, 1904, Anz. p. 8. In l. 7 ἐνεγκούσ[ης ἡ] is restored in place of Wiegand's ἐνέγκουσ[ιν ἡ], which gives no satisfactory meaning. The men were hesitating, it would seem, between remaining employed by their own city Miletus (as in the work on the theatre) and accepting employment of some other kind. In Synes., *ep.* 103, ἡ ἐνεγκούσα = "native country," and in the 2nd century M. Aurelius (IV, 48) uses the word in the sense, which it appears to have here, of "native soil" (or "place"). The reading of this rare word seems unavoidable, because no other restoration supplies the indispensable alternative to ἄλλην. When I asked Dr. Wiegand about the textual permissibility of this emendation, he kindly informed me that an examination of the squeeze (then in Turkey) would probably not be conclusive, because "die Inschrift steht auf einem sehr schlechten u. verwitterten Kalkstein der Treppenwand."

- 5 χιτέκτων Μηνόφιλος, τὰ εἰλήμα[τα
 κ]αὶ τὰ τετ[ρ]άετα κατὰ τῶν κειόνων
 περιειλῶσιν, καὶ ἐνεγκούσ[ης ἤ] ἄλλην ἐρ-
 γοδοσίαν σκέπτωνται; θεὸς ἔχρησε·
 “ἐμπεράμοις πινυταῖς δωμήσεσιν εὐτεχνίαις τε
 10 εὐπαλάμου φωτός τε ὑποθημοσύναισι φερίστου
 χρῆσθαι σύμφορόν ἐστι λιταζομένοις θυσίαισι
 Πάλλαδα Τριτογένειαν ἰδ’ ἄλκιμον Ἡρακλ[ῆα].”

“Should the builders associated with E
 Epigonos—being the contractors for that part of the theatre in
 which Ulpianus Heros, the interpreter of the god, superintends
 and Menophilos, the architect, gives out the work—execute the
 arching and the vaulting over the columns? And should they
 consider employment given by their native city or employment
 of some other kind?”

The god thus responded :

“Right use of building craft and counsel wise
 ’T is well to seek from best of mortals skilled,
 While ye due sacrifice to Pallas bring
 The Trito-born and doughty Herakles.”

This record, like those of the cures at Epidaurus, was doubtless intended to edify, and to advertise the wisdom of the oracle at Didyma ; whence we have the right to infer that its counsels here given to the builders were followed with good results. The incidents referred to seem to have been somewhat as follows. A group of workmen, having one Epigonos as foreman, had contracted to erect the arches on the columns in the upper tier of the theatre, where our inscription is engraved, as well as the vaulting between those arches and the rear wall. Matters had not gone smoothly ; though the men may not actually have struck, they thought of striking and of seeking other work.¹ But they consulted the oracle of Apollo at

¹ The erection of the arches and vaulting was included, we may assume, in the contract for that portion of the theatre of which the men were ἐργολάβοι ; to have thrown up that job might have aroused so much indignation that they would have had to seek work from some new employer. Hence their coupling the questions: (1) “should we execute this work?” and (2) “should we consider this local employment, or some other?” It may be objected that the arching and vaulting were perhaps not included in the contract of ll. 2-5, but may have been a separate piece of work not yet

Didyma, who recommended the employment of an expert adviser, together with sacrifices to Athena, patroness of skill, and Herakles, representative of strength. The text tells us neither what the men's grievance was, nor how it was removed. We shall see, however, under 4, that during the later Empire one of the chief risks in erecting a building was that the workmen might abandon it, in the midst of its progress, for other more lucrative work; and the phrasing of ll. 7-8 suggests that such may have been the intention of these Miletus builders. If indeed they feared financial loss from the fulfilment of the theatre contract, the expert probably showed them how to make it pay. In any case—if our inference as to the success of the oracle is sound—the skill of the adviser averted the strike and induced the men to continue the work, probably till completion. From this text we learn (1) that a building contract was sometimes undertaken by a group of artisans associated under one leader; (2) that, if it proved to be burdensome, they might strike; (3) that in such a crisis influential advice might persuade them to carry on; (4) that the men to whom the oracle gave this reply must have been free agents to whom compulsion could not be applied.

4. *A Working Agreement of the Sardis Builders' Union.*¹

ἐξομοσί]α [τῶν τε οἰκοδόμων καὶ τεχνιτῶν τῶν τ]ῇ[s

λ]αμ(προτάτης) Σαρδ(ιανῶν) μητρο[πόλεως.

ῥ]πατίας Φλ(αβίου) Πατρικίου τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) καὶ τοῦ δηλοθη-
σομένου πρὸ πέν[τ]ε καλανδῶ(ν) Μαΐων ἐν τῇ λαμ(προτάτῃ)

5 καὶ δις νεοκόρω <ν> Σαρδ(ιανῶν) μητροπ(όλει) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ' εὐτυ-
χιστα-

της καὶ μηνὸς Δεσίου[v] τετάρτῃ, ὁμολογοῦμεν

Αὐριλιανῶ τῷ θαυμασιωτάτῳ καὶ καθοσιωμ(ένῳ)

μαγιστριανῶ καὶ ἐκδ(ίκῳ) τῆς αὐτῆς περιφανοῦς

undertaken by them. That hypothesis seems inadmissible, for if such had been the case it is hard to see any point in the questions or in the oracular reply. Furthermore, only if that reply solved some serious difficulty connected with the building, can we understand why Ulpianus, the "prophet" of Didyma, was so proud of it that he had it thus recorded.

¹ C.I.G., 3467 = L.B.W., 628; revised in 1914. Letters now destroyed, but shown in any of the earlier copies, are here underscored. See Pl. III and p. 37.

[illegible]

(W.H.B., 1914)

ΙΟ μ]ητροπ(όλεως) τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα· κατηγορίας διαφόρους
δε]ξαμένη ἢ σὴ θαυμασιότης κατὰ διαφόρων τινω[ν
τῇ]ν ἡμετέρ[α]ν μετιόντων τέχνην ὡς ἐνχειριζο-
μένων ἔργα οἰκοδομικὰ κα[ὶ] ἀτελῇ ταῦτα καταλιμπα-

- νόντ]ω[ν] καὶ ἐμποδιζόντων τοῖς ἐργοδότες, ἀναστῖλε
 τὴν τοι]αύτην κατὰ τῶ[ν] ἐργοδοτῶν γιγνομένην
 15 ἀδικίαν] περὶ πολλοῦ πο[ι]ομένη ν ἐπέζητησ[εν]
 πρὸς ἡμ[ᾶς] τῇ[ν] ὁμολογίαν τε καὶ ἐξομοσίαν
 τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξῆ[ς]. “ὁ[μ]ολογοῦ[μεν] καὶ ἐξομ[ν]ύμεθα τὴν
 ἀγίαν καὶ ζω[ο]π[ο]ιὸν Τ[ριάδα] καὶ τὴν σω[τ]ηρίαν κα[ὶ]
 νίκην τοῦ δεσπό[του] τ[ῆς] οἴκου]μένης Φλ(αβίου) [Λ]έοντο[ς]
 20 τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγοῦ]στον [Αὐτ]οκράτο[ρ]ος ⁽¹⁾ πάντα τὰ ἐ[ργα]
 ὅσων ἡμῖν ἔκδοσις γ[ίνετ]ε] παρὰ οἰουδήποτε τῶν
 ἐργοδοτῶν ἀναπλη[ροῦ]ν, ἐτοίμου ὄντος τοῦ ἐργοδότη
 ἡμῖν διδόναι τοὺς] συ[ν]αρέσαντας [μ]ισθοὺς. ⁽²⁾ εἰ δὲ οἷα-
 δήποτε παραίτησις] πα[ρα]γένητε τ[ῷ] ἐ[ργο]λαβήσαντι
 25 ἐπὶ προφάσει αὐτοῦ ἐ[ἴτ]ε] ιδιωτικ[ῇ] εἴτε δημοσίᾳ,
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἡμῶν ὑπείσιέν]αι ἕτερον τεχνίτην τό
 τε κτιζόμενον ἔργον παντ]ε[λ]ῶς ἀν[απ]ληροῦν, δηλονότι
 ἡμῶν ὄντος τοῦ τοῦτο πα[ρα]ιτ]οι]ομένη[ου], ἥτοι τοῦ ἐναρξ-
 αμένου τούτου τεχνίτου ἢ[τ]οι τοῦ ἀ[ν]τ’ αὐτοῦ ὑπείσιόντο[ς],
 30 μὴδὲ ἐπισχούσης τὸ ἐ[ργον] μηδεμίας ἡμ[ῶν] προφάσεω[ς].
⁽³⁾ εἰ δὲ ὁ ἐργολαβήσας] ἄπαξ οἰωδήποτε τ[ρό]πῳ τὸν ἐρ[γο]-
 δότην κωλύη κ]τι[ζ]ομένου καθὼς ἔφημ[εν] τοῦ] ἔργου, ἡμ-
 ῶν ὄντος εἴτε τοῦ ἐ[ξ] ἀρχῆς ἀρξαμένου εἴτ[ε] τοῦ ὑπὲρ] οἴου-
 δήποτε τεχνίτου ὑπείσιόντος, το[ι]αύ[της] κωλύσεως
 35 διδόναι ἡμᾶ]ς μισθοὺς κατὰ τὸ γενόμε[ν]ο[ν] μετα]ξὺ
 αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ] ἐργοδότου καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τεχνίτου σύμφω-
 νον. ⁽⁴⁾ τοῦ δὲ ἐργο]δότου ἀνεξικακοῦντος, ἐ[ἴ] π[οτ’] ἐ[φ’] ἐ]πτά
 ἡμέραι[ς]
 κωλύθη τοῦ ἔρ]γου, τῷ τεχνίτῃ ν τῷ ἐργολαβήσαντι τὸ
 ἔργον ὑπῖναι. ⁽⁵⁾ εἰ] δὲ συμβῇ καὶ ἀρρωστία περιπεσ[ί]ν τὸν τε-
 40 χνίτην, εἴκοσι] ἡμέρας περιμένειν τὸν ἐργοδότ[ην], με(τ)ὰ δὲ
 τὴν ἀνεξικα]κίαν τῶν εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν, εἰ μὲν ὑ[γι]άνη
 ἀμελῇ δὲ τοῦ ἐργά[ζεσ]θαι ἐπὶ τὸ τ[η]ν[ι]καῦτα, ὑπείσιένα[ι] ἔ]τερον
 ὥς τοῦ παραιτησα[με]νου ποιούμ[εθα] τὸν λόγον. ⁽⁶⁾ καὶ π[α]ραι]του-
 μένου
 τοῦ ἐργολαβήσαντος, εἰ μ]ηδὲν κατὰ τὰ προγεγραμμέ[ν]α εὐρεθῇ
 45 μῆτε πράττων μῆτε ἐργαζ]όμενός τις ἐξ ἡμῶν, συν[τ]ιθέμεθα
 μὲν ἀποτίσ]ειν λόγῳ προστίμου εἰς ἔργα τῆς πόλ[ε]ως,
 τὸν δὲ τεχνίτην εἰσπ]ραζόμενον χρυσᾶ νομίσματα ὅκτῳ
 ὑποκείσθαι κα[ὶ] τῷ τῆς [ἀδ]ικίας ἐγκλήματι κατὰ τὰς

θείας διατάξεις οὐ] δὲν ἦττον καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ προστίμο[υ
 50 εἴσπραξιν· βεβαί]ας καὶ ἀρραγοῦς καὶ ἀσαλεύτου μενο[ύ-
 σης τῆς παρούσης ὁ]μολογίας εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, καὶ ἀναπ[ο-
 τρέπτως τελουμένης] πάντοθεν ἀκόλουθον πᾶσιν τοῖς προ-
 διορισθεῖσιν καὶ ὁ]μολογηθεῖσιν παρ' [ἡ]μῶν· ⁽⁷⁾ καὶ ὑπεθέμεθα
 εἰς τὴν ἔκτισιν τοῦ πρ]οστίμο[υ], ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ τῷ γενικῷ
 55 καὶ ἰδικῷ, πάντα ἡμῶ]ν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ [ὑ]πάρχοντα
 ἐν παντὶ εἶδει καὶ γέ]νι." καὶ πρὸς τὰ προγεγ[ρα]μμένα
 πάντα ἐπερωτηθέντες] παρὰ τῆς σῆς θαυμασιότητος ὁμ-
 ολογήσαμεν τῇδε τῇ ὁ]μολογία καὶ ἐξομοσία, ἡμέρα
 καὶ ὑπατία τῇ προγε]γραμμένῃ.

Declaration under oath by the builders and artisans of the most distinguished metropolis of the Sardians.

In the consulship of the most distinguished Flavius Patricius and of the consul who shall have been proclaimed on the fifth before the calends of May, in the most distinguished metropolis of the Sardians twice honoured with an emperor's temple, in the twelfth most happy indiction and on the fourth of the month Daesius, we give to the most excellent Aurelianus, devoted commissioner and defender of the said renowned metropolis, our assent to the things hereinafter set forth :—

Whereas your excellency has received divers accusations against divers persons practising our craft, to the effect that they take in hand pieces of building work, leave these unfinished and obstruct the employers, deeming it important to abolish an injustice so detrimental to the employers, you have requested from us this agreement and declaration under oath *in the following terms* :—

"We do agree and make oath by the *holy and* life-giving *Trinity* and by the safe preservation and victory of the Lord of the inhabited earth, Flavius Leo, *everlasting* Augustus and Emperor,

"(1) That we will *complete* all pieces of work *given out to us* by any one of the *employers*, provided the employer is prompt *in paying to us* the wages mutually agreed upon ;

"(2) Should the man undertaking the work have any *plea on which he declines it* for some reason of his own either private or

public, another artisan *from among us shall take his place* and shall entirely complete the *work under construction*, on the distinct understanding that *the man declining it*, whether he be the artisan *who began it* or the man who shall have taken his place, *is one of ourselves* and that no reason of our own *stands in the way* of the work ;

“(3) *Should the man undertaking the work once hinder the employer in any way while it is, as we said, under construction, if he who either began it from the beginning or shall have taken the place of any artisan is one of ourselves, we shall for such hindrance pay indemnities according to the actual contract between the employer and the artisan ;*

“(4) *Should the employer show indulgence, if he be for seven days hindered from working, the work shall be left to the artisan undertaking it ;*

“(5) *Should the artisan fall ill, the employer shall wait twenty days, and if after such indulgence for twenty days the man should get well, but show no disposition to work at that time, another shall take his place on the terms stipulated by us as to the man who has declined ;*

“(6) *If, when the man undertaking the work declines it, some one of us be found neither doing anything nor performing work in accordance with the provisions herein written, we bind ourselves to pay . . . (sum) as a fine to be used for the city's public works, while the artisan shall be compelled to pay eight pieces of gold, and shall further be liable, even after exaction of the fine, to prosecution under the divine edicts on the charge of injustice ; the present agreement remaining firm, unbroken and undisturbed in perpetuity, and being irrevocably carried out in strict conformity with all things above determined and promised by us ;*

“(7) *And for the full discharging of the fine we pledge, under a lien both general and individual, all our property present and future of every kind and sort.”*

And when as to all things above written *the question was put to us* by your excellency, we gave our *assent to this agreement* and declaration under oath on the day *and in the consulship* above written.

This declaration, made on April 27,¹ A.D. 459 by the Sardis

¹ As to the double dating, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, IV, 2014.

union of building artisans before the city *ekdikos*—the imperial magistrate whose many functions included the registration of important documents—tells us much as to the customs prevalent in their industry. It is, so far as I know, the earliest example of a trade-union agreement binding the members to work on certain terms, and providing that, in case of non-performance, indemnities to the employer (l. 35), or in other circumstances a fine (l. 46), shall be paid out of union funds. To us such an arrangement seems singularly familiar; it is not unusual nowadays to find a trade-union, for instance of shoe-operatives, promising on given conditions to one or more shoe-manufacturers the requisite supply of labour, and sometimes, if the promise is broken, having heavy compensation to pay. What our document signified, on the one hand to the artisans, and on the other to building employers, can best be shown by analysis.

The main provisions (clauses 1-6), may be summarized as follows: Having laid down in clause 1 (ll. 20-23) the general principle that all work undertaken by its members is to be completed, provided that the wages agreed upon are punctually¹ paid, the union deals, under clauses 2-6, with three contingencies which may prevent that principle from being carried into effect. The first (2 and 6, *as to παραίτησις*) is that the workman who has undertaken the job may on some pretext voluntarily abandon it while the building is still under construction. In that event the union promises that one of its members will take over the work and carry it to completion, provided that (*a*) the man whom he succeeds is also a member, and that (*b*) no cause affecting the union as a whole prevents the continuance of this work. If the substitute supplied by the union should fail to perform his duties, the union promises in clause 6 to pay a fine (ll. 43-46). The second contingency (3, *as to κώλυσις*) is that the workman undertaking the job may by his absence or otherwise hinder the employer in carrying it on (ll. 31-37). In that event, if the man is one of its members, the union promises to pay to the employer as compensation for delay the indemnities stipulated in the contract between him and the artisan (ll. 35-36). If however (4, *as to ἀνεξικακία*) the employer condones the hindrance to his work by tolerating it for seven days, he waives his

¹ Cf. *ἐτοίμον*, l. 22.

right to object, and the work will continue in the hands of the same artisan (ll. 37-39). The third contingency (5, *as to ἀρρωστία*) is that the workman undertaking the job may fall ill (ll. 39-43). Should this occur, he is to have twenty days' grace in which to recover, but if after recovery he still fails to work, the union promises to supply, on the same conditions as in clause 2—since this also is a case of abandonment—an artisan to complete the job. Lastly, if the work shall have been voluntarily abandoned on some pretext (as in clause 2), the union promises (6, *as to penalties*) that should the artisan whom it substitutes fail to carry on the work satisfactorily as stipulated, it will pay to the city a fine, the amount of which was mentioned in the passage now destroyed, while the artisan shall be fined two-thirds of a gold pound and shall also be liable to prosecution on a charge of injustice (ll. 43-50).

Now let us see what the two parties to a building contract respectively gain from this agreement. To the employer it ensures—except for the possible delay of twenty days under clause 5—uninterrupted work, with indemnities for any interruption by the workman; for (*a*) if he throws up the job, other workmen will be supplied by the union till it is finished, and (*b*) if he is dilatory or obstructive, the union guarantees his indemnity payments. To the artisan the advantages are (1) that he need only work if his wages are punctually paid, (2) that in case of illness he is allowed twenty days for recovery before he can be replaced, and (3) that, since only members of the union may be employed, he has no competition to fear from outsiders. The benefits conferred by the agreement are thus similar to those which now induce employers and trade-unions to adopt the principle of the “closed shop.” This aims at securing for the former a steady supply of workers and continuity of labour, and for the latter more stable wages and working conditions through the elimination of non-union competitors. Our document has the same purpose.

Respecting rates of wages, strikes, and intimidation, the evidence here embodied is valuable. The wages are ostensibly fixed by the several contracts between individual artisans and employers (ll. 23, 35-37), and of “union,” “standard,” or “minimum” rates there is no mention. Since, however, an

employer can enjoy the benefit of the agreement only if he deals exclusively with members of the union (ll. 28-29, 33-34), he has to pay them the wages which it permits them to accept. Thus a strict "union agreement" such as ours is a tacit adoption of "union" rates of pay.

That the reason for making so formal a settlement was the desire to avoid the strikes which had previously been frequent is stated in the preamble (ll. 9-13). The charges against the building-workers were that "they leave these (pieces of work) unfinished and obstruct the employers"—in other words, "they strike and prevent other artisans from working"—and compensation by the union in the event of any further obstruction is stipulated in clause 3. The fear of a repetition of such troubles must have protected the union rates of wages by discouraging employers from dealing with non-union workmen against whose possible striking or misconduct our agreement would have afforded no remedy.

That the struggles in the building trade revealed to us by this Sardian attempt at their solution cannot have been peculiar to Sardis is shown by edicts of Zeno issued within a few years from the date of our document. In the *Basilika*, XIX, 18, 1 (Latin version in *C. Iust.*, IV, 59) he ordains: "Building artisans and men undertaking such work . . . must likewise be prevented from making among themselves agreements intended to restrain anyone from completing a piece of work entrusted to another man, . . . and every man shall have the right to complete without fear or injury of any kind a piece of work begun by another when abandoned by him."¹

Again in *C. Iust.*, VIII, 10, 12, 9, Zeno directs: "Your magnificence will see to it that no man undertaking work and no artisan who has begun a piece of work shall abandon it unfinished, but the same man who began it, if he received the wages, must be compelled to complete the work, or else to pay for the injury thereby inflicted on the person building and for all damage resulting from the non-completion of the work . . . No workman of the same craft must be hindered from completing work

¹ *Basil.*, XIX, 18, 1: καὶ οἱ τῶν οἰκημάτων ὁμοίως τεχνῖται ἢ ἐργολάβοι κωλύσθωσαν σύμφωνα μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων διατίθεσθαι ἵνα μή τις ὅπερ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράπη ἔργον πληρώσῃ διδομένης ἐξουσίας ἐνὶ ἐκάστω τὸ παρ' ἑτέρου ἀρχθὲν ἔργον καὶ καταλειφθὲν χωρὶς τινος φόβου ἢ ζημίας ἐκπληροῦν.

begun by another, for this we know is boldly done by men undertaking work and by artisans to the detriment of persons building houses; these men neither deliver a finished product to the persons for whom they began to work, nor permit others to complete the same, but contrive thus to inflict intolerable loss upon those erecting the houses. Any man declining to complete what another began for the mere reason that another began it shall himself be subject to a penalty similar to that of the man who abandoned the work.”¹

Since both edicts mention the intimidation of workmen employed to complete a building on which there had been a strike, this method of making the strike effective was doubtless the obstruction to which our l. 13 refers. How difficult it was to prevent workmen from striking while in the midst of one job, in order to take up another promising greater profit (the very situation as to which the workmen in 3 were perhaps hesitating), is shown also by the building clauses of the labour code, known as the “Book of the Prefect,” compiled in Constantinople about 500 years later than our Sardian agreement.² These are worth citing because, like other provisions in this code, they are possibly much older than the date of its compilation. “Artisans—joiners, workers in marble and plaster, and others—who shall have made a contract for any piece of work and taken part-payment in advance, shall not, unless they have entirely completed it, leave that work and take up another . . . If, owing to greed or spite, the said men undertaking work shall have left that which they had in hand and taken over another piece of work, the employer may challenge them before witnesses, reminding them of their agreement written or oral, and should they neglect to carry out that contract, he

¹ *C. Iust.*, VIII, 10, 12, 9: προνοεῖτω δὲ ἡ σὴ μεγαλοπρέπεια τοῦ μή τινος τῶν ἐργολάβων ἢ τεχνιτῶν, ἀρξάμενους ἔργων, τοῦτο καταλιμπάνειν ἀτελές, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν ἀρξάμενον λαμβάνοντα τὸν μισθὸν ἀναγκαζέτω πληροῦν τὸ ἔργον, ἢ διδόναι τὴν ἐντεῦθεν συμβαίνουσαν ζημίαν τῷ οἰκοδομοῦντι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ μή τὸ ἔργον (τελεσθῆναι) γιγνομένην βλάβην μὴ κωλύεσθω δὲ ἕτερος τῆς αὐτῆς τέχνης τὸ παρ’ ἑτέρου ἀρχθὲν ἐκπληροῦν, ὅπερ ἔγνωμεν τολμᾶσθαι κατὰ τῶν οἰκοδομοῦντων οἰκίας παρὰ τῶν ἐργολάβων ἢ τεχνιτῶν, οὔτε αὐτῶν τὸ τέλειον ἐπιτιθέντων οἷς ἤρξαντο ἐργάζεσθαι, οὔτε ἑτέρους τὰ αὐτὰ ἔργα ἀναπληροῦν συγχωρούντων, ἀλλ’ ἐνέγκειν ἀφόρητον ζημίαν ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς τὰς οἰκίας κατασκευάζουσι μηχανωμένων. ὁ δὲ παραιτούμενος τὸ παρ’ ἑτέρου ἀρχθὲν ἐκπληρῶσαι δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι ἕτερος ἤρξατο, καὶ αὐτὸς παραπλησίαν τῷ καταλιπόντι τὸ ἔργον ὑπεχέτω δίκην. Boeckh and Waddington have cited this passage.

² J. Nicole, “Le Livre du Préfet”; *Mémoires Acad. Genèvoise*, XVIII, 1893, XXII, 1-2.

shall denounce them to the prefect and may then employ another workman. Men undertaking work who have thus defaulted shall be punished by beating, shaving of the head, and expulsion from the city ; they shall also be required to refund to the employer any payment received by them, that is, they shall be sent away from the work without remuneration.”¹

The information furnished above as to labour disputes may be tabulated as follows :—

(a) In the large cities of Asia Minor, during the period from the 2nd to the 5th century, strikes occurred from time to time (1, 3, and 4).

(b) Their causes and their objects remain obscure, but comparison of 4 with the edicts of Zeno suggests that in the 5th century the building-workers went on strike in order to obtain higher wages.

(c) That the strikes were to some extent controlled by the working-men's unions seems clear in the case of 1 and 4, and is probable as to 3, which, like 4, treats of building artisans.

(d) If not disorderly, the strike proceeded unchecked by the authorities—as proposed in 3, ll. 7-8, and as stated in 4, ll. 12-13 ; the strikers being free citizens could not be forced to work or arrested, so long as they did not disturb the peace.

(e) Punishment, if inflicted, was aimed not at strikers as such, but at men who had committed breaches of the peace or had tried to evade official enquiry (1, l. 13 ; 2, l. 6).

(f) If accompanied by riot—as in 1—the strike was dealt with as a breach of public order and its leaders were arrested.

Though any inference from such scanty material must be treated with due reserve, yet pending the elucidation of our texts and, as one may hope, the finding of fresh evidence, the foregoing conclusions may be provisionally accepted.

¹ *Livre du Préfet* (ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον), XXII, 1-2: οἱ χειροτέχνηαι οἷ τε λεπτοὺργοι καὶ μαρμάραιοι γυψοπλάσται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν ἔργῳ στοίχημα ποιήσωσι καὶ ἀρραβῶνας λάβωσι, μὴ καταλιμπανέτωσαν τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ἕτερον ἐπεμβαινέτωσαν εἰ μὴ τελείως τοῦτο ἐργάσαιντο ὅταν ἀπληστία ἢ κακουργία οἱ ἐργολάβοι τὸ ἔργον καταλιπόντες ὁ ἐξελάβοντο ἑτέρου ἔργου ἐφάψωνται, ἐξέστω τῷ ἐργοδοτήσαντι προμαρτυρήσασθαι τούτους ἐνώπιον ἀκροατῶν ὑπομνήσκοντι καὶ τὴν ἐκτεθείσαν ἔγγραφον συμφωνίαν ἢ διὰ λόγου προβάσαν, καὶ εἰ ἀμελήσειαν τοῦ πληρῶσαι τὴν τοιαύτην μίσθωσιν, ἐγκαλείσθω τῷ ἐπάρχῳ καὶ τότε ἕτερον προσλάβοιτο οἱ δὲ ἀθετήσαντες ἐργολάβοι διὰ δαρμού καὶ κουρᾶς καὶ ἐξορίας σωφρονιζέσθωσαν ἀπαιτούμενοι καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ὅσον ἔλαβον παρεχόμενον τῷ ἐργοδοτήσαντι, ἀμισθὶ δηλονότι τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου ἀπωθουμένων.

NOTES ON I.

The photograph is from the text now in the Museum at Constantinople; I had also an excellent squeeze kindly lent by A. Wilhelm. Height of slab 0.60 m., width 0.80, thickness 0.06; height of letters in *a*, 0.025 to 0.016; in *b*, 0.014 to 0.01. Tall letters are occasionally used; e.g. in l. 4, Υ in ὑποσχέιν and συμφέρον and the first Ε in ἐπει.

Formerly supposed to be from Magnesia ad Maeandrum (*Inscr. v. Magn.*, 114), the inscription is now known to be from Ephesus, because (*a*) the dating by the *prytanis*, unknown at this period in Magnesia (Wilamowitz, *G.G.A.*, 1900, p. 570), was in use at Ephesus (*Forsch. in Eph.* II, n. 27, 431, 449); (*b*) the month Klareon, which was not in the Magnesian calendar, has been shown by J. Keil to be Ephesian: *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XVI, 1913, Beibl. 207; *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.*, 57, 1914, n. 171. The correct attribution, Wilhelm informs me, is due to Hiller v. Gärtringen, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1915, p. 243.

The probable date is about 150 to 200 A.D., as may be gathered from *Forsch. in Eph.*, II, n. 72; the script of nos. 26 and 54 suggests that our text may be even later than 200 A.D.

L. 1: After συνθήκ[as the bases of many letters are visible, but few can be read with certainty.

L. 2-3: σ[μικρο]λ[ό]γον was proposed by Wilhelm; but σ[καίο]λ[ό]γον (Calder) seems more appropriate in connection with "recklessness"; in the *Livre du Préfet*, XXII, 3,¹ it is said of a workman that καὶ σκαϊότητι τῶν λόγων αὔξει τοὺς μισθοὺς. The Σ is now by no means clear on the stone.

L. 3: κα(τ)α(θ)ρασίαν is the convincing emendation by Calder of ΚΑΙΑΟΡΑΣΙΑΝ; it is regularly formed from καταθρασύνομαι, and gives a satisfactory sense.

After ἐχρῆν the trace of a sloping stroke is visible; we must read [αὐ]τοὺς instead of τοὺς.

L. 7: In prohibiting assemblies κατ' ἐταρίαν, this proconsul was imitating Pliny's Bithynian edict "quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram," and Trajan's distrust of "hetaeriae praegraves."²

L. 12: δεκνειρ[ί]ας: The clearness of the seven letters (the P alone not being complete, though certain) and the fact that they look like a transliteration from Latin suggest the probability that the edict here quoted the word engraved on the branding-iron, a word which would have been in the genitive (= "the property of . . ."). δεκνειρία may represent *decuria*³ (= decu-uiria, cf. Pauly-Wiss. *R.E.*, IV, 2316), an etymological spelling of *decuria*, the body in which the proconsul's lictors were enrolled. The period of our text is precisely that in which their *decuratio* first appears; cf. *C.I.L.*, III, 6759 (Ankara, about A.D. 166): *dec(uralis) lictor Fufid(ii) Pollionis leg(ati) Gal(atiae)*. The penalty here ordained may have been executed by a lictor with an iron marked "δεκνειρίας" (or "δεκουρίας"), and, if so, that term used alone, as here, in connection with the penalty of branding would have meant ". . . with the mark of the proconsul's *decuria* of lictors." Perhaps that mark was not branded, but tattooed with needles and ink, as in Herodas V, 66; for details as to the use and method of which punishment, cf. Headlam-Knox's edition (1922), pp. 195, 257, 265. Here it was doubtless an official device for identifying a dangerous character.

L. 12-13: [ἐπὶ πο]δὸς προσσημωθήσεται is a probable restoration because σημεῖον denotes a branded mark; Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, I, 5679: (of a donkey) ἐχούσης σημεῖον [ἐπὶ . . . [τοῦ τραχή]λου αὐτῆς; and branding would have been a punishment

¹ Cited p. 44.

² Plin. et Traian., *epist.* (Kukula), 34 and 96.

³ The assumption of this peculiar spelling *decuria* is perhaps unnecessary in view of the lack of uniformity with which Latin vowels were transliterated. E.g. in dates εἰδῶν is usual (*I.G.R.R.*, I, 449), but εἰδυῶν is also found: *I. v. Priene*, 41.

suitable for a fugitive offender caught in hiding; cf. Wenger, *Z. Sav. Stift.*, rom. Abt. 42, 1921, p. 614.

L. 15: Above the Δ is engraved ΙΣ in small letters. This abbreviation for ἰσ(ταμένον) is like Α for ἀ(πρόντος); cf. instances collected in *J.H.S.*, XXXVII, 1917, p. 101, n. 12.

At the end of the line Wilhelm (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 297) has proposed εἰς in place of κατά, and takes μέρος as possibly having here the modern and Byzantine meaning: "spot," "locality." The sense of "order," "rotation," seems to me more appropriate, as meaning that an "extraordinary" meeting was called to deal with the emergency. I therefore retain κατά, but, so long as this phrase remains unique in such a context, the restoration will be uncertain.

L. 17: προστη(σάμενος) cannot be restored here, as proposed in *I. v. Magn.*, 114, the letters in the squeeze being clear and almost exactly as read by Fontrier, *Mouseion*, 1884-1885, p. 72.

NOTES ON 4.

This document is engraved on the left side of a block of bluish marble, lying in a field within the area occupied by Sardis in Roman and Byzantine days, near the fork in the Ahmedli-Salikhli road.¹ Height of block, 2.09 m.; width, 0.95 m.; thickness, 0.83 m. On its front are two inscriptions: (1) a partly erased Latin dedication to Septimius Severus—of whose statue this appears originally to have been the pedestal—in deeply cut lettering;² (2) the preamble to an imperial edict, apparently of the 6th century, engraved over the earlier text.³ The side bearing our inscription has at the top almost its full width of 0.83 m., but lower down is narrowed by the splitting off before the year 1750⁴ of a large slice from the back of the block. This appears always to have stood or lain on its present site, for its finely moulded marble base, which was seen in 1826,⁵ lies directly below it, and had either of these stones been removed from its original position, they would probably not thus be found together.

The faintness of the letters and the blackness of this side, due to heavy weathering, coupled with the situation of the stone practically on the surface of the soil, seem to indicate that it has never been buried. The letters of our text, 0.024 to 0.018 m. in height, are larger in the upper lines and not evenly spaced; the drawing herewith (p. 37), made in 1914 from the stone, has been revised from a squeeze made by T. L. Shear and from a photograph (Pl. III).

Long since known from the copies of C. de Peyssonel,⁶ O. F. von Richter,⁷ and Ph. Le Bas,⁸ and often mentioned in books on social life in antiquity,⁹ this text has never before been published in full for lack of a complete copy. Now that we have this, the

¹The exact position is shown by H. C. Butler, *Sardis*, I, pt. 1, *ill.* 18, F.

²*C.I.L.*, III, supp. 7105, pp. 1284, 2071.

³*Mouseion*, 1878-1880, p. 183.

⁴Cf. Peyssonel's text, showing almost the same lacunæ as those of 1914.

⁵L. de Laborde notices the block and "la base qui la supportait isolée"; *Voyage en Orient*, 1838, *Voy. de l'Asie Min.*, p. 14.

⁶*Observations hist. et géogr. sur les Peuples barbares*, 1765, p. 346, with facsimile of the text (p. 37 above), which he says took him two hours to copy.

⁷J. G. E. Ewers, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande*, 1822, pp. 590-591, n. 43; inscriptions re-edited with voluminous notes by J. V. Francke, *Gr. u. lat. Inschr. v. O. F. v. Richter*, 1830, p. 316, n. 57. On this and on Peyssonel's copy was based Boeckh's text, *C.I.G.*, 3467.

⁸LeBas-Waddington, *Voyage en Asie Min.*, III, 1, no. 628; especially the excellent commentary.

⁹E.g. Friedländer-Wissowa, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengesch. Roms*, 9th ed., 1919, I, p. 165.

document is doubtless still imperfect, because in the most important lines (24-45) about one-third of the letters are lost. In so far as the difficulties of interpretation may have been successfully surmounted, this will chiefly have been due to the advice of W. M. Calder and B. Haussoullier.¹ The substantial correctness of the principal clauses as here restored seems assured by their reasonableness and consistency, but their unique character renders certain passages doubtful, especially in ll. 34, 35, 39, 42. Apart from the interest of its subject-matter, the agreement is valuable as a mere document. Dated papyri of the fifth century are rare, except in the Oxyrrhynchus collection.² The fact that the legal verbiage is the same as that used in Egyptian contracts more than a century later facilitates the restoration of the last twelve lines.

In these notes P stands for Peyssonel, R for Richter, LB for LeBas.

L. 1: P's reading $\sigma\kappa\iota\alpha$ and LB's $\mu\sigma\kappa\iota\alpha$ makes $\xi\zeta\omicron\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha$ certain. The loop of the α still remains, also the lower curve of an ϵ or ς . . . which may be the second letter of $\tau\epsilon\chi\nu\iota\omega\acute{\nu}$, and the final -H, probably part of $\tau\eta\varsigma$.

L. 2: The last word was $\mu\eta\tau\rho\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$. The additions proposed by P and repeated in *C.I.G.*, 3467, are in dotted lines, which were P's way of marking his restorations. After the final ς , still partly visible, of $\mu\eta\tau\rho\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, the surface is blank.

L. 3: This consul may have been the Patricius who was *magister officiorum* under Leo I, and afterwards a candidate for the throne.³

L. 4: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\eta\lambda\omicron\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ = "*et qui fuerit nuntiatu*," the usual designation of the consul for the western half of the Empire (Ricimer in 459) before his name had become known.⁴

L. 5: $\delta\iota\varsigma\ \nu\epsilon\omicron\kappa\acute{o}\rho\omega$; such survivals from pagan times in Lydia and Caria were not unusual in the fifth century.⁵ Another instance is the month *Daisios*. Cf. this dating with that of the inscription in *B.C.H.*, II, 1878, p. 289 (A.D. 452, 5th indiction), which shows that the indiction year ended on Sept. 24.

L. 6: $\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\sigma\iota\omega\mu(\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega)\ \mu\alpha\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\iota\alpha\upsilon\acute{\omega}$. The *magistriani* was a civil servant belonging to a *schola* in Constantinople under the *magister officiorum*. His full title was $\mu\alpha\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\iota\alpha\acute{\nu}\delta\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\omega\acute{\nu}\ \theta\epsilon\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\ \delta\phi\phi\iota\kappa\iota\omega\acute{\nu}$ ⁶ and $\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\sigma\iota\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ = *devotissimus* was his regular epithet; *P. Oxy.*, VI, 904. The correct spelling here should be $\kappa\alpha\theta(\omega)\sigma\iota\omega\mu(\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega)$, ω being used for \omicron as in $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$, l. 4, $\nu\epsilon\omicron\kappa\acute{o}\rho\omega$, l. 5, $\xi\zeta\omicron\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha$, ll. 16, 58, and $\delta\mu[\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{o}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon]$, l. 57.

L. 8: The $\epsilon\kappa\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ (*defensor civitatis*) was an official of the central government, first appointed about A.D. 368 to redress abuses in a particular city, and afterwards invested with various administrative functions. He was authorized to keep public records (*acta conficere*) and hence this declaration made before him (ll. 6-7, 57-58) was doubtless filed in his official archives.⁷ In a small Egyptian town the post was filled by a man of modest rank, addressed as $\eta\ \sigma\eta\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$,⁸ whereas in Sardis the incumbent is *spectabilis* ($\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$), and of a rank next to that of the *magister officiorum*, who was *illustris*: *Not. Dig.*, XI, 30.

L. 9: $\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ $\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \upsilon\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$: cf. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, I, 5273 (suretyship contract, A.D. 487): $\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \upsilon\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$.

L. 11: $\tau\eta\upsilon\ \eta\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho[\alpha]\ \mu\epsilon\tau\iota\omicron\acute{\nu}\tau\omega\acute{\nu}\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\eta\upsilon$: cf. Aristot. *de sensu*, 436a: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\omega\acute{\nu}$

¹ I cannot express all that I owe to these friends, and am also much indebted for their kind help to A. Wilhelm, H. I. Bell, D. M. Robinson and my wife.

² *P. Lond.*, V, 1773 (A.D. 454), Bell's note.

³ O. Seeck, *Regesten d. Kaiser u. Päpste*, 1919, pp. 138, 424.

⁴ Mommsen, *Gesam. Schr.*, VI, p. 369, n. 2.

⁵ J. Geffcken, *Ausgang d. gr. röm. Heidentums*, 1920, p. 192.

⁶ *P. Cair.*, II, 67126, l. 58.

⁷ C. H. Baale, *Über d. Defensor Civit.*, 1904, pp. 55, 57, 93.

⁸ E. V. Drüffel, *Papyr. Studien z. byz. Urkundenwesen*, 1915, pp. 35, 41.

ιατρῶν οἱ φιλοσοφωτέρως τὴν τέχνην μετιόντες; Io. Chrysost., *Ep. I Cor. Homil.*, 31, 5: οὐκ οἰκοδόμος, οὐ τέκτων τίς γὰρ ἂν ἔλοιτο τῶν πλουτούντων ταῦτα μετιέναι ποτε; these passages show that μετιόντων here means "practising," and that τὴν ἡμ. τέχνην is "our craft," not "our union."¹ The makers of this agreement are clearly members of the Sardinian builders' union acting on its behalf, but we cannot tell what term they used in referring to it.

L. 13: ἐμποδίζειν means "to prevent" (one from doing something) in *Basil.*, VII, 2, 26, 6: εἰ τις ἐμποδίζει τῷ διαγνώμονι. Here it presumably refers to the stopping of the work through a boycott and through the intimidation of non-union men; see the edicts of Zeno quoted above. ἀναστίλε [ἀδικίαν]: cf. *P. Lond.*, V, 1676, l. 59: τὰ πικρὰ . . . ἀδικήματα ἀναστῆλαι.

The policy of this document is to prevent strikes for increased pay by agreement with the union. That the alternative policy (Zeno's) of simply prohibiting them was not successful may be gathered from the recurrence of such troubles a century later. *Nov.* 122 (A.D. 544) states that artisans have become grasping and διπλασιόνας καὶ τριπλασιόνας τιμάς τε καὶ μισθοὺς παρὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν ἐπιζητοῦσι.

L. 15: the omission of the ν, engraved in error as in ll. 5, 38, was suggested by Wilhelm; ἐπεζήτησ[εν πρὸς ἡμ.]ας: cf. *P. Lond.*, V, 1708, l. 158: ἐπεζήτησεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς; the verb implies a request, not a peremptory demand.

L. 16: ὁμολογίαν [τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξῇ]ς: *P. Lond.*, V, 1714, l. 21: ὁμολογία ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξῇς συμφώνοις; III, 1313: ὁμολογοῦμεν . . . τὰ ἐξῇς ὑποτεταγμένα, *P. Strassb.*, I, 40: ὁμολογίας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξῇς δηλουμένοις συμφώνοις.

L. 23: συ[ν]αρέσαντας = "agreed upon by both parties"; cf. *P. Flor.*, III, 384, l. 38: φόρου . . . συμπεφωνημένου καὶ συναρέσαντος.

L. 24: [παραίτησις] = *excusatio*, is here required because of the references in ll. 28, 43, showing that this was one of the contingencies previously mentioned.

L. 25: [ἐπὶ προφάσει αὐτοῦ], in antithesis to l. 30: ἡμ[ῶ]ν προφάσεω[s]. For the epithets cf. *Corp. Iur.* (ed. Schöll, 1895), III, p. 797: ἐπὶ ιδιωτικαῖς ἢ δημοσίαις προφάσεσιν; *C. Iust.*, I, 4, 26: δημοσία ἢ ιδιωτικὴ πρόφασις.

L. 26: [ἐξ ἡμῶν ὑπεισιέν]αι: the first two words are restored from l. 45, the third from l. 42. It was essential that the promises made by the union should be strictly limited to its members; hence ἡμῶν was needed here and in ll. 28, 30, 32, 45.

L. 27: τό [τε κτιζόμενον ἔργον . . .]: restored because of the reference in l. 32.

L. 28. If the union was to be held liable, it was necessary that any successor who had taken over the contract from the original workman should belong to the union as well as he.

L. 30: ἐπισχούσης]: this word is not certain, but gives the sense required.

L. 31: εἰ δὲ ὁ ἐργολαβήσας]: this restoration seems certain, since the two other main qualifying clauses begin with εἰ δὲ (ll. 23, 39), and in l. 24 the artisan is ὁ ἐργολαβήσας, while in ll. 39-40 he is ὁ τεχνίτης—a word too short for the space to be filled here.

L. 32-34: [κωλύη] . . . [κωλύσεως]: to denote the hindrance by the workman of the employer's work, seem highly probable restorations, because κωλύειν is used in *C. Iust.*, VIII, 10, 12, 9 (cited above) for the hindering of one workman by another. The lucid restoration of ll. 33-34 is due to Calder and to Haussoullier; their perception of the logical sequence of these articles has been immensely helpful.

L. 35: ἡμᾶς appears certain; the purpose of this clause was to define the union's financial responsibility for κώλυσις, so that the employer, instead of depending for compensation on the artisan, might claim it from the union. Assuming the correctness of the supplement to l. 34, κωλύσεως μισθός means "payment (of indemnity) for the period of hindrance," just as in *Æschines*, I, 104, ὁ τῆς πρυτανείας μισθός means "payment (of pension) for the period of the prytany." Instead of διδόναι (or διδόνε?) some other verb, e.g. παρέχιν, may be preferable. For the phrase τὸ γενόμε[ε]νο[ν μετα]ξὺ

¹ A. Stöckle, *op. cit.*, p. 9, shows that τέχνη in this sense is found only in Thrace.

σύμφωνον, cf. *P. Lond.*, 1717, l. 12: τῇς γεγενημένης μεταξύ ἡμῶν σ[υμφωνίας; *P. Flor.*, III, 384, l. 38: φόρον μ[ετα]ξύ ἡμῶν συμπεφωνημένον.

L. 37: ε[ῖ] π[οτ'] ἐ[φ'] ἐ[π]τὰ ἡμέραι[s: the restoration is somewhat doubtful because we may read ἐπὶτὰ or ἐ[φ'] ἐ[π]τὰ according as we believe the cavity between ε and πτα to be recent or ancient—as is that between σ and αντει below.

L. 39. The verb—perhaps ὑπῖνε instead of ὑπῖναι—is uncertain, though the general sense of the clause seems plain. Clause 4 (ll. 37-39) in which the employer's ἀνεξικακία enables the workman to keep his job, is in contrast to clause 5 (ll. 39-43) where by wilful default he forfeits it after a liberal period of ἀνεξικακία. The two-fold description τῷ τεχ. τῷ ἐργολαβ. emphasizes his retention of the work.

L. 40. The εἰ in [εἵκοσι] is preserved by R. The correction με(τ)ὰ for μεγα is obvious.

L. 41: [ἀνεξικακίαν: restored by Calder, is certain, for R. reads . εἰ . . ακιαν. Wilhelm's ὑ[γν.]άνη is equally convincing, for the aorist of ὑγαίνω means "having got well"; cf. Libanius, *Declam.* 47, VII, p. 583, Först.: ἀρρωστών ὑγίανας.

L. 42: ἀμελῇ δὲ τοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι: R. reads τον . . γαῖεσθαι,—and we may assume that he misread ν for υ, as in l. 43.

L. 43: παραιτησαμένον: R.'s text . . αμενον, P.'s . . αμεν . . The sense is: "as we stipulate (in ll. 27-30) the conditions [*lit.*: make the reckoning] of the παραιτησάμενος." The ἕτερος (l. 42) is bound to work only if, like the substitute of ll. 27-30, he replaces a member of the union, etc. The former provisions require ll. 43-50 as their sequel, since ll. 23-30 fail to mention what redress the employer would have if the union did not cause ἕτερον τεχνίτην (l. 26) to carry on the work.

L. 45: συν[τ]ιθέμεθα [. . . . ἀποτίσ]ειν λόγῳ προστίμου; cf. *P. Lond.*, 1708, l. 15: συνέθετο ἐπιδόειν . . λόγῳ δωρέας. A restoration fitting the space would be συντιθέμεθα [μὲν λίτρας δέκα ἀποτίσ]ειν, which would make the union's penalty fifteen times as great as that of the artisan, but we have no indication of the true amount.

L. 47: [εἰσπ]ραξόμενον . . νομίσματα ὀκτώ; cf. *Nov.*, 123, cap. 43: τοῦ ἀρχοντος . . πρόστιμον . . εἰσπραττομένον. This fine of 8 *nomismata* (gold ounces) was not heavy; in *P. Oxy.*, I, 135, it is to be paid by a lead-worker, and is the penalty provided in *P. Flor.*, III, 384, l. 52. The gold pound (λίτρα) = 12 *nomismata*; see R. Berger, *Strafklauseln i. d. Pap.*, p. 101, n. 4.

L. 48: [ὑποκείσεσθαι κα]ὶ κτλ; cf. *Nov.*, 126, cap. 1: τῆς καθοσιώσεως ἐγκλήματι ὑποκείσονται.

L. 50: [βεβαί]ας καὶ ἀρραγοῦς καὶ ἀσαλεύτου; cf. *P. Lond.*, 1724, l. 54; 1731, l. 34, where the epithets are βέβαιος, ἀρραγῆς, ἀσάλευτος, ἔννομος. On these cf. *Hermes*, XLIII, 1908, p. 533.

L. 51: [τῆς παρούσης ὁ]μολογίας; cf. *P. Mun.*, I, 14, l. 97: τῇ παρούσῃ ὁμολογία. ἀναπ[οτρέπει]ς; cf. *P. Cair.*, 67098, l. 4: ἀν[απο]τρέπτω γνώμη.

L. 53: προ[διορισθεῖσιν] or προ[δ]ηλουμένοις.

L. 54-55: ἐνεχύρου . . . ὑπάρξοντα; cf. *P. Lond.*, 1717, l. 41: ὑποθεμένη . . . πάντα μου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπ[άρ]ξοντα κινητὰ καὶ ἀκίνητὰ ἐνεχύρο[υ] λόγῳ; 1661, l. 21: πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπάρξοντα γενικῶς καὶ ἰδικῶς; *P. Flor.*, III, 384, l. 102: πάντων ἡμῶν ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ ὑπαρξόντων.

L. 56: ἐν παντὶ εἶδει καὶ γέ[ν]ει; same phrase in *P. Cair.*, 67126, l. 54: καὶ πρὸς τὰ . . . [ἐπερωτηθέντες]; cf. *P. Lond.*, 1724, l. 67: εἰς τὰ προγεγραμμένα πάντα ἐπερωτηθέντες.

L. 57: (ὦ)μ[ολογήσαμεν] would be correct, the ο being for ω as in ll. 3, 5, 7.

L. 58-59: ἡμέρα [καὶ ὑπατία τῇ προγε]γραμμένη; same phrase in *P. Cair.*, 67126, l. 56.

The first fascicule of M. Grégoire's *Recueil des Inscr. gr. chrét. d'A.M.* reached me after these notes were in type.

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IV.

THE ELEVATED COLUMNS AT SARDIS AND THE SCULPTURED PEDESTALS FROM EPHEBUS

by HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER¹

THE discovery during the recent excavations at Sardis of two roughly cubical pedestals, each supporting a column, in the eastern porch of the Temple of Artemis, raises once more the question of how we should restore the sculptured pedestals of the Artemision at Ephesus, fragments of which were found by J. T. Wood in the original exploration of that building.

These fragments from Ephesus were not in situ, and their aggregate number is not sufficient to account for more than four pedestals of the Hellenistic temple; yet it is possible to ascertain from them the approximate size of the pedestals, and to show that each was large enough to have supported one of the temple columns. The total original number of such columns has, however, never been accurately determined from the fragments that have come to light. At Sardis two such pedestals are still in place; they stand one on either side of the longitudinal axis of the temple just behind the middle intercolumniation of the eastern front row (Pl. IV). It is plain that at the east end there were never more than these two, for all the other columns of the east porch preserved in varying heights stand on ordinary Ionic bases; but it can be shown that two similar pedestals bearing columns stood in corresponding positions at the west end of the temple.

The Ephesus fragments now in the British Museum can be proved, from the style of their decoration, to have belonged to the Hellenistic temple, and the Museum also possesses one

¹[The death of Howard Crosby Butler on August 13, 1922, is a heavy loss to research in Asia Minor.—*Edd.*]

fragment sculptured in archaic style of a similar pedestal from the earlier building. Hence we see that this peculiar feature of the Hellenistic Artemision was taken over from its "Croesean" predecessor.¹

The pedestals at Sardis are entire, though unfinished, and each carries the plinth, base, and about one-third of the shaft of an Ionic column. Each pedestal is composed of four courses of marble: at the bottom an unfinished plinth, 40 cm. high, two finished courses, 2.35 m. square and 32 and 44 cm. high respectively, and an uppermost course of rough blocks 1 m. high which overhangs the lower courses and is much wider at the top than below. The plinth of the column is 2.30 m. square and 38 cm. high. Most of this material was used here for the second time, the larger unfinished blocks still showing, by grooves at their angles, that they were originally column-drums of considerable dimensions. No bas-reliefs are found upon them, but nobody examining their closely fitted joints and rough unfinished faces can doubt that they were intended to receive sculptured decoration (Pl. V). The two elevated columns, on the other hand, are complete in every detail, and are the only entirely finished examples among the fifteen partly preserved at the east end of the temple. That east end appears to have been undergoing extensive repairs which had not been finished at the time of its destruction. It is difficult to know exactly when these repairs were begun, but one important fact emerges from a careful study of the remains, as I have shown in a volume about to be published,² namely that the bases and shafts of these two elevated columns are much older than the pedestals supporting them, and that they were taken down from some building more ancient than the present temple and re-erected upon new pedestals. The highly finished plinths, the well turned scotias and reeds, the delicate carving of the torus mouldings, judged by

¹ Four restored pedestals, embodying original sculptured remains from the Hellenistic temple, are set up in the Ephesus Room at the British Museum; three contain two fragments each and the fourth contains three fragments, but these nine fragments are more or less conjecturally arranged. The only sculptured portion of a similar square pedestal from the early "Croesean" temple is described in the *B.M. Catalogue of Sculpture*, 1892, I, No. 32 = Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus*, 1908, p. 296, No. 32; Atlas, Pl. XVI, 14. Compare, however, *J.H.S.*, XXXVII, 1917, p. 2, fig. 2.

² *Sardis, Publ. of the Amer. Soc. for the Excavation of Sardis*, Vol. II.

their proportions and by their technique, are to be classed among the earliest details of Ionic columns thus far known in Asia Minor, and seem to be little more than a century subsequent in date to the corresponding features in the archaic Artemision at Ephesus.

All this is, however, merely an introduction to the two problems in hand: first, the bearing of these pedestals upon the question of how those found at Ephesus were originally placed, and second, the origin of this peculiar feature, which appears only in the temples of Artemis at Ephesus and at Sardis. At Ephesus the question as to the location of the pedestals is complicated by our uncertainty as to the original position of the sculptured column-drums found by Wood. Pliny mentions the columns "carved in relief" to which the drums belonged, but has nothing to say about their location nor about the pedestals. The subject of the placing of these drums and pedestals was first approached by Wood, their discoverer, in 1875 and again in 1884. A new theory of reconstruction was advanced in 1877, 1883 and 1884 by James Fergusson.¹ The most widely known restoration of the temple of Ephesus is, however, that of the late A. S. Murray, adopted by Choisy,² which has been acutely criticized by W. R. Lethaby³ in the light of further study of the fragments in the British Museum and of a new interpretation of Wood's notes. All these theories were put forward before the excavations at Sardis had revealed the new pedestals in 1912.

In the Ephesian temple Murray would not have these square piers set upon the stylobate, i.e. on the top of the platform, but provided a site for them directly in front of the steps, placing upon each pedestal a column with sculptured drum. Lethaby arranges both the pedestals and the sculptured drums on the platform level in separate rows. Neither of these authorities

¹ See *R.I.B.A. Sessional Papers*, 1874-1875, pp. 135-147 (Wood), and 1876-1877, pp. 77-79 (Fergusson); *Transactions*, 1882-1883, pp. 147-168 (Fergusson), and 1883-1884, pp. 165-174 (Wood and Fergusson). The *R.I.B.A. Proceedings*, 1883-1884, pp. 165-169, give an abstract of the last of these discussions.

² *R.I.B.A. Journal*, III (3rd ser.), 1895-1896, pp. 41-54; A. Choisy, *Histoire de l'Architecture* (1899), I, p. 344.

³ *Greek Buildings represented by Fragments in the Brit. Mus.*, London, 1908, pp. 6-25.

places the sculptured drums upon ordinary bases—the arrangement probably adopted in the archaic temple, and shown in Wood's early restoration—Murray preferring to set them directly upon the platform, and Lethaby to put a plinth under each. Lethaby states that “the bottoms of the fluted drums are exactly the same size as the sculptured drums” ;¹ it should therefore be possible to place the sculptured drums upon the regular Ionic bases, as the restored archaic drum is actually shown by Murray,² and thus to avoid the very ugly effect produced when the astragal at the foot of the drum rests either upon the pavement or upon a plinth ; for the bottom of the sculptured drum, like that of any other Ionic shaft, is provided with apophyge, fillet and astragal. The circular markings found by Murray at the top of the pedestal do not necessarily give the actual bottom diameter of the member set upon it ; for, as is shown in many of the columns at Sardis, the bottom drums of shafts and the under side of the lowest member of bases were often so deeply undercut that the diameter of the actual bearing surface is much smaller than was apparent to the observer.

It has not occurred to any of the restorers of the Ephesus Artemision to introduce upon the sculptured pedestals columns of a smaller order than the others ; for until now there has been no example in which columns of two different scales were used in the same row or in a single portico. This example is furnished by the discovery at Sardis (Pl. VI). The lower drums of the ordinary Sardian columns are not sculptured, nor had they even been fluted when ruin came upon the temple. The shafts still in place do not belong to the original construction, but to a comparatively late restoration ; yet it is not impossible that they, too, were intended to receive decoration in bas-relief.

But the presence or absence of sculptured drums in the Sardis temple is beside the question ; the important facts are that we there find pedestals in place, that these pedestals were to have been sculptured, and that they carried columns of a scale smaller than that of the other columns in the porch. Since the pedestals of the Sardis temple are the only ones ever discovered in situ, it would seem that we have in them the best precedent for the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

² *R.I.B.A. Journal*, loc. cit., plate facing p. 52.

placing of those in the Artemision at Ephesus. The fragments of those found at Ephesus are few ; therefore it is unnecessary to suppose that the pedestals themselves were numerous, as is assumed in every restoration hitherto suggested. Only two are required in each of the two porches. These I would put in positions corresponding as nearly as possible to those of the pedestals at Sardis, namely, on either side of the main axis just behind the front row of columns. If it can be conclusively shown that there were columns between the antæ of the Ephesus temple, as was not the case at Sardis, the number of elevated columns with carved pedestals might be increased. Columns of small scale would be placed upon these pedestals according to the model found at Sardis. The thirty-six sculptured drums—the number mentioned by Pliny¹—would then be set upon ordinary Ionic bases, eighteen at either end of the temple.² If the Ephesus pedestals were situated like those in the Sardis temple, and if the sculptured drums were placed on regular Ionic bases with plinths, the sculpture both of the rectangular pedestals and of the cylindrical column-drums would all have been on one level, and the effect would have been much more pleasing than it is in those restorations where the bas-reliefs are arranged on different levels or on two storeys.

In drawing from the discovery at Sardis any inferences as to the origin of this almost unique feature in the architecture of Hellenistic times, we must never lose sight of the fact that the temple, as we see it to-day—to whatever period it may belong—was the successor of a much earlier building erected under Croesus or before his time. This we know from foundations of such a building discovered among the substructures of the later one, and from a coin of Croesus found in the ancient “basis” of the

¹ *N.H.*, XXXVI, 95 = Stuart Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture*, p. 171.

² If, however, *columnae caelatae* (columns carved in relief) be a popular term without technical accuracy, there seems to be no reason why it should not include both round-footed and square-footed columns, that is *any column having a sculptured base*, no matter whether that base was a round drum or a square pedestal. Should this be the correct interpretation, then the eighteen “*caelatae*” columns at each end (making up Pliny’s total of thirty-six) might well have consisted of sixteen (i.e. two rows of eight) in front of the antæ and the pair between the antæ. That pair, standing like the Sardian “pedestal-columns” before the main portal, would probably have had square pedestals, while the sixteen columns in front of the antæ would have had round drums.

cult-statue in the middle of the cella. The later Sardian temple, like that of Ephesus, was in all probability strongly influenced by its predecessor. Its only feature foreign to temple architecture, as we know it in all other places except one within the range of Hellenic culture, was the column set on a high sculptured pedestal. The one other certain example of that feature was in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, where, as we have seen, both it and the unique columns "carved in relief" existed in the archaic temple as well as in its Hellenistic successor. We do not know whether the predecessor of the present building at Sardis was older or younger than the archaic temple at Ephesus; if it were younger, one might assume that a detail so unusual as the elevated column was copied from the example at Ephesus. We have it on the authority of Herodotus, however, that most of the columns of the earlier Ephesian temple were the gift of Croesus, and inscriptions found upon their bases help to confirm his report.¹ It is impossible to determine how far the influence of Croesus extended in the construction of that temple in his subject city of Ephesus; whether his connexion with it was limited to giving the columns, as Herodotus seems to suggest, or whether he, or Chersiphron, the architect, was chiefly responsible for the whole design. It is to be hoped that data for the solution of these problems will be found in future excavations at Sardis, which are likely to shed more light upon the Croesean and pre-Croesean architecture of Lydia. But, as the matter stands, now that a counterpart of that Ephesian detail, the elevated column with pedestal, is to be seen in the capital of Lydia, one is inclined to assign to Lydian influence a detail so non-Hellenic, found in a building erected in part at least by a Lydian monarch at Ephesus which lay on the very border of Lydia.

There was in the architecture of the peoples of Nearer Asia a tendency to give special significance to two columns flanking the entrance to a holy or particularly important place. We find this in Jachin and Boaz, the two columns which Hiram, King of Tyre, made for Solomon's temple,² and in the architecture of the Hittites, where the columns³ are supported by pedestals carved

¹ Herod., I, 92; see *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* No. 518.

² *1 Kings* vii, 21.

³ John Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, London, Constable, 1910. Pls. LXXVIII and LXXXII.

with sphinxes, while a somewhat similar treatment appears in Assyrian reliefs depicting shrines with distyle porches.¹

It has always been customary to assume that the archaic Artemision at Ephesus was a product of purely Ionian culture, although the name of Croesus is the only one that has been found carved upon its fragments²; but the indications at present are that one at least of its features, namely the elevated column, was of Lydian origin. It is easily within the realm of possibility that future discoveries at Sardis may establish the theory that the order so long called the Ionic—of which there are so few early examples in Ionia—was in reality the Lydian order, developed under Alyattes and Gyges and carried to the coast by Croesus when he built, or rebuilt, the time-honoured shrine of Artemis at Ephesus.

¹ Cf. F. Benoît, *L'architecture : antiquité*, pp. 141, 145, 153, 157.

² On fragments of bases from the *later* temple are inscriptions recording gifts, probably of columns, by an unknown Sardinian woman and by a man apparently named Aristonax. *Inscr. Brit. Mus.*, No. 519.

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V.

THE EPIGRAPHY OF THE ANATOLIAN HERESIES

by W. M. CALDER¹

WHEN F. Cumont published his invaluable catalogue of the Christian inscriptions of Asia Minor in 1895, he was able, among 463 inscriptions, to point to two² containing explicit references to those heretical movements which made Anatolia notorious in the early centuries of our era, and provide one of many proofs of the vitality of its Christianity. One of these inscriptions, the epitaph of the Lydian bishop Macedonius, who boasts of his opposition to the Anomœans, may be described as anti-heretical. The other, which belongs to the class of inscription dealt with in this article, the epitaphs of members of heretical communities, is engraved on the tombstone of a Novatian deacon of Laodicea Combusta, a city which will presently appear as a heretical centre in the later 4th century. M. Cumont throws doubt on the heretical character of another inscription of the same city,³ which we can now claim with some confidence as the epitaph of a member of an Encratitic sect. His list indeed contains references to other inscriptions which have since been claimed as unorthodox. He refers to the three earliest known examples of the interesting north-west Phrygian group of Christian epitaphs, dating from the 3rd century, in which both deceased and survivors, in sharp contrast with the early Christian custom of Asia Minor generally, are declared to be Christians.⁴ This group, which now numbers eleven, will receive attention presently. His list also contains a

¹ Mr. W. H. Buckler, Dr. Rendel Harris, Dr. Darwell Stone and Prof. C. H. Turner have all helped me, with information or criticism, in the preparation of this paper. I offer them my thanks.

² *Mélanges d'Arch.*, XV, p. 247.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

reference to the monument dedicated by Gourdos, a presbyter of Iconium, to his adopted son or foundling, Tyrannos.¹ The peculiarly phrased epitaph of Gourdos himself, in which he is described as *ιερεὺς Θεοῦ ὑψίστου* has since been discovered,² and Ramsay, with much probability, has claimed Gourdos for a priest in the Hypsistarian sect which the father of Gregory Nazianzen deserted for the Catholic Church in A.D. 324-325.³ Ramsay has further detected a number of unusual features in the early Christian epigraphy of Lycaonia⁴ which appear to point to unorthodox tendencies, but which, in the present state of our knowledge regarding a period when Christian institutions were in process of growth and development, it would be rash to class as heretical. Finally H. Grégoire⁵ has made the ingenious suggestion that in an inscription of Mersivan which reads *κυμητήριον τῆς μακαρίας [Χ]ιόνης ἡ τὰ Εἰεροσόλυμα ΕΥ·ΗΤΗCOYCA* we should restore (*εὔρηκεν*) *εὐ[χ]ήτης οὔσα*, making it the epitaph of a member of the Messalian sect, who denied the efficacy of the sacraments, and held that only continuous prayer could unlock the door of Heaven.

Since M. Cumont made his collection, the *corpus* of the Christian inscriptions of Asia Minor has enormously increased in bulk; their number must now approach two thousand. Yet, even when the texts published for the first time in this article are added to those already known, the number of heretical as compared with orthodox inscriptions is astonishingly small. The proportion certainly does not correspond to the actual numerical strength and influence of the heretical bodies as compared with the Catholic Church. Anatolia was indeed notorious in the early Church as a hot-bed of heresies; here heresy flourished luxuriantly, heretical churches established themselves freely all over the peninsula, and heretical leaders competed with the orthodox bishops for the headship of many Christian communities. Many districts, some of them well represented in

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 280, No. 273.

² *J.H.S.*, 1902, p. 124.

³ *Luke the Physician*, pp. 389, 401.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 400 ff.

⁵ *Stud. Pont.*, III, p. 164. M. Grégoire suggests (letter of June 28, 1922) that in the inscription published by Perrot, *Expl. de la Galatie*, I, p. 171, No. 10 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 387) = *Hommaire de Hell, Voyage* . . . IV, p. 341, we should read *ὁ δ' ἐς [κ]αθαρόν πράξας τὰ ὅσα οὖνομα Γρηγόριος*, making it the epitaph of a member of the sect of Cathari.

the *corpus* of Christian inscriptions, were largely heretical in the 3rd and 4th centuries of our era.

In searching for an explanation of this disproportion, we must begin by drawing a distinction between the pre-Constantinian and post-Constantinian periods. Before the victory of Constantine, even at times when persecution was not active, the Christian went in danger of his life. This is not to say that, over long periods and in many districts where Christians were in the majority or commanded influence, the Christians were not practically immune from molestation. But the legal and administrative machinery of persecution was always at hand, and the evilly-disposed had usually little difficulty in setting it in motion. It therefore became a duty to fellow-Christians to avoid any overt act or open profession which might lead to severe measures on the part of the Roman government officials. Hence we find that on the vast majority of pre-Constantinian gravestones the religion of the dead is carefully veiled; and this of course applies to heretics as well as to Catholics. After the victory of Constantine in A.D. 312 (or, more accurately, as we are speaking of Asia Minor, after the final overthrow of Licinius in A.D. 323) it became safe to declare oneself a Christian, and most of the Christian gravestones of this period are marked by definite Christian characteristics.

Of the heretical inscriptions which form the subject of this article all except the "Christians to Christians" group from north-west Phrygia, belong to the post-Constantinian period. Their rarity is surprising. We cannot assume, at any rate in the case of the stronger heretical bodies, the operation of a motive similar to that which made all Christians in the earlier period conceal their profession. Such a motive may have been present at particular times of crisis, such as that following the proscription of a large number of heresies by the Emperors in A.D. 428.¹ But in the last three quarters of the 4th century Anatolian heresy was certainly in no mood to hide its head. It should be observed further that among the epitaphs which we can claim with more or less probability as heretical, the majority do not expressly announce the sect to which the deceased

¹ *Codex Just.*, I, tit. 5.

belonged. Only at Laodicea Combusta, in the whole of Asia Minor, did this custom prevail. It is certain that many heretical inscriptions lie concealed in the Christian *corpus*, and we may look forward with confidence to the discovery of heretical symbols or formulæ which elude us at present. Ramsay, a pioneer here as elsewhere, has pointed the way to such an investigation in the concluding chapter of *Luke the Physician*. But when all allowance has been made, it remains puzzling that the Anatolian heretics should have left such a faint impression on the Christian epigraphy of the country. The Laodicean epitaphs, as we shall see presently, betray no hesitation in avowing adherence to a sect. And we must assume a similar spirit elsewhere.

The explanation perhaps lies in the circumstances of burial and the dedication of the sepulchral monument. Little is known regarding the extent to which Christians began to be buried in separate cemeteries in the 3rd and 4th centuries; but it is probable that the custom of burial in cemeteries had already established itself. In the Hellenized cities of Asia Minor, the tombs of the dead were laid out along the roads leading from the city. The Christians at an early period adopted the custom of burying their dead in cemeteries near churches, and especially near churches containing the relics of martyrs.¹ If we may assume that this custom was widespread at the period with which we are dealing, the absence of reference to the type of Christianity professed by this or that sect becomes intelligible. To lie in a heretical cemetery was enough.

The care taken by pre-Constantinian Christians generally to disguise the religion of their dead lends great interest to a group of inscriptions which reflect a totally different attitude, the Christian inscriptions of the Tembris valley in north-west Phrygia. In this valley eleven inscriptions,² one of them dated A.D. 248-249, and all belonging to the 3rd century, declare the religion both of

¹ Ramsay, *Stud. E.R.P.*, pp. 273 f., has argued that the early Anatolian custom was to bury the dead beside the *Hieron*. In districts where this custom lasted into the Christian period, burial beside the church would replace it as the population turned Christian.

² Published by Anderson in *Stud. E.R.P.*, pp. 214 ff., Nos. 11-15, 17, 20, 21, 23. Add Nos. 81 and 428 in Mendel's *Catalogue du Musée de Brousse*. See also Ramsay in *Expos.*, 1888, pp. 250 ff. The formula occurs with variations.

the deceased and of the surviving members of the family by the use of the formula *Χριστιανὸι Χριστιανοῖς* engraved openly, and often in a prominent position, on the tombstone. A twelfth inscription of this class,¹ dated A.D. 278-279, and now at Ushak, is probably derived from the upper reaches of the same valley. It is an interesting fact, but one which in no way detracts from the significance of these epitaphs, that neither of the dated monuments falls within the periods when persecution was active in Asia Minor (A.D. 249-260 and 303-313).

This region, on the one hand, and the region of central and southern Phrygia on the other hand, are the two districts in Asia Minor which have yielded pre-Constantinian Christian inscriptions in considerable numbers. The inscriptions of the central and southern districts are all of the normal, veiled type, and the contrast between the monuments of the two areas calls for explanation. The source of the Christianity of the central and southern parts of Phrygia is not doubtful; this region was christianized from the Pauline churches in Laodicea, Colossae and Hierapolis.² From these cities, if we may trust the monuments, a uniform type of Christianity spread northwards and eastwards. The epigraphical records of this southern Christianity extend, continuously and in bulk, over Phrygia as far north as Akmonia and the Phrygian Pentapolis,—in other words, as far as the line of the great road leading from Smyrna and Philadelphia to north-western Phrygia and Galatia,—and are found sporadically in the cities to the north of this line and also further to the east.

Now both the inscriptions and ecclesiastical history preserve echoes of a sectarian struggle which took place in central Phrygia in the later part of the 2nd century. The anti-Montanist tractate preserved by Eusebius, the monument and legend of Avircius Marcellus, and the other Christian inscriptions of this area enabled Ramsay, as far back as 1888-1889,³ to reconstruct the main lines of the Montanist movement in central Phrygia. To the local details recorded in connexion with this movement we shall return presently; in the inscriptions we have evidence, none the less clear because unconscious, that in this region, teeming with cities, the orthodox Christianity propagated from

¹ Ramsay, *C.B.*, p. 558, No. 444.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 715.

³ *Expos.*, 1888, pp. 241 ff., 401 ff.; 1889, pp. 141 ff., 253 ff., 392 ff.

the south held the field. The Montanist missionary movement in central Phrygia seems to have been spread over the years 157-200;¹ the inscriptions, which begin to be common soon after A.D. 200, show that the issue was settled by that date. But the heresy known as the Phrygian was not expelled from Phrygia. In the Tembris valley inscriptions we can read a chapter of its local history in the 3rd century. Worst of in the Hellenized cities of central Phrygia, it turned to the rustic region of northern Phrygia and sought its converts among the small towns and villages which were as yet but slightly affected by Hellenism.

We learn from Socrates² that Cotiaecium, the metropolis of the upper Tembris valley, had a Novatian bishop at the time of the Novatian synod at Pazon (A.D. 368) and there are other indications that this region and the region to the east of it—the heart of the old Phrygian empire, and throughout the early centuries a backward and conservative district—were affected by Novatianism at a later period.³ Even without corroborative evidence it would not be rash to argue back from Novatianism to Montanism; there is no doubt that in many places Montanism fused with Novatianism, and appeared in a Novatian guise in the 4th century.⁴ The change of name, for it was little more, appears to have taken place at Cotiaecium about the beginning of the 4th century.

Nothing that we know of the practice of the orthodox Church in Asia Minor prepares us for a community of Catholics who would engrave "Christians to Christians" on their tombstones in the 3rd century. We are here in a region which we have identified a few decades later as Novatian, and the conclusion is inevitable that these tombstones belonged to a Montanist community. The founder of Montanism, a converted priest of Cybele, had failed to convince the reason of the Hellenized city

¹ The appearance of Montanus is dated by Epiphanius in A.D. 157, by Eusebius in A.D. 172; these dates no doubt refer to different events. The anti-Montanist tractate addressed to Avircius Marcellus (Eus., *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 16) is dated A.D. 192. The epitaph of Avircius Marcellus was imitated in an inscription (*C.B.*, p. 720, No. 656) dated A.D. 216, and is therefore earlier than that date.

² *Hist. Eccl.*, IV, 28. Harnack (*Exp. of Christ.*, II, p. 362) strangely classes this bishop as pre-Nicene.

³ Anderson in *Stud. E.R.P.*, p. 202.

⁴ After this was written, I noticed that Harnack had drawn a similar conclusion: *Exp. of Christ.*, II, p. 356.

populations of central Phrygia. He, or his successors, knew better how to appeal to a rustic population which had found vent for its religious emotion in the orgiastic ritual of Cybele.

On the hypothesis that their dedicators were Montanists, the Tembris valley inscriptions cease to startle us. We find them difficult to explain only so long as we associate them with the orthodox Church in Asia Minor, for they contradict the principle on which that Church regulated its relations with pagan society. But considered as Montanist epitaphs, these inscriptions are what a reader of Tertullian would expect them to be, although they naturally do not represent the universal practice of the Montanists, even of those in the Tembris valley. Montanism laid stress on the duty of profession; for it the Christian life was a *militia*, and Christians were forbidden to seek safety by the concealment of their religion. What Tertullian had preached, the bolder spirits among the Phrygian peasants practised.¹

We can go further. The carving of the title of "Christian" on these tombstones reveals the working of an influence which we can trace back to the New Testament period. Let us glance at the few topographical data recorded in the early history of Phrygian Montanism. Montanus appears first at "Ardabau" ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν Μυσία "on the Phrygian-Mysian border."² This description would apply to any place on the proverbially vague borderland between Phrygia and Mysia from

¹ After this paragraph was written, I observed a striking confirmation of the Montanist character of these epitaphs. Epiphanius (*Hær.* LI, 33) informs us that the whole Church of Thyatira in Lydia turned Montanist: τότε δὲ ἡ πᾶσα ἐκκλησία ἐκενώθη εἰς τὴν κατὰ Φρύγας. The chronological data in this passage of Epiphanius offer difficulty (see Petavius ad loc.) ; but if the text is sound he dates this event in the middle of the 3rd century. The only 3rd century Christian inscription so far found in Lydia comes from the neighbourhood, and possibly from the territory, of Thyatira (Keil-Premmerstein, *Reisen in Lyd.*, II, p. 58). It runs as follows: [ἐτους . .] μῆ(νός) Λώου ι'· Αἰ[ρή(λιος)] Γάιος Ἀπφίανος Χριστιανὸς κατεσκεύασε τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτῷ κ(αὶ) Αἰ[ρή(λία)] Στρατο-νεικιανῇ τῇ γυνεὶ αὐτοῦ οὔσῃ κ(αὶ) αὐτῇ [Χριστιανῇ, μηδενὸς] ἐτέρου ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν τεθῆναι. εἰ δὲ τις [ἀλλότριον νεκρὸν τι]να ἐπενβάλη, θήσει τῇ Χωριανῶν κατοικίᾳ (δηνάρια) α. The loss of the date is regrettable, but this inscription is certainly contemporary with the Tembris valley group. I have refrained from using the evidence of two further Phrygian inscriptions, one of which certainly, and the other possibly, exhibits the title "Christian," as neither is demonstrably pre-Constantinian: *C.B.*, p. 536, No. 393 (Apamea) and Sterrett, *W.E.*, No. 555 (Apollonia in Galatia), on which see *C.B.*, p. 537.

² Eus., *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 16, 7.

Philadelphia to Dorylæum. That it lay near Philadelphia¹—perhaps on Philadelphian territory—is rendered probable by the next topographical detail recorded. The Montanists expected the coming down of the New Jerusalem and the *parousia* of the Paraclete to take place at Pepouza, which lies a little way to the east of Philadelphia. Thirdly, we find the Phrygian Pentapolis in the thick of the fight against Montanism about A.D. 200. These places mark so many stages in the local history of the Montanist missionary movement, which was active in central Phrygia in the later second century. It is a movement from west to east, and it appears to have originated in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia.

The observation has been made that the links which connected Montanus and his prophetesses Maximilla and Priscilla with Agabus, Judas, Silas and the daughters of Philip were Ammia of Philadelphia and Quadratus. We may suggest another, and more compelling bond, between the New Testament, Philadelphia, and Montanism. It is well known that Montanism drew its inspiration chiefly from the Johannine writings, and it is probable that Montanist reverence for the Apocalypse was a main reason for the tardy admission of this book to the canon of the Eastern Church. Now there is a document in the Apocalypse which could not fail to have a profound influence on a Christian missionary movement originating in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, the Letter to the Church in that city. In that Letter the descent of the New Jerusalem was foretold—is it an accident that this was one of the principal tenets of the Montanists, and that they expected the descent to take place in

¹ I cannot agree with Anderson, *loc. cit.*, that the Montanist movement “arose in the northern region of Phrygia,” if by this is meant north-west Phrygia. Nor can I accept the hypothesis put forward by Ramsay (*Expos.*, 1888, p. 263), and widely followed, that the Christianity of N.W. Phrygia was derived at an early period from Bithynia. In *C.B.*, p. 491, he thinks it probable that the open profession of Christianity on tombstones may be due to Montanist influence; on p. 510, footnote, he reverts to the theory of Bithynian origin, and also in *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 195. Anderson (*Stud. E.R.P.*, pp. 196 and 201) combines the two explanations. In the form given them by Ramsay the two theories are not formally inconsistent with each other; but both have been invoked to explain the difference in character between the Christianity of the two Phrygian districts, and only one is necessary. I regard these inscriptions as Montanist without qualification. The hypothesis of Bithynian influence at an early period rests on no independent support, and there is no reason to suppose that Bithynian Christianity differed from that of the Lycus valley.

the neighbourhood of Philadelphia? The "open door" of the Letter, as Ramsay sagaciously observed,¹ was the opportunity for missionary work along the road into Phrygia, which lay open before the gates of Philadelphia. Along that road the earliest Montanist mission was launched. And in the open profession of Christianity on the Montanist tombstones of the Tembris valley we find evidence of the spirit which won for Philadelphia the commendation "thou hast not denied my name."

If we may look upon the Orthodox-Montanist struggle in central Phrygia as a clash between Laodicean and Philadelphian Christianity, we are struck by the perspicacity of the author of the Apocalypse, who had seen both churches in an early stage of growth, and had detected the essential quality in the character of either.

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Laodicea Combusta lay in Phrygian territory, in the province Pisidia, at a point where three important roads met. A little to the east of the city, the road from Cappadocia *via* Archelais met the road from the Cilician Gates *via* Savatra; and in front of the city itself this combined route was joined by the southern branch of the road from the Cilician Gates, *via* Laranda and Iconium. These three roads continued north-westwards as one, to divide again, in the valley of Phrygia Paroreios, into three great routes, the Mæander valley and Hermus valley roads to the Ægean, and the road to Bithynia and Constantinople towards the north-west. A great stream of traffic thus flowed through Laodicea Combusta, and the city lay open to influences both from Syria and Cappadocia on the east, and from Phrygia on the west.

Such a position guaranteed the prosperity of Laodicea, and its Imperial and early-Byzantine remains show that it was a place of considerable size and importance. The early Christian remains are more considerable than those of any other town on the plateau of Anatolia, with the possible exception of Iconium. Yet Laodicea plays but a meagre role in the official history of Christianity. It appears at none of the earlier Councils; its first appearance is at Chalcedon in A.D. 451, and thereafter it is

¹ *Letters to the Seven Churches* p. 404.

attested only at Constantinople in A.D. 692. It was represented neither at Nicæa in A.D. 325 nor at Constantinople in A.D. 381. There was at least one Eugenius at Gangra about A.D. 340; and the bishop of Laodicea at that time was Julius Eugenius. But there is no likelihood that the city departed from its policy of non-participation on that occasion. Many Pisidian towns, more remote and more obscure, sent bishops to Nicæa or to Constantinople. We note this systematic boycott of the 4th century Councils, and pass on.

Epiphanius, writing in A.D. 374 or 375, describes the geographical distribution of the Encratitæ.¹ "They are still," he says, "numerous in Pisidia, and in Phrygia the Burnt, as it is called. Perhaps it was by a dispensation of God that the place (*πατρίς*) got this name among men, owing to its being burnt by the perversion of an error of this character and magnitude. For there are many heresies (or heretical sects) in the place (*χωρίον*). They are found also in parts of Asia and in Isaurian, Pamphylian and Cilician territory, and in Galatia; also in the Roman region, and in the territory of Syrian Antioch, but not everywhere." This account contains a difficulty, which points the way to its own solution. The expressions *πατρίς* and *χωρίον* regularly refer to a town or village, not to a district, as Phrygia the Burnt appears at first sight to be. The Lydian Katakekaumene—a charred volcanic district north of Philadelphia—was sometimes called the Phrygian or even the Mysian; but there is no evidence for a Phrygian Katakekaumene apart from the Lydian. Now the order of the present enumeration shows that the Lydian region cannot be meant, for it was included under Asia. I can feel no doubt that the reference here is to Laodicea the Burnt, which lay in the Phrygian region of Pisidia provincia, and is singled out for a special reason after Pisidia had been mentioned. The reason why it is singled out will appear in the sequel.²

¹ *Hæc.* XLVII (p. 399): πληθύνουσι δὲ οὗτοι καὶ εἰς δεῦρο ἐν τῇ Πισιδίᾳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ τῇ κεκαυμένῃ, οὕτω λεγομένη· ἴσως γὰρ κατὰ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν καὶ οὕτως ἡ πατρίς τοῦνομα εἴληφε καλεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, διὰ τὸ κεκαῦσθαι τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀπὸ τῆς διαστροφῆς τῆς τοιαύτης καὶ τοσαύτης πλάνης. πολλὰ γὰρ αἵρέσεις ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν μέρεσι τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰσαύρῳ καὶ Παμφύλῳ καὶ Κιλικίῳ γῆν, καὶ ἐν Γαλατίᾳ, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀντιοχείων τῆς Συρίας, οὐ πάντῃ δέ, ἢ τοιαύτη αἵρεσις.

² Possibly the text of Epiphanius has been corrupted from ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Φρυγίας τῇ κεκαυμένῃ. More probably the territory of Laodicea was known as a Katakekaumene,

In the spring of A.D. 374 Amphilochius became bishop of Iconium. In the course of the same year he wrote to consult Basil of Cæsarea on a large number of points of doctrine and discipline, many of them affecting matters of detail which had arisen in the administration of his diocese. Two of the questions put to Basil, one of them being the first in order, concerned the members of certain heretical sects, and the conditions on which they could be admitted to the Church. It is clear that this question was no academic one; it raised a practical issue, and shows that members of these sects were applying for admission to the Church in the diocese of Iconium—in other words, that communities of these heretics existed in the neighbourhood of Iconium. We possess the reply of Basil to the questions of Amphilochius in the two “canonical” epistles (Nos. 188 and 199), written early in A.D. 375. It is fortunate that in his reply Basil gives the names of the heretical bodies regarding whom Amphilochius had consulted him. They are the Cathari, the Encratitæ, the Saccophori, the Apotactitæ and the Novatians.¹ “Cathari” and “Novatians” were, of course, two names for a single sect.

The inscriptions of Laodicea Combusta contain explicit references to the Cathari, the Saccophori, the Apotactitæ and the Novatians, and it is highly probable that they refer also to the Encratitæ. They mention also a eunuch-presbyter, obviously an imitator of Origen. The mention of the Saccophori occurs in a context which shows that the Laodicean church was heretical in the later 4th century.

This brief statement of the character of the 4th century Christianity of Laodicea Combusta, as revealed by the inscriptions, explains the circumstances under which Amphilochius consulted Basil on the question of the admission of heretics. With a heretical city for his nearest neighbour, the bishop of Iconium found the question of heresy an urgent one. It reinforces our contention that the *Φρυγία κεκαυμένη* of Epiphanius

a description to which the charred and blackened hills to the south-east of the town entitle it. In that case the name Laodicea Katakekaumene no doubt originated in *Λαοδίκεια τῆς κατακεκαυμένης*.

¹ Vol. IV (Migne), §§ 268, 296. Basil, in the course of his argument (§§ 268 and 270) refers also to the Pepouzeni and Hydroparastatæ (see below), but it is not clear that he had been consulted regarding the former, or that the latter were distinct from the Saccophori.

was no other than Laodicea. Finally, it provides an adequate reason for the absence from the early Councils of a bishop from this important and accessible Christian city.¹

The student of early Christianity in central and southern Phrygia has little difficulty in arranging the epigraphical material in chronological order, for a fair number of Christian inscriptions in this area bear dates. In eastern Phrygia, on the other hand, only one early Christian inscription, which can be accurately dated, has so far been found.² Fortunately for our present purpose, this inscription belongs to Laodicea Combusta, and is unusually instructive. The epitaph of M. Julius Eugenius, bishop of Laodicea, was discovered in 1908, and is accessible to students in a number of publications.³ The reader may be reminded that Eugenius was a Laodicean Christian of rank and position (the son of a local decurio, and the son-in-law of a Roman senator), who suffered in the persecution under Maximinus Daia, and a short time afterwards was made bishop of Laodicea. He had held this position for twenty-five years when he composed his epitaph. These and other indications enable us to date the epitaph within a year or two of A.D. 340. Eugenius relates how he had rebuilt the church (which had been destroyed in the persecution), and adds a number of details regarding the new church, in which he evidently took great pride.

This dated document must be the basis of all discussion of the early Christianity of Laodicea. All the commentators on this inscription have assumed as obvious that Eugenius was the bishop of an orthodox diocese. Nothing in the language of the inscription contradicts this assumption, and so long as the inscription stood alone, the assumption appeared right and inevitable. But the discovery in 1911 of a second inscription, which gives us some details regarding Bishop Eugenius and his martyred predecessor, Bishop Severus, sets the problem in a new light. I give the text of this inscription here, adopting the

¹ Cf. the case of Pepouza, *C.B.*, pp. 574 f.

² On the dating of Christian inscriptions in eastern Phrygia and Lycaonia, see Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, pp. 334 ff. The principles laid down there have been followed in this paper.

³ References to literature are given in an article in *J.R.S.*, 1920, pp. 42 ff., in which a revised and improved text of the epitaph is published.

second of the two hypotheses which I suggested for the restoration of the last two lines in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1920, pp. 47 ff., and restoring ποιμ]νῆς in l. 6.¹ In that publication I have discussed the relation of the new inscription to the epitaph of Eugenius, and drawn the conclusion that it is the dedication of a memorial chapel in which the relics of the two bishops were deposited by the Christians of Laodicea in the later part of the 4th century. Eugenius was tortured in the Great Persecution; Severus was probably put to death. Both were honoured as martyrs by the Laodicean Christians.

1. Ladik (R. and C., 1911). See Plate VII, 1.

Τὸν Χ(ριστο)ῦ σοφίης ὑποφήτορα, τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα,
Οὐρανίου γενέτου κύδιμον ἀθλοφόρον,
Σ]εβήρον πόλεων πανεπίσκοπον ἡγητήρα
Λ]αοῦ σακκοφόρου μνῆμα κέκευθε τόδε.

5 Λε[ί]ψανον Εὐγενίου τε θ(εο)υδέος ὃν κατέλιπεν
Ποιμ]νῆς πνευματικῆς ἄξιον ἡνίοχον.
Ἀγνὸν] καὶ ζῶντες ἐαῖς π[ληγαῖς ὄνομ' ἔσχον
Νῦν τ' εὐ]άσκητον μνῆ[μ' ἔχει ἀμφοτέρους.

[Two lines lost.]

“The interpreter of the wisdom of Christ, the wise man,
The glorious victor (in the contest) of the Heavenly Father (or
Son),

Severus, the all-overseeing leader of cities
Of the sackcloth-wearing folk this monument conceals;

5 Also the remains of God-fearing Eugenius, whom he left
behind,

A worthy director of the spiritual [flock].

Even in life [they won a hallowed name?] by their [stripes?]
[And now?] a well-wrought memorial [hath both in its
keeping?]”

· · · · ·
· · · · ·

¹ I owe this convincing restoration to Mr. C. H. Turner. In the expression ποιμνῆ πνευματικῇ we have a clear echo of the Montanist distinction between πνευματικοί and ψυχικοί. The letters of ποιμνῆς must have been crowded on the stone; probably the I was carved inside the O, and the M and the N cut in ligature. Mr. Buckler prefers the translation: “A director worthy of his spiritual flock.”

Eugenius succeeded Severus in the episcopal chair, and whatever we may deduce from the language of this text regarding the position of Severus applies equally to that of Eugenius.¹ Now the third line of this inscription, even taken by itself, would be very hard to understand on the theory that Severus was bishop of an orthodox diocese. Whatever may have been the case in the West, it is indubitable that by the 4th century every city in Asia Minor had a bishop of its own. The description πόλεων πανεπίσκοπον ἡγητῆρα certainly does not tally with the position and functions of an orthodox bishop of Laodicea Combusta as we should deduce them from countless analogies. There can, of course, be no question of the bishop of such a city exercising the wide powers and influence which were vested in the bishop of the capital city of a province, such as Basil of Cæsarea. Nor does the question of the Chor-episcopate arise here; the inscription expressly mentions πόλεις, not κῶμαι. We cannot fit the position of Severus into our mental picture of the organization of the orthodox Church in the 4th century, and we are led to ask whether he was not a heretical bishop who had the superintendence and direction of churches of his fellow-heretics over a wide area, say throughout the province of Pisidia.² All doubt is removed by the following words. In view of the character of Laodicean Christianity as outlined above and as illustrated in detail below, we must read the words λαοῦ σακκοφόρου in the light of Basil's letter to Amphilocheus, and the reference to the heretical sect of the Saccophori mentioned by Basil is clear. It follows that the church in Laodicea over which Severus and Eugenius presided was unorthodox; we are dealing with a heretical city; and we cease to be surprised at the freedom with which members of heretical sects declared their religion in the cemeteries of Laodicea.

So much may be deduced with confidence from a comparison of Basil's second canonical epistle with the new inscription. Regarding the doctrines of the Saccophori and their

¹ I say nothing of the opinions of Eugenius himself; his sympathy may have been with orthodoxy. The fact that he suffered in the persecution would commend him to a Novatian or Encratite community.

² His activities may be inferred from Basil's complaint that certain heretics were appointing presbyters and deacons of their own in the churches of Amasia and Zela (Migne, IV, § 347).

affinities to other sects, contemporary evidence is scanty and confused. Timotheus the presbyter (6th century) informs us that they were also called Hydroparastatæ (offerers of water) because they used only water in the sacrament.¹ Both Saccophori and Hydroparastatæ are mentioned in the list of heretical sects proscribed by Theodosius II and Valentinian in A.D. 428;² the separate mention would appear to distinguish two sects. The use of water in the sacrament is attributed by Epiphanius to the Tatiani,³ the Encratitæ,⁴ the Marcionites,⁵ and the Severiani.⁶ The Saccophori are mentioned by him only in his reply to Acacius and Paul, prefixed to his treatise on heresies, and there they are given as an adjunct to the Apotactici or Apostolici;⁷ we must assume, if Epiphanius wrote this passage as it stands, that he intended his description of the Apotactici to apply equally to the Saccophori, just as he expressly states that his account of the Cathari or Novatians applies to the African Donatists.⁸ Basil in his canonical epistles mentions both the Saccophori and the Hydroparastatæ, whether as distinct bodies or not we cannot say. His concern is with the validity of sectarian baptism, and it is by the touchstone of the baptismal formula that he distinguishes the Cathari, Novatians, Encratitæ, Apotactitæ, and Saccophori as schismatics from the Pepouzeni or Montanists, whom he classes as heretics.⁹ This fact must be borne in mind when we come to the discussion of the creed of the Cathari in No. 4 below.

The origin of the term Saccophori, as applied to a sect, can hardly be in doubt. I had thought at one time of assuming that the pre-Constantinian Christians had been registered as a *collegium saccariorum*, or guild of porters, at Laodicea, just as they appear to have been organized as a guild of purple dyers at Hierapolis.¹⁰ Pagan guilds of porters (*σακκοφόροι*) are mentioned on inscriptions of Panormus and Cyzicus,¹¹ and a recognized pagan form would be one which a Christian community would naturally choose. But the earliest use of the word to denote a

¹ § 379 (*P. G.*, 86, part 1).

³ *Hær.* XLVI, p. 392.

⁵ *Hær.* XLII, p. 304.

⁷ Oehler's edn., Vol. II, Part I, p. 14.

⁹ Vol. IV (Migne), §§ 268-270, 296.

¹¹ *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 278.

² *Codex Just.*, I, tit. 5.

⁴ *Hær.* XLVII, p. 400.

⁶ *Hær.* XLV, p. 388.

⁸ *Hær.* LIX, pp. 504, 505.

¹⁰ Ramsay, *C.B.*, pp. 119, 545 ff.

Christian sect occurs in Basil (and Epiphanius) or in our inscription, whichever is the earlier, and it is better to connect this use with the sense borne by the relatives of the word in the Christian writers. Christians were said to "wear sackcloth" much as the verb *τριβωνοφορεῖν* was applied to the pagan philosophers; the use of *σακκοφόροι* to describe a sect no doubt indicates an ascetic tendency in the sect.¹ The use of this picturesque term, rather than a prosaic form like *Ἀποτακτιτῶν*, in our text is probably due to the composer's excellent taste; in point of style and metre this is one of the best of the Christian inscriptions of Asia Minor. In this respect it is sharply distinguished from village epitaphs like No. 4; it obviously originated among educated people in the city itself.

The next three inscriptions refer openly to Novatian officials. Two of them have been published.² I repeat them here from fresh copies made by Ramsay and myself in 1911, in order to show the shape of the letters and give rough sketches of the monuments.

We have here the epitaphs, exactly alike in style and even in faults of composition, and roughly contemporaneous, of two officials in a Novatian church at Laodicea or a village on its territory. As both inscriptions are now at Kadyn Khan, and as the composition and spelling suggest village rather than city epigraphy, it is probable that they belonged to the church of the ancient village which occupied this site,³ or of a neighbouring village.

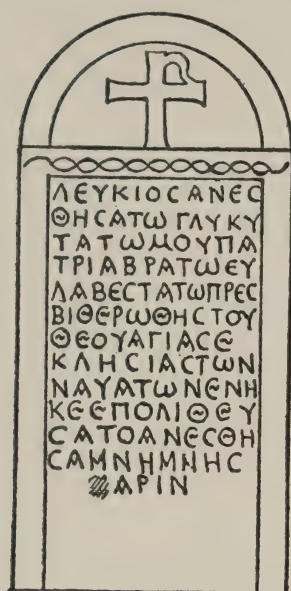
The style of these inscriptions points to the later 4th century. A *terminus post quem* is provided by the monogram-

¹ *Σακκοφορία* is used by Justin Martyr, *Dial.*, 107, 2, of those at Nineveh, and in Eus. Alex. *Serm.*, 22, 6 [*P.G.*, 86 (1), 460A], of persons making a show of asceticism. For *σακκοφορεῖν*, cf. Justin Martyr, *Dial.*, 107, 2 (those at Nineveh); Chrys., *Hom. in paen. Nin.*, *P.G.*, 64, 425A; Pallad., *Hist. Laus.*, 35 (28); Butler, p. 83 (of a virgin anchoress). Dr. Darwell Stone, to whom I owe these references, tells me that he knows no instance of *σακκοφόρος* in the Fathers except as the name of the sect.

² No. 2 in Heberdey und Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kil.*, p. 162 (the erasures in ll. 4, 5 are ancient); No. 3 in *C.I.G.*, 9268, from Hamilton's copy. With *ἐπολιτεύσατο* in No. 2, cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, 1888, p. 238 (ὁ τὰ πάντα πολιτευσάμενος, δις ἄρξας, ἐξάκις πορεύσας, etc.), and *Stud. Pont.*, III, p. 123: the meaning is "held office," as a decurio did in a city, rather than "conversatus est," which the verb often means. In No. 3 the name of the sect was detected independently by Ramsay, *Church in R.E.*, p. 441 n., and by Cumont, *Mélanges d'Arch.*, XV, p. 295.

³ The village was called Pita or Pitha: see *Rev. de Phil.*, 1922, pp. 122 f.

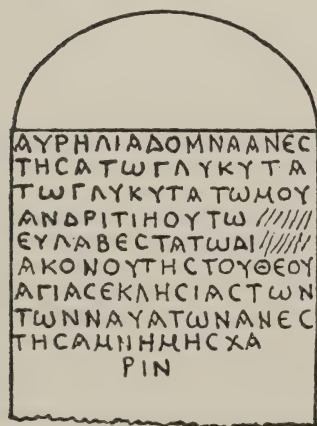
2. Kadyń Khan (R. and C. 1911).



Λεύκιος ἀνέσ-
θησα τῷ γλυκυ-
τάτῳ μου πα-
τρὶ Ἀβρᾶ τῷ εὐ-
5 λαβεστάτῳ πρεσ-
βιθέρω θῆς τοῦ
Θεοῦ ἀγίας ἐ-
κλησίας τῶν
Ναυατῶν ἐν ἡ
10 κὲ ἐπολιθεύ-
σατο (ανεσθη
σα) μνήμης
χ]άριν

“Lucius erected to my sweetest father Abras the very pious presbyter of the Holy Church of God of the Novatians in which also he held office in remembrance.”

3. Kadyń Khan (R. and C. 1911).



Αὐρηλία Δόμνα ἀνεσ-
θησα τῷ γλυκυτά-
τῳ (γλυκυτατῳ) μου
ἀνδρὶ Τιηοῦ τῷ
5 εὐλαβεστάτῳ δι-
ακόνου τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ
ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας τῶν
(των) Ναυατῶν (ανεσ
θησα) μνήμης χά-
10 ριν

“Aurelia Domna erected to my sweetest husband Tiēou the very pious deacon of the Holy Church of God of the Novatians in remembrance.”

matic cross engraved over No. 2. This form of cross appears first on coins struck at Antioch in Syria in A.D. 335, and on Christian inscriptions in Rome about A.D. 355.¹ On the inscriptions of Asia Minor it appears first in the second half of the 4th century; a more precise date cannot at present be fixed. The use of the prænomen Aurelius becomes rarer as the 4th century advances, but occurs here and there till about the close of the century. The two epitaphs probably belong to about A.D. 375.

The names of the officials have suffered in previous publications.² That of the deacon is Τιῆου, a common name along the northern border of Pisidia.³ As the article stands before εὐλαβεστάτῳ in No. 3, we had better assume the same syntax in No. 2 and divide Ἀβραῶ τῳ. The latter is unlikely to be a *kosen-name* from Abraham; it is more probably an Anatolian or Phrygian name.

4. At Bash Hüyük, 5 miles E.N.E. of Serai önu (C., 1912, copy, two photographs and impression). See Pl. VII, 2.

Αὐ(ρηλία) Οὐαλεντίλλη κὲ Λεόντιος κὲ Κατμαρος ἀνεστήσαμεν
τὴν τίτλον ταύτην Εὐγενίῳ πρ(εσβυτέρῳ) πολλὰ καμόντος ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας τῶν Καθαρῶν ζῶντες μνήμης χάριν.

Πρῶτο(ν) μὲν ὑμνήσω Θεὸν τὸν πάντει ὁρῶντα,
δεύτερον ὑμνήσω πρῶτον ἄγγελον OCTICAITPCIN

Εὐγενίου θανεόντος πολλὴ μνήμη ἐπὶ γέῃ·
Εὐγένιε, νέος θάνης· ἡελίοιό σε γὰρ ἐγίνωσκαν πάντες,
5 ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε με(σ)ινβρία τε κὲ ἄρκτος
ὄλβῳ τε πλούτῳ τε εὐγενίῃ τε κὲ θάρσι·
πένησιν ζῶν θάρσος, κόμη τ' ἔξοχος ἀπάντων·
σὲν Φρυγίῃ τ' Ἀσίῃ τε κὲ Ἀντολίῃ τε δύδιστο.

“We, Aurelia Valentilla and Leontius and Katmarus, erected
this tombstone

¹ See Le Blant, *Manuel d'Épigr. chrét.*, p. 29; Lefebvre, *Inscr. grecq. chrét. d'Égypte*, p. xxxiv. Ramsay (*Luke the Physician*, p. 421) dates this inscription before A.D. 340; but he does not refer to the cross. Cf. *Sardis*, I, 1, p. 183.

² They have been read as Abratos and Tinoutos.

³ It occurs on coins of Metropolis Phrygiæ and in many inscriptions (at Ilghin græcized as Θιγος, Ramsay, *H.G.A.M.*, p. 408).

to Eugenius a presbyter who laboured much on behalf of the Holy Church of God of the Cathari; in our lifetime in remembrance.

First I shall hymn God who seeth in every direction,
next I shall hymn the First Angel [and Him who was ever
the Third ?]

Of Eugenius dead (there is) much remembrance on the earth.

Eugenius, thou didst die young. For all men under the sun knew thee

5 both east and west and north and south,
for thy prosperity and wealth and nobility and courage.
In life thou wert (a tower of) courage to the poor, and in
the village pre-eminent over all.
Thee Phrygia and Asia and Anatolia [mourn ?].”

This very remarkable epitaph was copied somewhat hurriedly while its two Circassian owners (eventually photographed on either side of the stone in token of reconciliation) were being summoned. But the only respect in which the copy differs from the impression and the photographs is in reading PEIN for PCIN in line 13.¹ Here both impression and photographs are decisive for PCIN. This inscription is certain to form the subject of much discussion; it is the copyist's duty to state that the text as given is complete and certain. There is no question here of emendation, but only of understanding an obscurely worded epitaph. The obscurity is partly due to uneducated composition. It may be partly deliberate.

The inscription falls into three well-marked divisions. First there is the formula of dedication, which is of the early type, and which, with the use of the name Aurelia, forbids us to date the inscription later than the end of the 4th century.² We are left to guess the relationship of the persons concerned, but there can be no doubt that his mother and two brothers

¹ A good example of the work of the subconscious self. The copyist was looking for hexametric rhythm, and copied accordingly. The copy was revised while the squeeze-paper was on the stone, but relations with the owners were strained, and this detail escaped notice.

² On the cross, see p. 76 above.

(one with a Galatian name) erect the memorial to Eugenius, presbyter of the village church of Cathari or Novatians. Nos. 2 and 3 show that among the Novatians the tombstone was erected by members of the family. Eugenius was not married, but as he died young, this fact is of no significance.

Secondly, we have, in two hexameters, the creed of the Cathari, expressed in the form of a hymn. The obscurity of the latter part of the second hexameter is tantalising. The reading appears to be $\theta\varsigma \tau' (\epsilon)\iota\sigma\alpha(\epsilon)\iota \tau\rho(\iota\tau\omicron)\varsigma (\eta)\nu$ or, as my friend Mr. Buckle suggests, $\theta\varsigma \tau' (\epsilon)\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}(\epsilon)\iota \tau\rho(\iota\tau\omicron)\varsigma (\eta)\nu$. If either suggestion is correct, we have here the doctrine of the Trinity according to the formula of the Laodicean Cathari. The interest of the first clause lies in the epithet $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\iota$ (= $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta$) $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha$. This epithet recalls, and may perhaps help to settle the controversy regarding the true reading in line 5 of the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus. This line, which is a description of the Pure Shepherd, appears in the MSS. as :

$\acute{\omicron}\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \theta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha \kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma.$

This was altered by the editors into $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta \kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$. Ramsay quoted Bywater's acute observation that the poetic form $-\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ was unlikely to have been substituted for the prose form in MSS. of the legend, and restored $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta' \acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$.¹ The true reading was probably $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta \acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$.² The formula is a poetic variety of the title $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\pi\tau\eta\varsigma$ used by Polycarp (*Phil.*, § 7) who borrowed it from Clement of Rome (Lightfoot, *ad loc.*). It was perhaps in common use in eastern Phrygia from the 2nd century onwards.

The Second Person in the Trinity is called $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. There is no evidence that the Novatians innovated on the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity; we have already quoted the evidence of Basil to the contrary; and we must understand this description to apply to the Son. Originating in the use of the term $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in Messianic passages in the Septuagint, the custom of describing Christ as "the angel" seems to have been common

¹ *C.B.*, p. 724.

² The word $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta$ occurs in ll. 11, 12, 13 of the epitaph, once in an open position (followed, it is true, by a pause). The copyist misread H as K (a common error) and saw in $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\kappa\omicron\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ an abbreviation of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau(\alpha) \kappa(\alpha\theta)\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$.

in the early Church and even to have outlasted the Council of Nicæa.¹

If we read the remainder of the second line as suggested above, the Third Person is indicated in these letters. But possibly the reading is $\theta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}(\epsilon)\iota$. . ., in which case we have a qualification of the First Angel, and the reference is only to the first two Persons. The student of Anatolian Christianity will naturally think of angelolatry, which clung to the hem of Christianity in Asia Minor from the time of Paul² onwards, and especially of the archangel Michael, the Patron of Lycaonia. But such a contamination is not likely to be Novatian, even as Novatianism was formulated in the village churches. We may, however, be in presence of a novel syncretism; it is significant, perhaps, that Epiphanius mentions the Angelici or angel-worshippers (whom he declares to be extinct, but regarding whom he obviously knows nothing whatever) immediately after the Cathari and before the Apotactici.³

The possibility must also be alluded to that the second hexameter ends with TPC, and that IN ($\eta\nu$) belongs to the following verse, agreeing with $\mu\nu\eta\mu\eta$. With these indications and references the epigraphist may leave the solution of the riddle to historians of dogma—or paradox.⁴

¹ Cf. Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eunom.*, 872 B (a reference which I owe to the Rev. D. P. Buckle). Cf. *C.I.G.*, Add. IV, 9595a = Kaibel, *Epig. Graec.*, No. 726, $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu, \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\eta$. This Roman inscription was taken by Kirchhoff to be Valentinian; it is certainly heretical.

² Colossians, 2¹⁸.

³ *Hær.* LX, p. 505.

⁴ I leave these paragraphs in the form in which they were submitted to Prof. C. H. Turner, and quote his criticism. "All readings with $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ seem to me to diverge too far from hexametric scansion. Also, I should not expect a *Trinitarian* formula but, as the Novatians were on the Nicene side, I should expect an anti-Arian emphasis. $\theta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota \eta\nu$ would be the right sense and scansion, but leaves TPC unexplained. If it is not a blunder—I think the sculptor was a bad workman, capable of blunders—then I think it must stand for $\overline{\Pi\overline{\Pi\overline{C}}} \overline{Y\overline{N}}$, $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\varsigma} \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$: perhaps $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu, \theta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota, \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\varsigma} \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$."

On the use of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ by Novatians, Dr. Rendel Harris writes: "There is no doubt that this is one of the earliest titles applied to our Lord by the early Christians, a title, which, like a number of other early appellations, such as that he was the Stone, the Flower, the Day, and the like, had, for a reason which we can suspect, a very short period of circulation. If we examine the *Testimonies against the Jews* in the works of Cyprian, we shall find the following: 'Quod idem (sc. Christus) Angelus et Deus' (*Test.*, ii, 5); and that it is much older than Cyprian appears from Justin, who in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 126) gives a list of O.T. titles of Christ, beginning with $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\varsigma \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ from Isaiah 9⁶. In c. 58 of the same dialogue he explains that

Thirdly, the remainder of the epitaph consists of six hexameters of a type common in eastern Phrygia and Lycaonia. Indeed, had the inscription been broken away above these lines, we should have unhesitatingly taken it as an ordinary village epitaph, and, from its date and tone, should have felt inclined to class it as Christian—a timely illustration of the view stated above that the Christian *corpus* must contain many heretical inscriptions. The spelling and syntax are extremely uncouth, and the last line almost defies explanation. Probably σέν is accusative,¹ Φρυγίη, etc., nominative, and δύδιστο a pluperfect formed from δέομαι or δίξημι in the sense of ποθῶ. One naturally thinks of (κ)ύδιστο(s), which would, however, destroy the metre, and by compelling us to write ἐν Φρυγίη, etc., leave σ' at the beginning of the line in the air. It is interesting that this region was still felt to be Phrygian at this late date.² Is Asia here Asia Minor, and Anatolia the East generally? Or is Asia the province, and Anatolia the peninsula of Asia Minor? If so, this is probably the earliest example of the Byzantine and Turkish use of the word. We need not take the description of the fame of Eugenius too literally, but it is probable that he had visited Novatian communities in other parts of Asia Minor. We must assume that the dissenting bodies, like the orthodox Church, maintained a regular system of intercommunication.

A significant detail is the stress laid on the wealth of Eugenius. The Novatians evidently did not insist on the renunciation of worldly goods, like the Apotactitæ of No. 8. But

the one who appears to the patriarchs is called θεὸς καὶ ἄγγελος καὶ κύριος—and so in many other passages. The passage from Isaiah was a commonplace in controversy with the Jews. The disuse of the title *Angel* was probably due to (a) the use of the appellation in an Arian sense, as though the Son were a creature; (b) the existence of another early testimony which contradicted it, according to which 'non senior neque angelus, sed ipse Dominus liberabit' (Is. 63⁹; Cyp., *Test.*, ii, 3). As to the antiquity, we may compare with Cyp., *Test.*, ii, 5, the parallel in Novatian *De Trin.*, c. xx, 'ex Scripturis probatur Christum fuisse Angelum appellatum. Attamen et Deum esse, ex aliis Sacrae Scripturae locis ostenditur,' and so in many other places. So Novatian and his followers used a book of *Testimonies*, and called Christ Angel."

¹ Cf. ἐμέν in the epitaph of Marcellus, l. 7, *C.B.*, p. 726: cf. *C.I.G.*, 3440 and Keil-Premmerstein, *Reisen in Lyd.*, III, 145.

² Late Phrygian inscriptions (showing that Phrygian was spoken till the later 3rd century) have been found at Kadyñ Khan, Kestel, Ladik, Serai öñü, and Suverek (*Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum* in *J.H.S.*, 1911, p. 161 ff., and 1913, p. 97 ff., Nos. LXIX, LXVII, LXI and LXX, LIII, LI). See *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, No. X (1923), p. 25 ff.

with ὁλβω τε πλούτῳ τε the writer combines πένησιν ζῶν θάρσος, insisting on the duty of giving to the poor.

In these three Novatian epitaphs the uniform use of the formula τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας will be noted. This formula was of course in common use among Catholics, but it was evidently a favourite formula with the Laodicean dissenters. On the strength of this indication, we feel inclined to class the following Laodicean inscription as sectarian.

5. Ladik, on a stele surmounted by a cross (C., 1908; R. and C., 1911).



Μελανίππη ἀσ-
κητρία τῆς ἁγίας
τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας
ἀνέστησα τῇ εὐ-
5 λαβεστάτῃ ἀδελ-
φῇ μου Δόξῃ
τῇ σεμνῇ ἀσ-
κητρίῃ
τὸν τίτλον τοῦ-
10 τον μνήμης
χάριν

“Melanippe a nun of the Holy Church of God erected to my most pious sister Doxa the honourable nun this tombstone in remembrance.”

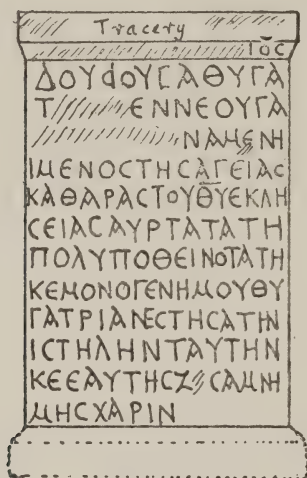
Here (cf. No. 8) the term ἀδελφή probably means “sister in the spirit.” We have the same picture of celibacy as in No. 8, and this feature distinguishes this text from those which we can confidently class as Novatian (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10?). This epitaph may therefore belong, like Nos. 8, 9, 11? to the Encratite sect. It should be observed, however, that only its presence in a heretical town, and the local heretical fondness for its formula, distinguish it from orthodox inscriptions of the same class.¹

In claiming the next two inscriptions as Novatian, we appear to stand on firmer ground. These epitaphs, one found on

¹ For the term ἀσκητρία cf. *Stud. Pont.*, III, p. 146, No. 134, with Cumont's note.

Laodicean territory, the other from a village 32 miles to the north, exhibit a variation of the local formula whose Novatian character is even more pronounced.

6. "In a well an hour east of Ladik and an hour south of Serai önü. Top of stone contains tracery; on line below there were more letters than IOC." (R. and Miss A. M. Ramsay, 1904.)



..... IOC

Δούδουσα θυγά-
τηρ Μεννέου γα-
μετή δὲ γε]ναμένη
Ἰμενος τῆς ἀγείας

5 καθαρᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκλη-
σείας Αὐρ. Τάτα τῇ
πολυποθεινοτάτῃ

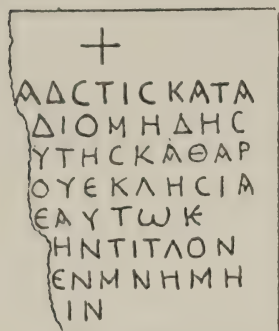
κὲ μονογενῇ μου
θυγατρὶ ἀνέστησα τὴν

10 ἱσθήλην ταύτην
κὲ εαυτῆς ζ[ω]σα μνή-
μης χάριν

"... Doudousa daughter of Menneas and wife of Imen of the Holy Pure Church of God to Aurelia Tata my much-beloved daughter and only child erected this tombstone and to myself in my lifetime in remembrance."

This inscription has been published by Ramsay in *Luke the Physician*, p. 400, differently restored. He dates it in the later 4th century. The line at the top, of which only the letters IOC remain, perhaps contained a Novatian formula (ὁ Θεὸς ἅγιος?). Perhaps in l. 11 we should read εαυτῇ σζῶσα: see *J.H.S.*, 1913, p. 97 f. But confusion between genitive and dative, as also between the first and third persons, is very common in inscriptions of this period.

7. Cheshmeli Zebir. (anc. *Kristenos*). On a stone broken at the left side, with a plain cross above the inscription (C., 1908).



Ἐνθά]δ[ε] τις κατὰ-
 κιτε] Διομήδης
 ? Μίρο]ν τῆς καθαρ-
 ᾶς Θε]οῦ ἐκκλησία-
 5 ς ὅστις] ἐαυτῷ κέ
 ? γυνεὲ τ]ῇν τίτλον
 ἀνέστησ]εν μνήμη-
 ς χάρι]ιν

“Here lies a man Diomedes son of [Mirus (?)] of the Pure Church of God who to himself and his [wife (?)] erected the tombstone in remembrance.”

This inscription, whose style suggests the early 5th century, shows Novatianism spreading from Laodicea into the villages of the Axylon ; there are two ancient sites at Cheshmeli Zebir and Kuyulu Zebir, both of which have yielded a number of Christian inscriptions.¹ In view of the formula τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας τῶν Καθαρῶν in No. 4, it can hardly be doubted that the formulæ τῆς ἀγίας καθαρᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας and τῆς καθαρᾶς Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, occurring in the same district, denote membership of the same sect. It is noteworthy that in the last two texts the formula appears to be applied to laymen ; such formulæ are usually appended to the titles of members of the clergy. In l. 5 the restoration πρεσβ(ύτερος) in place of ὅστις has been deliberately rejected, as the title regularly comes after the name and before τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, etc.

We may now pause to consider whether these Novatian inscriptions throw any light on the doctrine and discipline of the Novatians as we know them from the contemporary account of Epiphanius. They claim, he says, to have the same rule of faith as the Church,² but he singles out two points in which they differ from Catholicism, their denial of repentance after baptism, and their repudiation of second marriages for the laity as well as for the clergy. On the first of these tenets we naturally look for no light from the inscriptions ; a considerable

¹ Anderson in *J.H.S.*, 1899, p. 282 ; cf. *J.H.S.*, 1911, p. 193, and *Stud. E.R.P.*, pp. 72, 81.

² *Hæc*. LIX, p. 495.

body of epitaphs, if such were identifiable, might throw some light on the second.

Our inscriptions show us that the Laodicean Novatians, like contemporary Catholics, tolerated marriage in the clergy. Out of three clerics, two are, or have been, married, the third died young. Two of the five inscriptions which we can claim as certainly Novatian are dedicated by widows; in No. 4 Valentilla acts as head of the family, and her husband is obviously dead; so too in No. 6 Doudousa dedicates the monument alone, and is clearly a widow. No. 2 is dedicated by a son to a father; no mention is made of the wife and mother, who is presumably dead. The two remaining epitaphs are irrelevant to this question. So far as the scanty evidence goes, there is no hint of a second marriage; we have identified two widows and a widower. We shall point out an even more significant feature in No. 10 below.

We now pass to the second type of heretical belief which we find represented on the epitaphs of Laodicea, and which has already appeared in the term *σακκοφόρος* applied to the laity of the city church. Epiphanius, who is more interested in refuting and reviling heresy than in recording the information we should like to possess concerning the heretics, deals with the Pisidian Encratites and their fellow sectarians under three headings, the Tatiani, the Encratitæ and the Apotactici or Apostolici. The Tatiani, he says, originated in Syrian Antioch, and spread into Cilicia and Pisidia, especially the latter: "*for* it was from Tatianus that his successors, the Encratitæ, drank the poison."¹ The word "*for*" in this passage is explained by his account of the geographical distribution of the Encratitæ, already quoted,² which shows that he regarded Pisidia as the headquarters of the sect. Of the Apotactici he says in his text that they are confined to Phrygia, Cilicia and Pamphylia;³ the summary mentions only Pisidia,⁴ which lay between these three provinces. We

¹ *Her.* XLVI, p. 391.

² P. 68 above.

³ *Her.* LXI, p. 507.

⁴ *Anakeph.* (p. 146; Oehler's edn., II, 3, p. 570). It is noteworthy that Epiphanius, who follows the usual ecclesiastical method of classification by provinces, does not mention Lycaonia, which had been made a province a short time before Basil's epistle CXXXVII was written (A.D. 373). Epiphanius' information regarding this region is accurate, but he must have received it earlier than the institution of Lycaonia provincia, which had taken place before he composed his *Panarion*. For Epiphanius, Pisidia there-

have already concluded that the place mentioned by Epiphanius next after Pisidia as a prominent centre of heresy was Laodicea Combusta. Laodicea, as we have seen, lay open to a religious movement coming from Syria and Cilicia.

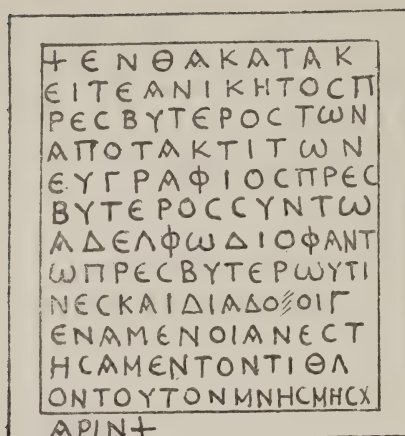
Epiphanius describes the Apotactici as "an offshoot of the doctrines of Tatianus, of Encratitæ and Tatiani and Cathari, who all reject the law; and they have introduced changes into the sacraments." They pride themselves, he says, on their repudiation of worldly possessions, refuse to admit the lapsed, and agree with "those mentioned above" in regard to marriage and other matters.¹ In this context, "those mentioned above" must be the Encratitæ, Tatiani and Cathari. Now the Encratitæ and Tatiani rejected marriage as of the devil; but it surprises us to find the Cathari classed with them in this respect, for as we have seen the Cathari did not reject marriage, but only second marriage. A point of similarity between the Cathari and the Encratite sects is the stern attitude of both to the lapsed; the present passage seems to allude to other points of contact, and it is possible that here and there Encratites and Novatians, in spite of differences in their ancestry and in their doctrine, tended to fuse into a common body. In view of the strength of Novatianism in Asia Minor during the 4th century, it is probable that the Laodicean Church was Novatian, with Encratitic tendencies. No doubt in the village churches fusion was less easy, and the sects tended to remain distinct.

8. The following inscription was copied at a Mohajir village north-west of Serai önü. It is cut in a panel on a plain stone, nearly square in shape (R. and C., 1910).

In this situation, the inscription cannot have been carried far, and evidently belongs to an ancient village beside the Mohajir settlement. Here there was, about the end of the 4th century, or early in the 5th, a community of Apotactitæ. The community described in this text was clearly celibate, so far at least as their clergy was concerned. Anatolian tombstones, Christian as well as pagan, clerical as well as lay, were regularly dedicated by members of the family; this monument was erected

fore included Iconium. Was Faustinus, the bishop of Iconium mentioned by Basil as just deceased in A.D. 373, his informant on the local facts regarding the Pisidian heresies?

¹ *Hæc.* LXI, p. 506.



+ Ἐνθα κατάκ-
ειτε Ἀνίκητος π-
ρεσβύτερος τῶν
Ἀποτακτιτῶν

5 Εὐγράφιος πρεσ-
βύτερος σὺν τῷ
ἀδελφῷ Διοφάντ-
ῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ ὅτι-
νες καὶ διάδο[χ]οι γ-

10 ἐνάμενοι ἀνεστ-
ήσαμεν τὸν τίθλ-
ον τοῦτον μνήσῃς χ-
αριν +

"Here lies Anicetus presbyter of the Apotactitæ; Eugraphius presbyter with his brother Diophantus presbyter who were also his successors erected this tombstone in remembrance."

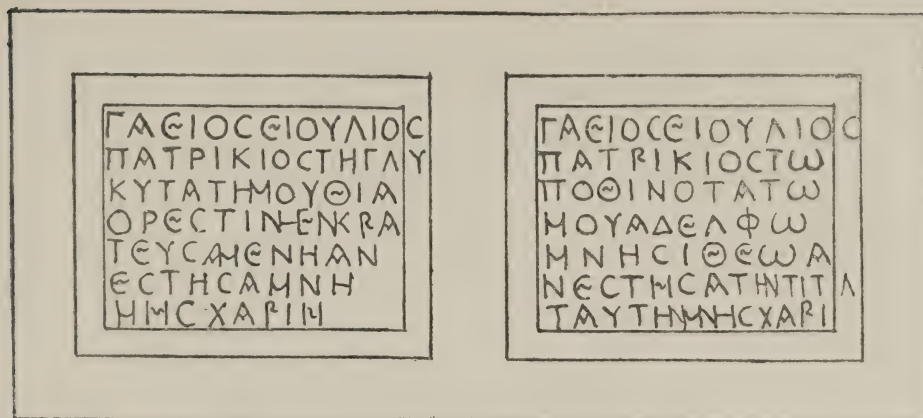
in memory of Anicetus by two presbyters who were his successors. The word ἀδελφός in l. 7 should probably be taken in the spiritual rather than the literal sense. It is noteworthy that Epiphanius calls this sect Ἀποτακτικοί; Basil, who was in closer touch with the facts, uses the form Ἀποτακτίται which occurs in the inscription.¹ On the other hand, Basil naturally prefers the literary form *Ναυατιανοί* to the vulgar *Νανάται* of Nos. 2 and 3.

The reader will now be prepared to reconsider the question of a Laodicean inscription which both Cumont² and Ramsay³ hesitated to class as heretical. It was recopied by us in 1911, and our copy is reproduced here in order to show the shape of the letters. It and the accompanying inscription are cut in panels on an oblong block. The borders have been defaced, and perhaps contained ornament.

¹ This form should be restored in Julian, *Orat.* VII, 224B.

² See p. 59, n. 3.

³ *Luke the Physician*, p. 400.



9. Kadyń Khan (R. and C., 1911).

(a) ΓάειοC ΕιούλιοC
 ΠατρίκιοC τῇ γλυ-
 κυτάτῃ μου θία
 ὈρεCτίνη ἐνκρα-
 5 τευCαμένη ἀν-
 έCτηCα μνή-
 μηC χάριν

(b) ΓάειοC ΕιούλιοC
 ΠατρίκιοC τῷ
 ποθινοτάτῳ
 μου ἀδελφῷ
 5 ΜνηCιθέῳ ἀ-
 νέCτηCα τὴν τίτλ[ον
 ταύτην μνήμηC χάρι[ν]

(a) "Caius Julius Patricius to my sweetest aunt Orestina who lived in continence erected in remembrance."

(b) "Caius Julius Patricius to my dearly loved brother Mnesitheus erected this tombstone in remembrance."

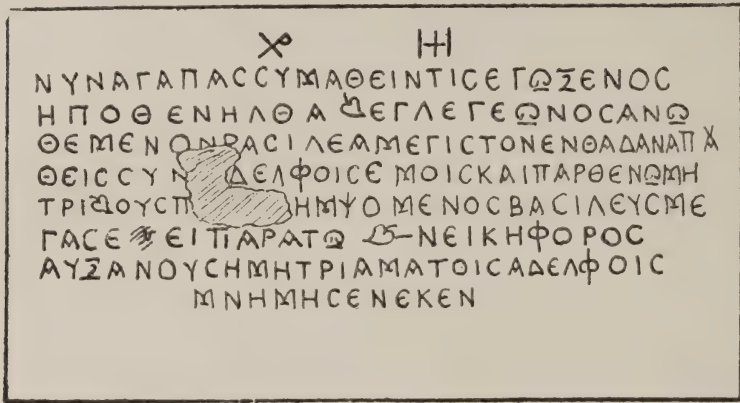
The use of the Roman triple name began to disappear from Phrygian inscriptions in the 4th century,¹ but seems to have lingered on in the case of people of standing. This monument may be dated about the middle of the century. The dedicator was perhaps a relative of Julius Eugenius. While endorsing the cautious language used by Ramsay regarding the character of this epitaph, we may claim to have set the problem of the probable significance of ἐνκρατευσαμένη in a new light. In a Christian community in which the Encratite system was firmly established, it is probable that this epitaph denotes definite adhesion to the Encratite sect. But here, as in the case of No. 5, we can only claim probability.

The following monument is shown by the symbols at the top to be later than A.D. 350, and by the formula of dedication

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

to be not later than the end of the 4th century. It is built into the wall of an underground stable at Ladik. The inscription is cut on a plain block, with no decoration apart from the symbols.

10. Ladik (R. and C., 1911).



Νῦν ἀγαπᾶς σὺ μαθεῖν τίς ἐγὼ ξένος, ἣ πόθεν ἦλθα;
 ἐγ λεγεῶνος ἄνω θεμένων βασιλέα μέγιστον.
 ἐνθάδ' ἀναπαυθεῖς σὺν [ἀ]δελφοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ παρθένῳ μητρὶ,
 οὓς π[αραλ]ημφόμενος βασιλεὺς μέγας ἔ[ξ]ει παρ' αὐτῷ

5 Νεικηφόρος Αὐξανούσῃ μητρὶ ἅμα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
 μνήμης ἔνεκεν

"Now art thou fain to know what stranger I am, and whence
 I came ?

(I come) from the legion of them that have set the mighty
 king on high.

Here laid to rest with my brothers and my virgin mother,
 Whom the great king will take unto himself and keep beside
 him.

5 Nicephorus with his brothers to his mother
 Auxanousa in remembrance."

The tone of this epitaph is not unlike that of the crypto-Christian epitaphs of the pre-Constantinian period ; the language evidently conveys an esoteric meaning, which is hard to divine. The incised symbols at the top, a monogrammatic cross tilted to the right, and a plain cross between two vertical lines,¹ are, I believe, unknown in Anatolia. This free treatment of

¹ Is the latter an attempt to combine the cross with IH(σους)? The former occurs in Egypt: Hastings, *E.R.E.*, s.v. "Cross."

symbols which were used in the orthodox Church with rigid uniformity points to heterodoxy. And the tone of the inscription, exultant yet deliberately obscure, marks it off rather sharply from the orthodox inscriptions of this period.

The belief in the resurrection of the dead expressed in l. 3 was held by most sectarians, but there are two features in the text which appear to point to particular sects. While we copied the inscription, Ramsay observed that the second hexameter probably marked the family as Hypsistarians. We might indeed paraphrase *ἄνω θεμένων* by *ὑψωσάντων*, "exalted," and this expression may refer to the Hypsistarian worship of God as *ὑψιστος*. A difficulty on this view is that *μέγιστος* and not *ὑψιστος* is the epithet used in the inscription; but both epithets may have been used by the Hypsistarians as both were used by Pisidian and Phrygian pagans of Zeus.¹ The Hypsistarians were a Judæo-Christian sect, and light might perhaps be thrown on this text by a comparison of its language with the Septuagint.

The expression *παρθένω μητρί* in the next line is easier to explain. With the ecclesiastical order of virgins widows were associated from an early period, as appears from Ignatius' letter to the Smyrnæans.² But it cannot be an accident that the first epigraphical reference to this institution in Asia Minor occurs in a Novatian environment. In the laudatory "virgin mother" of this epitaph we have an undoubted echo of the Novatian repudiation of second marriage. Auxanousa was a widow *ἀπὸ μονογαμίας παρθελεύσασα* as Epiphanius might express it.³ She is the Novatian counterpart of the Encratite Orestina (No. 9). The existence of institutions so similar in the two sects probably had considerable influence in drawing them together.

I append the following inscription to my list with some diffidence. An imitator of Origen and Melito of Sardis was not necessarily a heretic, even in the disillusioned 4th century. But such a deviation from the common rule of the Church is more likely to have taken place under the influence of sects like the Apotactitæ, who insisted on the severest continence, than in

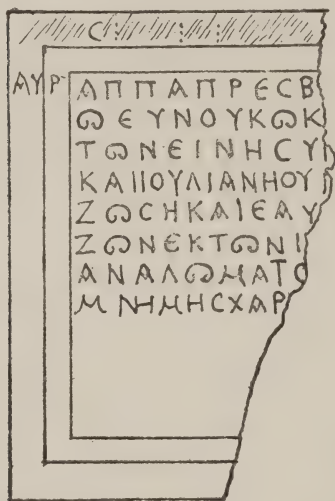
¹ Ramsay, *C.B.*, pp. 33, 294.

² § 13 καὶ τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας. Lightfoot *ad loc.* shows that widows who maintained a chaste widowhood were called "virgins a second time."

³ Cf. *Hæc.* XLVIII, p. 410, τῶν ἀπὸ μονογαμίας ἐγκρατευσαμένων.

an orthodox environment. This presumption would be raised to a certainty if the ordination of Appas as priest took place after the Council of Nicæa, whose first canon forbade eunuchs to be priests, if the act was self-inflicted. But this epitaph is probably the earliest in our Laodicean collection; I should date it between A.D. 323 and 350.

II. Ladik (C., 1908, R. and C., 1911). In a panel cut in a rough block, broken at the right side.



[ὁ δεῖνα νιῶ]
 Αὐρ. Ἀππα πρεσβ[υτέρ-
 ω εὐνούκῳ καὶ Ἀν-
 τωνείνῃ συ[νβίῳ
 5 καὶ Ἰουλιανῇ [θ]υγ[ατρὶ
 ζώσῃ καὶ ἐαν[τῷ
 ζῶν ἐκ τῶν ἰ[δίων
 ἀναλωμάτων
 μνήμης χάρι[ν]

“[So and so to his son] Aurelius Appas a eunuch presbyter and to Antonina his wife and to Juliana his daughter in her lifetime and to himself while alive at his own expense in remembrance.”

There appeared to have been a line above the panel, but we could read no letters here except a doubtful C, nor did we feel certain that the worn traces represented letters. But the construction compels us to assume that a line is lost at the top. So and so dedicated the tomb to his dead son, and to his wife and daughter and himself in their lifetime. The use of the singular ζώσῃ leaves it an open question whether the wife is dead; but as the son is mentioned first, probably only he was dead, and ζώσῃ is to be applied to both Antonina and Juliana.

The alternative restoration (assuming that the inscription is complete at the top) Αὐρ. Ἀππα πρεσβ[ύτερος] [νι]ῶ Εὐνούκῳ

is impossible: 'Αππᾶς is the regular masculine form; $\nu\hat{\iota}\hat{\omega}$ is insufficient to fill the space; Εὐνοῦ(χ)ος as a personal name is highly unlikely in a Christian family.

The combination of εὐνοῦ(χ)ος with the title πρεσβύτερος shows that εὐνοῦ(χ)ος has a religious connotation, and that the man was a eunuch in the third of the three senses set forth in Matthew's Gospel,¹ taken literally. It would be going too far to assume the presence of a sect of such ascetes at Laodicea, like the Arabian Valesii of Epiphanius. The practice occurs here and there in early Church history, but only in isolated cases. There seems to be another epigraphical instance in the bilingual inscription of Nicomedia, *C.I.L.*, III, suppl. 2, 14188.²

¹ 19¹².

² The first fascicule of M. Grégoire's *Recueil* reached me after this paper was in type.

VI.

LA FRONTIÈRE NORD DE LA GALATIE ET LES KOINA DE PONT

par VICTOR CHAPOT

C'EST, dans beaucoup de cas, un problème épineux de déterminer les limites d'une province romaine. Si pour le Bas-Empire, du moins celui d'Orient et au temps de Justinien, il se trouve résolu avec un minimum d'incertitude par la liste, que nous procure Hiérocès, des cités contenues dans chaque district administratif, nous n'avons rien de pareil pour les trois premiers siècles du principat. Les nomenclatures, moins sèches mais très incomplètes, de Pline l'Ancien ne sont point comparables. Du moins, les témoignages des auteurs et ceux, encore plus sûrs, de l'épigraphie ou de la numismatique font apparaître, pour bon nombre de provinces, des remaniements, des échanges de territoires de l'une à l'autre qui valent d'être notés, car des raisons politiques —il est vrai, très souvent obscures—ont dû généralement les motiver.

La Galatie, entre toutes, a connu bien des vicissitudes et son étendue a varié constamment. Fondée en 25 avant J.-C., elle comprit d'abord, à peu près, toutes les régions que le Gaulois Amyntas avait réussi, par la complaisance de Rome, à faire passer sous sa domination ; d'autres s'y adjoignirent encore, au cours du premier siècle de notre ère, principalement au Nord-Est. La plus grande extension de la province est marquée dans une inscription¹ qui indique au complet tous les pays soumis au même gouverneur : *leg. Aug. pr. pr. Gal(atiae) Pisid(iae) Phryg(iae) Luc(aoniae) Isaur(iae) Paphlag(oniae) Pont(i) Galat(ici)*

¹ *C.I.L.*, III, 6818 = Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 1017.

Ponti Polemoniani Arm(eniae). Tout le monde s'accorde à reconnaître que le troisième nom désigne seulement ici le petit district de la Phrygie *Paroreios*, voisin de la Pisidie, et le dernier l'*Armenia Minor* qui s'allongeait sur la rive droite de l'Euphrate.

Cette énumération copieuse semble révéler, non point, je crois, la vanité du personnage, mais un régime administratif considéré comme toujours provisoire et qu'on pensait fixer un jour. Une nomenclature encore longue, mais moins, en raison de sa date, nous est également fournie.¹ On en voit d'analogues se dérouler lorsque, de Vespasien aux premières années de Trajan, la Galatie fut unie à la Cappadoce,² et, du jour où certaines parties sont détachées pour être ajoutées à la Cilicie, les inscriptions détaillent aussi complaisamment : *πρεσβ(ευτῆς) . . . ἀντιστράτηγος ἐπαρχειῶν Κιλικίας Ἰσαυρίας Λυκαονίας*.³

Cette pratique est spéciale aux contrées dont nous parlons, et pourtant plus d'une province comprenait, elle aussi, plusieurs grandes unités territoriales, faciles à distinguer, l'Asie par exemple ; or les proconsuls d'Asie ne se prévalent jamais de gouverner Mysie, Ionie, Lydie, Carie, Phrygie, etc. Sans doute ils détiennent en bloc l'héritage d'Attale, allégé toutefois de certaines parcelles et agrandi par d'autres prises au dehors ; mais, pareillement, la province de Galatie elle-même, c'est d'abord le domaine d'Amyntas, conservé aussi intégralement dans ses grandes lignes. Somme toute, on a l'impression que les diverses régions ainsi énumérées ont dû passer plus ou moins pour autant de petites provinces temporairement groupées sous un seul chef, et si les abréviations *prov.* et *provinc.* n'étaient pas de règle en quelque sorte, on trouverait peut-être davantage la forme plurielle *provinciar(um)* ⁴—à laquelle répond *ἐπαρχειῶν* ⁵—qui est ailleurs d'une grande rareté. Retenons que la Galatie figure toujours

¹ Dessau, 1039: *provinc. Galat. Phryg. Pisid. Lycaon. Paphlag.* Il y en a d'autres plus abrégées ; cf. 1038.

² Dessau, 263, 268, 8819a, 8971.

³ *Ibid.*, 8827.

⁴ Dessau, 1038: *provinciar. Galatiae Pisid. Paphlagoniae*. Cf. encore 8828 pour la Lycie et la Pamphylie. À l'égard de la Bithynie et du Pont, autre assemblage artificiel, la forme courante, pour autant qu'on en peut juger, est *provinciae* au singulier : Dessau, 1024, 1026, 1079, 8819a.

⁵ *Id.*, 8827. La ville de Tarse porte sur ses monnaies sous Élagabale : *κοινὸς τῶν τριῶν ἐπαρχειῶν* (G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*, London, 1900, p. 200, No. 206, pl. XXVI, 3). Il y a néanmoins un *κοινοβούλιον* pour les trois éparchies de Cilicie (*ibid.*, p. 196-197, Nos. 189-190).

en tête, dans les listes rapportées ci-dessus, sans doute parce qu'elle était comme le noyau de la puissance d'Amyntas ; elle n'a cédé ce rang qu'à la Cappadoce durant la courte période de leur réunion sous un seul légat. Il est incontestable qu'après leur séparation la première fut dépouillée, au profit de la seconde, des "Ponts" orientaux, Galatique, Polémoniaque — il y eut même un Pont Cappadocique. De la sorte, sous Trajan, limitée au nord par le Pont proprement dit ou Pont d'occident (rattaché à la Bithynie), au sud par la Pamphylie et la Cilicie, cette province de Galatie, telle qu'on peut la voir reconstituée dans les *Formae orbis antiqui* de Kiepert (pl. VII [1909]), a l'aspect d'un très long bouclier à double échancrure qui, dans sa partie la plus étranglée, à la latitude du lac Tatta, mesurait quelque 40 milles romains, alors qu'il en couvrait plus de 300 du Nord-Est au Sud-Ouest, dans sa plus grande longueur.

Étrange configuration, où étaient rapprochés les cantons les plus désertiques du centre de l'Anatolie, mais dont les autres, moins désavantagés, aux extrémités nord et sud, demeuraient coupés de la mer. Disgrâce moins sérieuse, j'en conviens, pour une simple unité administrative que pour un État indépendant, mais qu'ont connue bien peu de provinces romaines ; l'effort des tétrarques, précisément, avait toujours porté dans les deux directions où il pouvait remédier à cet isolement continental, vers l'Euxin au Nord et la Méditerranée au Sud : la principauté d'Amyntas s'était étendue jusqu'à la Pamphylie. Or dès le début on retire à la Galatie cette zone méridionale et à l'autre extrémité on lui refuse une vue sur l'Euxin.

Il y a là, manifestement, un dessein arrêté et réfléchi. Les Romains n'ont pas dû oublier sur le champ certaines peccadilles : Auguste, lorsqu'il n'était qu'Octave, avait bénéficié d'une proposition de ces Galates à changer de camp un peu vite. Ils étaient, dans ce gouvernement nouveau, l'élément de population le plus énergique ; ils méritaient une surveillance. D'où l'idée naturelle de les parquer d'abord dans la région la plus pauvre et la moins peuplée de l'Asie Mineure. Mais l'expérience révéla aussitôt qu'envers un régime ordonné et libéral ils étaient très capables de loyalisme ; leur fidélité ne se démentit plus. Alors la question se pose de savoir si cet isolement a cessé avant la multiplication générale des provinces due à Dioclétien. Elle

n'est point tranchée d'un accord unanime ; elle soulève en effet certaines difficultés.

Il est avéré que, sous Antonin le Pieux, cette Galatie composite fut amputée au Sud par l'attribution à la Cilicie des parties méridionales de la Lycaonie et de l'Isaurie. Lui fut-il accordé une compensation au Nord, non pas sur les Ponts orientaux, annexe naturelle de la Cappadoce, mais sur celui de l'Ouest ? *La Géographie* de Ptolémée a paru l'attester. Elle place en tête des régions de Galatie (V, 4, 1-2) la Paphlagonie et, sous ce nom, avec les districts de l'intérieur, la zone côtière dont elle énumère les cités : Amastris, Abonotichos, Sinope, Amisos. Ptolémée était visiblement préoccupé bien plus de la position astronomique des villes que de leur répartition administrative ; son ouvrage ne concerne pas la géographie politique et il traite de tout le monde connu de son temps, sans se limiter aux frontières de l'empire ; il semble cependant, d'une façon générale, avoir basé son classement sur la division en provinces et l'avoir suivie avec assez de rigueur.

Aussi Marquardt admettait-il qu'après la mission de Plinie le Jeune en Bithynie et Pont, la Galatie s'était accrue de la côte paphlagonienne—sous Hadrien ou Antonin, ce point restait en suspens. M. W. M. Ramsay, sans écarter formellement la possibilité de cette extension, la jugeait au moins transitoire,¹ car, en 210 après J.-C., Abonotichos usait encore de l'ère pompéienne (64), en rapport avec l'organisation de la Bithynie. M. Franz Cumont² jugea donc utile de revenir sur un texte catégorique qu'il avait déjà signalé antérieurement. Vers l'année 165, le sophiste Lucien, se rendant de la Cappadoce au Pont-Euxin, faillit périr dans un guet-apens que lui avait tendu le célèbre “prophète” et charlatan Alexandre d'Abonotichos. Échappé au danger et parvenu à Amastris, il porta plainte auprès du gouverneur “du Pont et de Bithynie,” qui était alors (Lollianus) Avitus et avait dans cette métropole sa résidence. Avitus, loin de se déclarer incompétent, alléguait des raisons purement personnelles pour se dérober.³ Ainsi, Ptolémée aura confondu parmi ses sources de dates diverses : l'une d'elles,

¹ *H.G.A.M.*, p. 195.

² “La Galatie maritime de Ptolémée” (*Rev. Ét. gr.*, XVI [1903], pp. 25-27).

³ Lucien, *Alex.*, 57.

d'époque macédonienne, étendait à bon droit jusqu'au rivage la région de Paphlagonie.

L'argument serait péremptoire si l'on se trouvait en mesure d'établir que l'oeuvre de Ptolémée est antérieure à 165 ; il n'en est rien. Les rares témoignages, de faible valeur peut-être, mais enfin les seuls qui nous restent sur la vie de l'auteur, conduisent à admettre qu'elle a pu fort bien se prolonger jusqu'à la fin du règne de Marc-Aurèle (180), et comme la *Géographie* est manifestement postérieure à d'autres ouvrages du même Ptolémée, notamment l' " *Almageste*," ne lui serait-il pas resté, après la mésaventure de Lucien, tout le temps nécessaire pour composer certains chapitres ou tout au moins les mettre à jour ?

Aussi d'autres érudits n'ont-ils point suivi M. Cumont. M. Brandis¹ s'en tient aux démarcations de Ptolémée, et MM. E. Babelon et Théodore Reinach signalent les objections en évitant de se prononcer.²

Mais M. Cumont allègue à l'appui de sa thèse d'autres considérations qu'il ne juge pas moins décisives. Les villes d'Abonotichos, Sinope et Amisos faisaient partie du koinon du Pont, qui représente la moitié de la province double de *Bithynia-Pontus*. Ce κοινὸν Πόντου était une fédération de 10 villes, κοινὸν τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ πόλεων ἰ', dit une inscription d'Heraclea Pontica,³ qui date au plus tôt de la seconde moitié du II^e siècle. " On ne voit pas comment on pourrait arriver à ce chiffre en supprimant les villes paphlagoniennes . . ." Il y a d'ailleurs un pontarque à Amisos en 209 après J.-C.⁴ " Or, si une province peut comprendre plusieurs κοινά, on n'a pas d'exemple, je pense, qu'un κοινόν soit partagé au point de vue administratif, entre deux gouvernements. Cette unité religieuse était aussi indivisible au point de vue politique."

¹ Art. *Galatia* dans Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, col. 550 *seq.* Sa décision était déjà fixée à l'art. *Bithynia*, *ibid.*, col. 526.

² *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie-Mineure*, Paris, I, 1 (1904), p. 1 *seq.* Tout récemment encore, l'ancienne doctrine a obtenu une adhésion pure et simple, ce qui est excessif : R. Janin, *Échos d'Orient*, XXIV (1921), p. 168 : " Dès le règne d'Antonin le Pieux la frontière orientale [de la Bithynie] ne va plus que jusqu'à Cytoros, qui dépend d'Amastris, c'est-à-dire à mi-chemin entre Sinope et Héraclée." Il n'y a, je suppose, qu'une inadvertance dans cette phrase de D. Vaglieri (*Dizion. epigrafico* de De Ruggiero, art. *Galatia* (1905), p. 361 : " *Alla Cappadocia* (sic!) *pare siano aggiunti i territori di Abunoteichos, Sinope ed Amisus già appartenenti alle provincie del Ponto e Bithynia.*"

³ *I.G.R.P.*, III, 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 97.

Ce dernier point n'a pas, que je sache, été jamais discuté. M. Gustave Fougères écrit¹ : "D'une manière générale, en Orient, presque chaque *ἔθνος* conserve son *κοινόν*, de sorte que le bon fonctionnement du culte impérial ne se trouve pas atteint par les remaniements si fréquents des territoires provinciaux. La Thessalie, par exemple, ayant son *κοινόν* particulier, pouvait indifféremment passer de la Macédoine à l'Achaïe." Seulement, dans l'exemple choisi, elle passait tout entière d'un gouvernement à un autre. Nous avons maintenant à nous demander si un koinon peut être en quelque sorte "à cheval" sur plusieurs provinces.

M. Brandis l'admet, à titre exceptionnel, dans le cas présent, tout en déclarant énigmatiques les motifs de cette dérogation, et MM. Babelon et Reinach s'expriment ainsi sans plus de commentaires² : "Quant aux villes de la côte, même celles qui comp-
taient à la province de Cappadoce ou à celle de Bithynie, il est probable qu'elles faisaient partie d'un autre koinon pontique, celui de *l'ora pontica*, qui comptait dix cités, peut-être Chalcedon,³ Héraclée, Tium, Amastris, Abonotichos, Amisus, Sinope, Polemonium, Cerasus, Trapezus."

D'un autre koinon ? C'est qu'en effet la question se complique. Une inscription de Sébastopolis⁴ glorifie longuement M. Antonius Rufus, *πονταρχήσαντα ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τοῦ Πό[ν]του Νεοκαισαρείᾳ*, prêtre à vie d'Hadrien (l. 13)—dignité qui fournit une date approximative. Or Néocésarée, dont le nom devint en turc *Niksar* par une évolution naturelle, n'est point située dans la province de Bithynie-Pont. Ptolémée distingue successivement, à l'Est de la Paphlagonie, le *Pontus Galaticus*, le *Pontus Polemoniacus* (dit aussi *Polemonianus* en épigraphie⁵) et le *Pontus Cappadocicus*. "Peut-être, à l'origine, selon MM. Babelon et Reinach, chacun de ces trois Ponts forma-t-il un *κοινόν* distinct. Plus tard, les deux premiers sont réunis sous l'appellation commune de *Pontus mediterraneus*, qui laisse croire que les villes maritimes en avaient été détachées. Les villes de

¹ Art. "Koinon" dans le *Dictionn. des Antiquités gr. et rom.*, p. 845.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

³ Ils ont retiré ce nom un peu plus tard (I, 2 [1908], p. 235, note 1), sans lui rien substituer.

⁴ *I.G.R.P.*, III, 115 ; cf. ll. 7 et 23.

⁵ Dessau, 1017. Voir *supra*, p. 93 seq.

l'intérieur forment un *κοινόν* unique ayant pour chef-lieu Néo-césarée." Cette expression *Pontus mediterraneus* nous est connue par très peu d'inscriptions :

C.I.L., V, 8666 (Concordia en Vénétie) : T. Desticio T. f. Cla(udia) Severo proc(uratori) Aug(usti) prov(inciae) Daciae Superior(is), proc(uratori) prov(inciae) Cappadoc(iae), item Ponti Meditteran(ei) et Arme[ni]ae Minor(is) et Lycaon(iae) Antioch[ian(ae)],¹ proc(uratori) prov(inciae) Raetiae . . .

On sait par un diplôme militaire que ce Desticius Severus était en Rétie en 166 ; son *cursus* direct le met donc en Cappadoce vers le temps même où se place l'aventure de Lucien.

C.I.L., X, 2583-2584 (Carales en Sardaigne), texte identique dans les deux exemplaires, à part la variante indiquée : Q. Cosconio M.f. Poll(ia) Frontoni . . . proc(uratori) Augustor(um) ad vectig(al) XX her(editatum) per Pontum et Bithyniam et Pontum Mediterraneum et Paphlagoniam, proc(uratori) Aug(ustorum) item ad vectig(al) XX her(editatum) per Asiam (2583 ; Pamphyliam 2584) Lyciam Phrygiam Galatiam et insules Cyclades. . . . Date inconnue, mais Augg. fait songer, soit à Marc-Aurèle et Lucius Verus, soit à Septime Sévère et Caracalla.

Un simple coup d'oeil montre aussitôt que ce *Pontus Mediterraneus*, de même que l'*Antiochiana*, n'est en rien à comparer avec des districts provinciaux comme Lycaonie, Phrygie, Isaurie, dont les noms reviennent fréquemment dans les inscriptions concernant des gouverneurs. Ici nous n'avons affaire qu'à des districts procuratoriens. Ces procurateurs opèrent dans plusieurs gouvernements à la fois, même Desticius, car jamais l'*Antiochiana* n'a été rattachée à la Cappadoce. M. Otto Hirschfeld a parfaitement établi que cette sorte d'agents a des fonctions d'ordre exclusivement domanial.² De fait, l'aire continentale des Ponts Galatique et Polémoniaque a dû comprendre d'importants domaines impériaux. Nous savons que les Césars, par une série d'évictions, adroites ou brutales, sont devenus plus ou moins tôt les successeurs des principautés sacerdotales répandues en Asie Mineure. Or Zela avait été d'abord une bourgade

¹ C'est le sud de la Lycaonie, avec Derbe. Même texte, mais sans l'*Antiochiana*, dans Pais, *Suppl. ital.*, 1227.

² *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin, 1913, p. 567.

peuplée d'hiérodules et régie par ses grands-prêtres. Comana Pontica, la "ville sainte,"¹ connut aussi la domination politique et économique d'un temple. Et des faits analogues ont été signalés dans le Sud-Ouest de l'Asie Mineure,² où s'étendirent également les fonctions de Desticius.

La traduction littérale de *Pontus Mediterraneus* serait Πόντος μεσόγειος. Cette expression, Ptolémée l'ignore ; il nomme μεσόγειοι simplement une série de cités et qualifie de même diverses villes dans d'autres régions. À Néocésarée, de nombreuses monnaies ont été frappées avec la légende κοι(νὸν) Πόντου sans autre désignation. Et sans doute, dans le champ étroit d'une médaille, la place faisait défaut pour l'insertion d'un titre plus long. Mais l'inscription de Sébastopolis, avec ses 29 lignes, pouvait s'affranchir de ce laconisme ; or elle parle uniquement de la métropole "du Pont" Néocésarée. Aussi plusieurs auteurs³ ont-ils considéré que ce Pont embrassait aussi la moitié de la province de Bithynie.

J'aurais moi-même peu hésité à les suivre si deux types monétaires fort curieux, publiés et parfaitement analysés par MM. Babelon et Reinach,⁴ ne conduisaient à la conclusion opposée. Sur chacune, l'on voit 5 femmes tourelées, divisées en deux groupes (3 à gauche, 2 à droite) par une autre, debout elle-même dans le premier exemplaire, assise dans le second, et qui tient deux attributs, le gouvernail et la corne d'abondance. C'est évidemment la cité-mère⁵ entourée de ses satellites.

Pourquoi six figures ? Le graveur a-t-il entendu présenter un groupe quelconque ? Certainement non ; cette forme d'art ne répugnait nullement aux précisions ; sur les pièces des cités néocores, par exemple, le nombre des temples figurés correspondait rigoureusement à celui des néocorats. Sans une raison de fait, l'artiste eût-il choisi deux groupes inégaux gênant la symétrie ? Il y avait donc exactement six villes associées, et

¹ *I.G.R.P.*, III, 121.

² Cf. M. Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonats*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1910, p. 295 *seq.*

³ Brandis, *loc. cit.*, art. *Bithynia* ; Fougères, art. "Koinon," etc.

⁴ *Op. laud.*, I, 1, p. 88, No. 14, pl. XII, fig. 28 ; et p. 90, No. 27, pl. XIII, fig. 8.

⁵ Là où elle est debout, on voit à ses pieds un petit personnage nageant, type du fleuve qui l'arrose, dans la même attitude que l'Oronte d'Antioche.

l'on ne peut les comprendre parmi les dix dont le total au moins nous est rappelé par la pierre d'Héraclée. La liste englobait sûrement Néocésarée, Sébastopolis, Comana Pontica où, dans une inscription,¹ il est parlé d'un personnage [ἀρ]χιερῆως [τοῦ] Πόντου. Quant aux trois complémentaires, il n'y que probabilité, très grande pour Amasie et pour Zela, moindre pour Sébastée (aujourd'hui Sivas) qu'on y ajoute communément, mais qui me paraît un peu excentrique : située plus au Sud, sur l'Halys, elle reste en dehors du système fluvial (Lycus, Iris, Scylax, tributaires l'un de l'autre) qui rattache étroitement les cinq premières. Seulement diverses cités auxquelles on eût pu songer, Eupatoria, Dazimon, Ibora, Pleuramis, Euchaïta, appartiennent déjà alors plutôt au passé, ou bien leur avenir ne se dessine point encore.

Il me paraît évident, en définitive, que ce groupement s'est contenté du titre nu de κοινὸν Πόντου, comme son voisin de l'Ouest. Πόντος μεσόγειος, pour des Grecs, aurait désigné plutôt une mer intérieure et l'amphibologie, qui a d'abord égaré les modernes, n'existait sans doute pas pour les anciens. A quel point ils l'ignoraient, on le voit bien par une inscription de Sinope en l'honneur d'un célèbre pugiliste, qui entre autres victoires a remporté celles-ci :² κοινὸν Πόντο(ν) β'. Il a triomphé deux fois aux jeux donnés par le κοινόν du Pont—celui de l'Ouest évidemment ; c'était clair pour les gens de Sinope qui avaient dressé le monument, et peut-être celui de l'intérieur ne donnait-il pas de jeux internationaux.

Ce dernier κοινόν est à nos yeux un peu déconcertant et l'on s'en explique mal les origines. Rome ne tenait pas à la multiplicité des κοινά ; elle les tolérait d'habitude lorsqu'ils remontaient plus haut que sa domination et ne lui paraissaient pas dangereux. Celui-là aura donc pris naissance du temps des Mithridates et le canton qu'il détermine fut, comme M. Cumont l'a très bien vu, le centre de leur puissance. Mais ce groupement doit s'être formé aux derniers temps de leur dynastie : M. Th. Reinach³ a signalé avec raison le caractère rural des populations dans le Nord de la Cappadoce. Il y avait là une vraie

¹ I.G.R.P., III, 107.

² Th. Reinach, *Rev. arch.*, 1916, I, p. 354 *seq.*, l. 16 (II^e siècle, probablement).

³ *Mithridate Eupator, roi de Pont*, Paris, 1890, p. 238 *seq.*

“poussière” de bourgades (κῶμαι) et les agglomérations principales n'arrivèrent que lentement et assez tard au type de la cité grecque. On peut s'étonner, d'autre part, que ce κοινόν se soit limité aux villes de l'intérieur, au lieu de s'étendre à celles du littoral qui ne faisaient point encore partie d'une semblable association. Les rois de Pont visèrent toujours à gagner le plus possible de rivage maritime, et il est certain que les cités côtières leur témoignèrent autant de loyalisme que celles de la montagne. Si les villes du littoral à l'Est d'Amisos demeurèrent à l'écart de l'autre κοινόν du Pont (du Pont “bithyniaque”), et si elles n'en ont pas à elles seules formé un troisième, assez peu vraisemblable car nous n'en avons aucun indice, il faut reconnaître qu'elles se sont trouvées entièrement isolées du reste de la province de Cappadoce. Nicopolis, métropole de la Petite Arménie, était par là même incorporée dans le κοινόν Ἀρμενίας que suppose l'Ἀρμενιάρχης rappelé par une inscription de cette ville.¹ Par suite, une barrière continue s'interposait entre le centre de la province (avec Césarée notamment) et Cerasus, Polemonium, Trébizonde, pour ne nommer que les cités les plus importantes. Est-ce une raison suffisante pour les rattacher, même avec réserve, à Amisos, Sinope, Amastris, Héraclée, etc., comme l'ont fait les auteurs du *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*? Tout bien pesé, je ne le crois pas.

Les conditions indiquées ci-dessus, pour singulières qu'elles fussent, n'empêchaient pas cependant ces villes de participer, si elles le voulaient, à l'assemblée de Cappadoce; d'ailleurs leur concours n'y était pas obligatoire—l'assemblée elle-même ne l'était nullement, en droit, avant la fin du III^e siècle,² et chaque cité pouvait toujours correspondre directement avec le pouvoir central, avec l'autorité romaine à Rome. Des tournées comme celles d'Arrien permettaient en outre au légat de se renseigner directement sur les vœux des populations.

Il faut revenir toutefois à la question posée plus haut. Y a-t-il des exemples de κοινά débordant sur plusieurs provinces? Je sais du moins un cas qui aurait pu laisser quelque doute. Il existait un κοινόν Λυκαονίας, dont la mention se lit sur certaines monnaies de Baratra, Dalisandos, Derbe, Ilistra,

¹ *I.G.R.P.*, III, 132.

² Cf. Kornemann, *Concilium*, dans Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, col. 822.

Laranda, à partir de Marc-Aurèle et Lucius Verus.¹ Or la Lycaonie, qui, sous Trajan, faisait partie de la Galatie, a vu son sort changer peu après : une inscription d'Isaura² nomme G. Etrilius Regillus Laberius Priscus *πρεσβευτήν . . . ἀντιστράτηγον* (pour Antonin le Pieux) *ἐπαρχειῶν Κιλικίας Ἰσαυρίας Λυκαονίας*, dont Tarse se glorifiait d'être l'unique métropole.³ Dans l'ensemble, la Lycaonie a donc été transférée à la Cilicie,⁴ mais une partie de son territoire, *μέρος Λυκαονίας*, resta à la Galatie.⁵ Il est, en effet, établi à cette heure qu'Iconium en particulier était demeuré ville de Galatie.⁶ Mais qu'en fut-il de Savatra, située un peu plus à l'Est,⁷ et qu'on ne pouvait lui retirer sans rétrécir plus encore cette Galatie, déjà si étrangement étirée en longueur ? Ptolémée l'y maintient,⁸ mais la cite côte à côte avec Lystra et Isaura, trop éloignées pour appartenir au même district. A la suite d'une exploration méthodique des lieux et d'un examen comparatif des sources de toute nature et de toute époque, M. W. M. Ramsay est arrivé à déterminer en gros le tracé de la frontière, après ces remaniements sous Antonin, entre la Galatie et la Cilicie.⁹ Dans cette dernière est englobée Savatra, avec toutes les villes qui, d'après les monnaies, relevaient du *κοινόν* de Lycaonie, c'est-à-dire toutes celles qui restaient en dehors de l'*ἐπαρχία* de Cilicie—sauf l'exception à peu près unique d'Isaura.

On estime même généralement que ce *κοινόν* n'est pas antérieur à l'opération administrative qui créa les trois éparchies susnommées, car les monnaies qui le rappellent ne remontent qu'à Marc-Aurèle au plus tôt. Mais, à mon avis, la chose n'est rien moins que certaine : toutes ces villes appartenaient antérieurement ensemble à la province de Galatie (Iconium et Lystra, qu'elle ne perdit point, étaient colonies romaines). Or, en Galatie propre, aucune médaille commémorative de *κοινόν*

¹ G. F. Hill, B.M.C. *Lycaonia, Isauria, Cilicia*, London, 1900, pp. xix-xxii.

² *I.G.R.P.*, III, 290.

³ *Ibid.*, 880.

⁴ Et non pas à la Cappadoce, où la met Ptolémée, V, 6, 15.

⁵ *Id.*, V, 4, 8.

⁶ W. M. Ramsay, *Class. Rev.*, XIX (1905), p. 416.

⁷ Son site a été fixé avec certitude, grâce à une inscription (T. Callander in *Stud. E.R.P.*, [1906], p. 158).

⁸ V, 4, 9.

⁹ *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, VII (1904), *Beiblatt*, col. 57-132 ; cf. la carte col. 67-68, et la col. 71 pour les raisons qui ont fait fixer à 138 la date probable du changement.

n'apparaît avant Trajan,¹ plus d'un siècle après la création de la province, dont l'assemblée aura pris naissance beaucoup plus tôt. Bien antérieurement, cette Lycaonie était citée comme une entité géographique. En tout cas il paraît certain qu'Isaura demeura isolée, comme le furent sans doute les villes des Ponts Galatique, Polémoniaque et Cappadocique situées au bord du Pont-Euxin.

Concluons. Le témoignage de Ptolémée est tellement entaché d'erreurs pour le Sud qu'il ne mérite pas grand crédit pour le Nord et qu'il faut attribuer à la Galatie la seule Paphlagonie de l'intérieur, à tout le moins jusqu'à l'année 209, où il y avait encore un pontarque à Amisos.

Mais n'y eut-il aucune modification à cet état des choses avant le règne de Dioclétien ? J'en serais surpris, étant donné le document qu'il convient de discuter pour finir et dont il ne me paraît pas qu'on ait reconnu toute la signification. Je veux parler d'un milliaire de la voie romaine Amasie-Amisos, trouvé par les voyageurs anglais J. G. C. Anderson et J. Arthur R. Munro, à quelque distance au Nord-Ouest de la localité moderne de Kavsa, entre Mersivan et Yénidjé.² En voici le texte complet, avec ses négligences dans la gravure, l'orthographe et la disposition des lettres.

Im]P CAE[s C Mes
 sz]O QVINTO TRAI
 ANO DECCIO PIO F
 ELICI INVICTO AVG
 5 PONTIEICI MAXIMO
 TR POTESTATM II C
 ONS II PP ET C MES
 SIO QVINTO TRAI
 NO ERENNIO ETRV
 10 CCIO DECCIO CAES
 PER M IVN VALERIV
 M NEPOTIANVM
 PRAESIDEM PRO
 VINCIAE GALAT
 15 IAE POSITIA OI

¹ W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Galatia*, London, 1899, pp. 5-7 (Ancyre).

² Munro, *J.H.S.*, XX (1900), p. 161, no. 3 ; *C.I.L.*, III, 14184²⁵.

Les deux Dèce père et fils étant mentionnés, le texte est de 250 ou 251. Dans certaines énumérations de la fin du I^{er} siècle on voit figurer le Pont, parce qu'après Vespasien Galatie et Cappadoce étaient groupées et soumises à un même gouverneur. Mais Trajan ayant opéré entre elles une scission définitive, cette mention ne se comprend plus et elle disparaît au II^e siècle. Il semble pourtant impossible de lire, à la dernière ligne—où les hachures en grisaille du facsimilé ne révèlent de mutilations que pour deux jambages de l'N—autre chose que PONTI, ou PONT(*i*) si l'on veut rattacher au mot suivant la haste qui vient après le T. *Deinde fortasse sequebatur, ut dubitans coniecit* Munro, [P]a[*flag*]o[*niae*], est-il dit au *Corpus*.

M. Anderson a aussitôt fait la remarque,¹ tout comme M. Cumont,² que cette partie de la route relevait du gouverneur de Galatie et non pas du légat de Cappadoce. On savait déjà par le texte du serment de Gangres, capitale des Paphlagoniens,³ (qu'accompagnent ces mots : " Pareillement les Phazimonites, qui habitent la ville dite maintenant Néapolis, jurèrent tous dans l'Augusteum, sur l'autel d'Auguste ") que la Phazimonitide était rattachée à la Paphlagonie, dont l'Halys seul la séparait. L'inscription nous en montre l'étendue réelle. R. Kiepert, bien à tort, n'a mis dans la Galatie que Néapolis (Néoclaudiopolis), en dépit de ce milliaire et bien que M. Cumont eût déjà, se référant à Strabon, fixé l'aire de la Phazimonitide.⁴ Cette annexe de la Paphlagonie contribuait encore à accentuer l'aspect étrange et contourné de la Galatie.

Mais le mot *Ponti*, apparemment indubitable, doit attester une extension. Il serait bien osé de prétendre qu'il ne concerne pas forcément une région baignée par la mer ; mais laquelle ? Les auteurs des *Studia Pontica*, qui ont réservé par avance à ce texte le No. 425 dans leur *Recueil des inscriptions du Pont*, dont le premier fascicule, seul paru (1910), s'arrête au No. 278^e, ne sauraient manquer d'aborder ce problème le moment venu. Se borneront-ils à suggérer une solution que M. Cumont avait déjà jugée admissible à la rigueur pour l'époque des Antonins :⁵ " Il

¹ *J.H.S.*, *ibid.*, p. 152.

² *Stud. Pont.*, Bruxelles, II (1906), p. 134, note 6.

³ *Id.*, *Rev. Ét. gr.*, XIV (1901), pp. 26-45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33 *seq.* Rapprocher sa carte (p. 34) de celle des *Formae orbis antiqui*.

⁵ *Rev. Ét. gr.*, XVI (1903), p. 27.

est fort possible, d'ailleurs, qu'en certains endroits la Paphlagonie se soit étendue jusqu'à l'Euxin entre les territoires des cités grecques échelonnées le long du rivage, comme l'étaient au moyen âge les villes hanséatiques le long de nos mers du Nord."

Je suis convaincu que l'indication, nouvelle au III^e siècle, du Pont parmi les territoires du gouverneur de Galatie suppose nécessairement une modification pour laquelle nous avons un *terminus post quem* et un autre *ante quem* : 209-250.

Ici nous ne pouvons guère nous dispenser d'examiner le cas de l'empereur Balbin. D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus, qui fut consul *iterum* en 213 et, selon Waddington, consul suffecte en 210 ou 211, exerça antérieurement quelques commandements provinciaux qu'énumère ainsi Jules Capitolin :¹ *Nam et Asiam et Africam et Bithyniam et Galatiam et Pontum et Thracias et Gallias civilibus administrationibus rexerat*. Que vaut cette nomenclature ? *Quas provincias rexerit nescimus*, déclare avec un excès de scepticisme, je pense, la *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*.² Perrot³ mettait entre 205 et 208 la légation du personnage en Galatie, mais Stein⁴ a voulu les placer un peu plus tard, Balbin n'ayant pu exercer la préture avant 204, affirmait-il sans preuve formelle. En ce cas, elle aurait eu lieu aux alentours de notre *terminus post quem*, s'il faut lire *Galatiam et Pontum*, en soudant les deux termes. Mais j'ose à cet égard me montrer incrédule. Dans la liste de Capitolin, la conjonction *et* ne relie que des provinces désignées par un seul nom géographique. Il n'y eut jamais, à vrai dire, de province ne comprenant que le Pont, et la source utilisée tardivement par cet auteur paraît bien remonter au III^e siècle. Seulement, indépendamment de l'anachronisme *civilibus administrationibus*—car, M. Léon Homo l'a très bien établi,⁵ la séparation des pouvoirs civils et des pouvoirs militaires ne fut accomplie que par Dioclétien—je présume qu'il aura commis une interversion en transcrivant le document original ; il faut lire sans doute *Bithyniam et Pontum et Galatiam*. Ou la mention de la Galatie suffisait, ou bien, si l'on voulait en

¹ *Max. et Balb.*, VII, 2. Hérodién se borne à dire (VII, 10, 4) : ἐθνῶν τε ἡγεσάμενος ἀμέπτως.

² I, p. 260.

³ *De Galatia provincia Romana*, Paris, 1867, p. 53 et 121.

⁴ Dans Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, III, col. 1260.

⁵ *Rev. historiq.*, CXXXVII (1921), pp. 161-203 ; CXXXVIII (*id.*), pp. 1-53.

détailler les éléments divers, il fallait après *et Pontum*, ajouter autre chose, comme on a dû le faire sur le milliaire mutilé de Phazimonitide. Mais d'ailleurs une semblable énumération n'était pas à sa place dans un texte littéraire. Enfin, admettons un instant la copulation *Galatiam et Pontum* ; Amisos ne pouvait guère s'en voir exclue ; mais sa pontarchie de 209 devient inexplicable, si nous maintenons à la date indiquée par Perrot la légation de Balbin ; la rejeter plus tard est vraiment difficile d'après la suite de sa carrière.

Somme toute, nous ne trouvons là ni une difficulté, ni un éclaircissement.

J'ai peine à croire, en effet, qu'il faille chercher l'agrandissement ultérieur dans une autre direction que du côté du Nord. Peut-être y eut-il désormais un *Pontus Paphlagonicus*, assez étroit pour laisser subsister une province de *Pont et Bithynie*, dont nous avons encore des témoignages au III^e siècle. La restitution de cette formule à la fin de notre texte n'aurait rien d'in vraisemblable, et ce Pont aurait compris l'ancienne Paphlagonie de l'intérieur et la zone maritime adjacente.

L'épigraphie, quelque jour, nous tirera-t-elle d'embarras ? On ne saurait du moins compter sur la numismatique, car, si beaucoup de monnaies mentionnent le *κοινόν* de l'hexapole pontique continentale, aucune—et ce ne doit pas être un hasard—n'a jusqu'ici rappelé la décapole pontique du littoral.

VII.

L'ANNEXION DU PONT POLÉMONIAQUE ET DE LA PETITE ARMÉNIE

par FRANZ CUMONT

LA longue guerre conduite par les Romains en Arménie sous le règne de Néron (58-63) n'avait été rien moins que triomphale.¹ Après les campagnes victorieuses de Corbulon contre Tiridate et ses marches irrésistibles sur Artaxata et Tigranocerte, la malheureuse expédition de Caesenius Paetus aboutit à un désastre : la capitulation honteuse de deux légions et l'évacuation de tout le pays occupé. Corbulon, replacé à la tête d'une armée d'invasion avec les pouvoirs les plus étendus, préféra aux risques d'une nouvelle offensive la conclusion d'un traité qui rendait à Tiridate le trône d'Arménie sous la seule réserve d'une investiture par Néron. Si le général accepta un arrangement pacifique, même médiocre, plutôt que d'engager une lutte à main armée, c'est qu'il connaissait par expérience les difficultés d'une entreprise dont il s'était quatre ans auparavant tiré à son honneur. Il était périlleux de conduire des légions à travers une région mal connue,² hérissée de hautes montagnes, plus malaisé encore de les y maintenir d'une façon durable loin de toute base d'opérations. Le récit de Tacite laisse clairement entendre que l'obstacle le plus considérable à la réussite des opérations était le manque de subsistances pour les troupes. Il n'y avait encore aucune chaussée carrossable aboutissant à travers le Pont ou la Cappadoce à la vallée de l'Euphrate supérieur.³

¹ Le dernier récit de ces événements est celui qu'a donné Stein dans Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. "Domitius Corbulon"; Supplementband III, 397-406.

² Pline doit ses renseignements sur la géographie de cette région précisément aux itinéraires de Corbulon. Cf. *H.N.*, VI, 8, 23.

³ Cf. *infra*, p. 113 seq.

Au moment où Paetus était pressé par les forces du roi des Parthes, une légion, la *V Macedonica*, qu'il avait laissée dans le Pont,¹ n'avait pu venir à son aide, tant les chemins étaient peu praticables. Aussi, Corbulo durant sa marche contre Tiridate avait-il dû organiser son service de ravitaillement par la Mer Noire ; vivres et munitions étaient débarqués dans le havre de Trapézus et des convois de bêtes de somme les acheminaient de là à travers la chaîne pontique vers le théâtre des hostilités.² La témérité de Paetus négligea d'assurer l'approvisionnement de son armée ;³ il pensa pouvoir vivre sur le pays, promptement épuisé.⁴ C'est même probablement pour ne pas avoir trop de bouches à nourrir que le légat ne prit avec lui que deux légions, des trois dont il pouvait disposer. Néanmoins il apprit à ses dépens ce qu'il pouvait en coûter de s'embarquer sans biscuit pour ces parages lointains. Lorsque Corbulo arriva à marches forcées de Syrie pour lui porter secours, il eut soin de se faire suivre d'un train inusité : de longues caravanes de chameaux chargés de blé.⁵

La viabilité encore rudimentaire des provinces d'Anatolie donnait à la voie maritime une importance prépondérante. Trapézus était la base navale vers laquelle convergeaient les vaisseaux venant du Bosphore, des bords du Danube ou de la Chersonèse Taurique. Mais, pour y parvenir, les transports devaient braver d'autres dangers encore que ceux d'une mer souvent courroucée.

La côte abrupte et sauvage où les contreforts de la chaîne altière du Caucase viennent plonger dans les flots, était peuplée de tribus farouches, Hénioques et Achéens, nichés dans les replis inaccessibles des montagnes boisées et qui vivaient de la piraterie. Leurs barques étroites et légères, nommées *camares*

¹ Tacite, *Ann.*, XV, 9 et 26.

² Tacite, *ibid.*, XIII, 39. "Rex . . . ut commeatus nostros Pontico mari et Trapezunte oppido adventantes interciperet, propere discedit. Sed neque commeatibus vim facere potuit, quia per montes ducebantur praesidiis nostris insessos . . ." L'armée souffrit néanmoins du manque de pain, et dut apaiser sa faim en se nourrissant de la chair des troupeaux (XIV, 24).

³ Tacite, *ibid.*, XV, 8 : "Paetus . . . nullo rei frumentariae provisu, rapit exercitum trans montem Taurum."

⁴ Tacite, *ibid.*, cf. XV, 16.

⁵ Tacite, *ibid.*, XV, 12 : "Comitabantur exercitum praeter alia sueta bello magna vis camelorum onusta frumenti, ut simul hostem famemque depelleret."

étaient formées d'ais ajustés à l'aide de chevilles de bois, sans aucun clou de bronze ou de fer, et par les gros temps on en surmontait les bordages d'un toit, sur lequel passaient les lames.¹ Ces camares, grossières mais agiles, montées par vingt-cinq à trente marins, se réunissaient en escadrilles, qui attaquaient en haute mer les navires marchands ; ou bien elles abordaient sur un point du rivage, les hommes chargeaient alors sur leurs épaules esquifs et agrès et les cachaient au fond des bois ; puis ils se répandaient dans les campagnes d'alentour pour y faire des razzias d'esclaves.² Parfois ils s'enhardissaient jusqu'à fondre sur les bourgs et les villes, qu'ils mettaient au pillage : Pityus, enrichie par son commerce, fut ainsi saccagée par eux.³ Ils conduisaient même leurs flottilles à travers tout le Pont-Euxin jusqu'aux bouches du Danube.⁴ Strabon nous dit qu'ils étaient "maîtres de la mer" (*θαλασσοκρατοῦσι*) et que l'incurie des fonctionnaires romains laissait souvent les populations sans défense contre leurs incursions.⁵

On comprend le danger que le voisinage de ces hardis flibustiers dut faire courir à l'armée de Corbulo, dont le ravitaillement dépendait de l'arrivée régulière des transports à Trapézus. La paix signée, en 63, Néron se décida à prendre des mesures énergiques pour assurer la sécurité de la navigation, d'où dépendait celle de la frontière orientale de l'empire. Une nécessité impérieuse l'obligeait à adopter de nouveau une politique d'expansion abandonnée depuis Tibère. Déjà vers la fin des hostilités, "les rois et tétrarques" avaient reçu l'ordre d'obéir à Corbulo, qui obtenait ainsi en Orient (la remarque est de Tacite⁶) un pouvoir comparable à celui que Pompée avait reçu

¹ Strabon, XI, 2, 12, p. 495C ; Tacite, *Hist.*, III, 47.

² Strabon, *loc. cit.* : Cf. XVII, 3, 24, p. 839C, et Ammien Marc., XXII, 8, 25. En 310 av. J.-C., le roi Eumélos avait déjà dû faire la guerre à ces pirates (Diod., XX, 24, 3).

³ Pline, VI, 5, 16 : "Pityus oppidum opulentissimum ab Heniochis direptum est" ; cf. Strabon : *Ἐπιπλέοντες χώρα τινι ἢ καὶ πόλει*. Le silence de Tacite rend peu vraisemblable que ce sac ait eu lieu durant la révolte de l'an 69 (cf. *infra*). D'ailleurs la source suivie par Pline est probablement plus ancienne.

⁴ Ovide, *Ex Ponto*, IV, 10, 25 ss.

⁵ Strabon, p. 496C : *Ἡ δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἀβοηθητότερα ἔστι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν πεμπομένων*.

⁶ Tacite, *Ann.*, XV, 25 : "Scribitur tetrarchis ac regibus praefectisque et procuratoribus et qui praetorum finitimas provincias regebant jussu Corbulonis obsequi, in tantum ferme modum aucta potestate, quem populus Romanus Cn. Pompeio bellum piraticum gesturo dederat."

du peuple pour combattre les pirates. En 64, le Pont Polémoniaque fut dépouillé du semblant d'indépendance qui lui restait : Polémon II se laissa persuader d'abdiquer¹ et son petit royaume devint une annexe de la province de Galatie. Rome acquérait ainsi la domination directe de toute la côte jusqu'au fond du Pont Euxin avec les ports de Polémonium ou Sidé, Cérasus, Trapézus. L'ancienne flotte royale fut renforcée et une escadre de quarante vaisseaux de guerre, dont le port d'attache était Trapézus, protégea désormais les provinces littorales.²

Là ne se bornèrent pas les mesures de précaution prises par l'Empire. Des troupes furent échelonnées dans des postes établis le long de la côte caucasienne, chez les Hénioques et les Colques.³ En même temps, au nord, le royaume du Bosphore était soumis à une étroite sujétion et les colonies helléniques recevaient de Mésie des garnisons.⁴ Ces détachements devaient les aider à se défendre contre les attaques des Scythes, que le légat de Mésie, T. Plautius Silvanus, venait précisément de battre sous les murs de Chersonèse,⁵ mais ils devaient sans doute aussi surveiller les marchands grecs, trop enclins à abriter les "camares" des pirates, à les approvisionner et à recéler leur butin.⁶ En 66, le Pont Euxin était devenu un lac romain ; la

¹ Suétone, *Nero*, 18 : "Ponti modo regnum concedente Polemone, item Alpium defuncto Cottio in provinciae formam redegit"; Vopisc., *Aurel.*, 21 : "Nero sub quo Pontus Polemoniacus et Alpes Cottiae Romano nomini sunt tributae." Cf. Tacite, *Hist.*, III, 47 : "Polemonis . . . postquam regnum in provinciam verterat." Eutrope, VII, 14 (9) ; Aurel. Victor, *Caes.*, 5, 2 ; l'*Építome de Caes.*, 5, 4, ne font que répéter Suétone. La date exacte de l'annexion est fournie par l'ère de Cérasus, Néocésarée, Trapézus, Zéla (Oct. 64) ; cf. Kubitchek, *R.E.*, s.v. "Aera," col. 643, No. XXXV.

² Tacite, *Hist.* III, 47 ; cf. Josèphe, *infra*. Sur cette *Classis Pontica*, cf. Ferrero, "Osservazioni intorno alle armate" (*Mem. Acad. Torino*, XLIX), 1899, p. 71 s.

³ Josèphe, *Bell. Jud.*, II, 16, 4, § 366, fait dire en 66 à Agrippa : Τί δει λέγειν Ἠνιόχους τε καὶ Κόλχους καὶ τὸ τῶν Ταύρων φῶλον, Βοσπορανοὺς τε καὶ τὰ περίοικα τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἔθνη, παρ' οἷς πρὶν μὲν οὐδ' οἰκεῖος ἐγινώσκετο δεσπότης, νῦν δὲ τρισχιλίους ὀπλίταις ὑποτάσσεται καὶ τετταράκοντα νῆες μακραί τὴν πρὶν ἄπλωτον καὶ ἀγρίαν εἰρηνεύουσι θάλατταν. Sur la valeur de ce texte emprunté à des documents officiels, cf. v. Domaszewski, *Rhein. Mus.*, XLVII, 1892, p. 208 ss.

⁴ Le royaume du Bosphore ne fut pas incorporé à l'empire, comme le croyait Sallet, mais ses rois furent réduits à peu près à la condition de fonctionnaires impériaux depuis l'année 63 jusqu'à l'époque de Domitien, où ils recouvrèrent plus d'autonomie. Cf. Rostovtzev, "Römische Besatzungen in der Krim," dans *Klio, Beitr. zur alt. Gesch.*, II, 80 ss.

⁵ *C.I.L.*, XIV, 3608 = Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 986. Sur la date, cf. v. Domaszewski, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Strabon, p. 496C : Προσλαμβάνουσι δ' ἐσθ' ὅτε καὶ οἱ τὸν Βόσπορον ἔχοντες, ὑφόρους χορηγοῦντες καὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ διάθεσιν τῶν ἀρπαζομένων.—Sur une guerre navale qui

paix romaine s'étendait sur cette mer farouche, où naguère l'on n'osait naviguer.¹

Cette tranquillité fut de courte durée. Dans le grand ébranlement du monde qui suivit la mort violente de Néron, les troupes et la majeure partie des vaisseaux furent retirées du Pont. Mucien les avait appelés à Byzance pour l'aider à soutenir la cause de Vespasien.² En 69, un affranchi de Polémon, Anicétus, ancien capitaine de la flotte royale, se mit à la tête des tribus de la côte pontique, toujours avides de pillage. Il s'empara de Trapézus, en massacra la faible garnison et brûla les navires qui y étaient demeurés. Les pirates purent de nouveau faire librement la course sur une mer sans police, et montés sur leurs barques rapides, ils en butinèrent les rivages, qu'ils insultaient impunément. Vespasien envoya contre eux un officier d'une valeur éprouvée, qui construisit en hâte des galères neuves, pourchassa Anicétus jusqu'à l'embouchure du Chobus, un des torrents qui dévalent du Caucase, et se fit livrer le chef des rebelles et les transfuges par le roitelet barbare qui leur donnait asile.³

Mais cette révolte avait montré de nouveau combien était précaire le maintien des communications maritimes. Même en temps de paix l'hiver interrompait toute navigation et dans le havre de Trapézus les vaisseaux ne se sentaient pas à l'abri des tempêtes.⁴ L'été favorisait les coups de main des flibustiers toujours aux aguets dans leurs repaires cachés dans les forêts impénétrables du Caucase. Une surveillance constante ne suffisait pas à assurer la police de la mer. Aussi, dès que Vespasien eut solidement affermi son pouvoir, s'attacha-t-il par des mesures décisives à donner à la frontière d'Arménie une sécurité qui lui manquait encore.⁵ Depuis la Syrie jusqu'au centre de l'Anatolie, cette frontière devait être portée jusqu'au cours de l'Euphrate ; là où le fleuve rétréci n'assurait plus une protection suffisante, à ce fossé on substituerait le rempart des

aurait été conduite en 170 ap. J.-C. contre les Scythes montés sur deux mille navires empruntés aux riverains du Pont Euxin, cf. v. Premierstein, *Klio*, XII, p. 139.

¹ Cf. Josèphe, *supra*.

² Tacite, *Hist.*, II, 83 ; III, 47.

³ Tacite, *Hist.*, III, 47-48. Le Chobus est aujourd'hui le Kobis çqari, cf. Tomaschek, dans *R.E.*, s.v.

⁴ Arrien, *Peripl. Ponti*, 24 : "Ὅσον ἀποσαλεύειν ὥρα ἔτους ὄρμος.

⁵ Suétone, *Vesp.*, 8.

montagnes neigeuses qui bordent son bassin supérieur jusqu'aux confins du Pont ; un vaste réseau routier devait être construit pour rattacher ces régions lointaines encore mal connues aux bords de la Méditerranée. Ce fut la grande oeuvre des Flaviens en Anatolie.¹ Pour la réaliser, ils soumirent à l'autorité d'un même légat tout le plateau qui s'étendait à l'est des provinces d'Asie et de Bithynie jusqu'à l'Euphrate supérieur, et cet immense territoire fut bientôt sillonné de grandes voies stratégiques. Deux d'entre elles avaient une importance spéciale. L'une qui suivait une direction sensiblement parallèle à la côte du Pont Euxin, partait de Byzance et Nicomédie pour gagner, par Amasie, Comane et Nicopolis, la Petite Arménie. Dans ce pays, à Carsaga, elle se soudait à une autre chaussée, presque perpendiculaire, qui longeait la nouvelle frontière, dont elle réunissait les postes, et aboutissait au sud, en Commagène, au camp de Samosate, au nord, dans le Pont, au port de Trapézus. Au moins un tronçon près de Carsaga en était achevé en l'an 76.²

Pour exécuter ce plan, dicté par des nécessités militaires et politiques, Vespasien devait annexer deux états vassaux situés en deçà de l'Euphrate, la Commagène et la Petite Arménie. L'un et l'autre royaume furent réunis à l'empire, comme l'ont prouvé les recherches de M. Théodore Reinach, la même année, en 72.³ Il n'est pas douteux que l'annexion de ces deux "états-tampons" ait eu pour but de permettre la réalisation d'une oeuvre qui devait assurer la suprématie de Rome sur la Grande Arménie, gouvernée par des princes Arsacides d'une fidélité toujours douteuse. Il suffisait de rendre possibles des transports rapides et sûrs à travers des contrées jusqu'alors à peine praticables pour que la supériorité des forces de l'Empire se fît sentir irrésistiblement et amenât la soumission d'un voisin incommode, que son éloignement aurait cessé de protéger. Corbulon avait pu s'emparer de la haute citadelle qui couvrait le flanc oriental de l'Empire, mais non en assurer la possession aux Césars ; elle devait être atteinte par des travaux d'approche

¹ Cf. mon article sur "Le gouvernement de Cappadoce sous les Flaviens," dans *Bull. Acad. de Belgique*, 1905, p. 197-227.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 201, et Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 8904.

³ Théodore Reinach, "Le Mari de Salomé," dans *Rev. Ét. anc.*, XVI, 1914. Pour la Commagène, cf. Jos., *Bell. Jud.*, VII, 7, 1, et Kubitchek, dans *R.E.*, s.v. "Aera," col. 646 ss.

avant qu'on pût s'y établir solidement. Cette conquête préparée par les ingénieurs des Flaviens, fut obtenue sans peine par les légions de Trajan.

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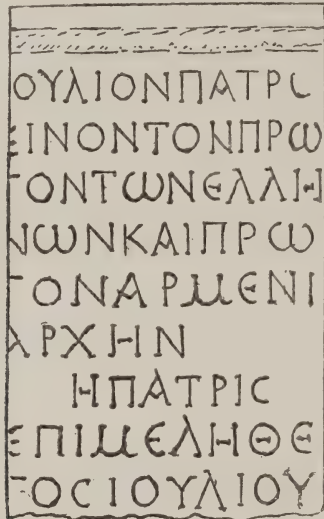
Nous ignorons presque absolument quelles étaient les conditions intérieures de la Petite Arménie au moment de l'annexion, en 72, et nous savons bien peu de chose de son histoire antérieure, en dehors des noms des rois hétérogènes que la faveur des Césars y envoya, et dont le dernier fut Aristobule II, descendant d'Hérode le Grand et mari de la fameuse Salomé. Les inscriptions encore peu nombreuses de cette région nous y montrent cependant la pénétration lente de l'hellénisme. Le peuple parla toujours l'arménien, dont l'usage, encore attesté à l'époque chrétienne,¹ devait s'y conserver jusqu'à nos jours. Mais la langue écrite employée par la noblesse perse qui dominait le pays à l'époque des Achéménides, était l'araméen, et celui-ci ne fut pas éliminé, même après Alexandre, comme le prouve l'inscription bilingue d'Aghatcha-Kalé.² La ville de Nicopolis, fondée après la victoire de Pompée sur Mithridate, fut le premier foyer de culture grecque dans cette région reculée, jusque là soumise surtout aux influences iraniennes. Les princes de races diverses à qui Rome confia successivement l'administration de ce petit état, étaient tous hellénisés et l'influence de la cour dut se faire sentir dans l'aristocratie indigène. Une preuve de l'ascendant conquis par les Grecs dans ce royaume nous est fourni par une dédicace peu postérieure à l'annexion, dont nous donnons ici pour la première fois une reproduction exacte.³ Elle est gravée sur un fragment d'un beau piédestal de marbre blanc, qu'un paysan du village de Kirtanoutz, près des ruines de Nicopolis, avait creusé pour le transformer en mortier à piler le grain. Un ornement qui

¹ *Acta SS. Eustratii, Eugenii*, etc., dans *P.G.*, CXVI, col. 479, cap. 13. Un habitant d'Arauraca εἶπε γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἀρμενίων διαλέκτῳ, cf. col. 474D : Εὐστράτιος τοῦνομα, Κιρισίκης τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πατρίᾳ διαλέκτῳ. St. Basile, chargé par l'Empereur de donner des évêques aux Arméniens, cherche des hommes εὐλαβεῖς καὶ συνετοὺς καὶ τῆς γλώσσης ἐμπείρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἰδιώματα τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπισταμένους (*Epist.* 99.).

² Cf. *C. R. Acad.*, 1905, p. 202 ss.

³ J'ai publié la transcription de ce texte dans mon *Rapport sur une mission en Asie Mineure* (Bruxelles, 1900), p. 12. Elle a été reprise par Cagnat, *I.G.R.P.*, III, 132 ; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 652.

surmontait l'inscription a été martelé ; à la partie supérieure se voient encore les traces d'attache d'une statue ; sur le fût, dont le bas est brisé, on lit, en beaux caractères, profondément gravés (H. 55 mill.) :



5 Ἰούλιον Πατρο-
είνον τὸν πρῶ-
τ]ον τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων καὶ πρῶ-
τ]ον Ἀρμενι-
ἀρχην
ἡ πατρίς
ἐπιμεληθ[έ]ν-
τ]ος Ἰουλίου . . .

Le titre de *πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων* se retrouve dans deux inscriptions d'Ancyre—où siégeait le légat de Galatie, qui gouvernait jusqu'en 114 l'Arménie—et il y est appliqué à un grand-prêtre du culte impérial.¹ En autorisant l'introduction de ce culte en Asie, Auguste avait établi une distinction entre les citoyens romains et les pérégrins. Les premiers ne devaient honorer que Rome et Jules César divinisé, les autres, *qu'il appela Hellènes*, dit Dion, pouvaient élever des temples à Auguste lui-même.² L'on voit en effet, dans plusieurs inscriptions d'Asie et de Bithynie, l'assemblée provinciale prendre le titre de *κοινὸν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας* (ou *ἐν Βιθυνία*) *Ἑλλήνων*.³ Ce nom opposait les Grecs des villes qui envoyaient leurs délégués au *κοινόν*, non seulement à la population rurale peu hellénisée, mais aussi aux Juifs, très

¹ *I.G.R.P.*, III, 173 : *Πρῶτον Ἑλλήνων ἀρχιερασάμενον* ; 190 : *Γυναῖκα . . . τοῦ πρῶτον τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. Cf. *I.G. Septentr.*, 106 (Mégare) : *Πρῶτον πανέλληνα*.

² Dion Cass., LI, 20, 6 : *Τεμένη τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας ἐν τε Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφῆκεν . . . καὶ τούτους μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποικοῦσιν τιμὰν προσέταξε. τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις Ἑλληνάς σφας ἐπικαλέσας ἑαυτῷ τινα τοῖς μὲν Ἀσianoῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ, τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε.*

³ *I.G.R.P.*, III, 60, 65, 67, 603, 671. IV, 1611 ; cf. Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 458, note 24 ; Paul dans *Dig.*, XLIX, 1, 35.

nombreux en Asie Mineure et qui ne participaient pas au culte des empereurs. C'est l'origine de la signification religieuse du nom de "Ἕλλην" qui, au IV^e siècle, finit par désigner tous les païens par opposition aux chrétiens.

Le titre de *πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων* désigne donc le premier personnage de l'assemblée des députés provinciaux, c'est à dire son président, et comme ce président est l'*ἀρχιερεύς* du culte d'Auguste, "le premier des Hellènes" n'est autre en fait, que le grand prêtre de la province. Je puis me dispenser de rechercher ici si ce titre est synonyme de ceux de *Ἑλλαδάρχης* et de *πρῶτος τῆς ἐπαρχείας* qui apparaissent dans les inscriptions d'Ancyre et d'autres cités.¹

Notre inscription est le premier texte qui fasse connaître un Arméniarque. Ce titre équivaut évidemment à celui d'Asiarque, Bithyniarque, Galatarque, Pontarque, etc., qu'on trouve fréquemment dans d'autres provinces, sans qu'on ait pu encore se mettre d'accord sur leur signification précise et la nature exacte de leurs fonctions. Mais faut-il entendre *πρῶτος Ἀρμενιάρχης* au sens de *πρῶτος ἄρχων*, *πρῶτος πρύτανις*, et voir en lui le premier par la dignité parmi des Arméniarques simultanés ? À la vérité on trouve en Asie plusieurs Asiarques,² soit qu'ils eussent été nommés en même temps, soit qu'on leur conservât ce titre honoraire après leur sortie de charge. Mais nulle part n'apparaît la mention d'un *πρῶτος Ἀσιάρχης* ou, dans d'autres provinces, d'un *πρῶτος Βιθυνιάρχης*, *Γαλαταρχης*, *Ποντάρχης*, etc.³ Il ne peut donc s'agir dans notre inscription de Nicopolis que du premier des Arméniarques chronologiquement.⁴ La dédicace contient ainsi une sorte de jeu de mots, s'appliquant d'abord au premier par le rang, puis au premier par le temps. Les noms qui y figurent—ceux de deux *Iulii*—comme la forme des caractères, permettent de placer ce monument à la fin du 1^{er} siècle.

¹ *Ἑλλαδάρχης* : *I.G.R.P.*, III, 63, 202, 211, c'. Brandis dans *R.E.*, s.v. "Hella-darchai," p. 98; *πρῶτος τῆς ἐπαρχείας* : *I.G.R.P.*, 179, 181; *πρώτη τῆς ἐπαρχείας* : *ibid.*, 191; cf. *C.I.A.*, III, 623-624 (en Narbonaise); Strabon, XIV, 649C: *Οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν οὓς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν*. L'identité de ces deux titres et de celui de *πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων* est admise par Mommsen, *Sitzungsber. Akad. Berlin*, 1901, p. 28. Celui de *πρώτη τῆς ἐπαρχείας* n'a pu être appliqué qu'à l'*ἀρχιερεία* provinciale.

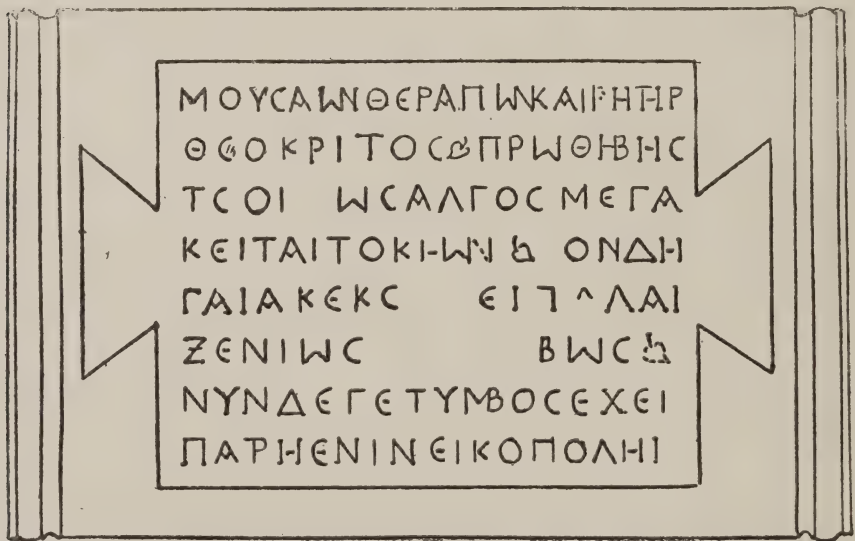
² Strab., *loc. cit.*; *Act. Apost.* XIX, 31.

³ Brandis, dans *R.E.* Suppl. Bd. I, s.v. *Ἀρμενιάρχης*.

⁴ C'est ainsi que l'ont compris Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 652, note 3; Pick, *loc. cit.*

Car le *κοινόν* de la Petite Arménie fut organisé dès l'incorporation à l'empire de cet état vassal, comme nous l'apprend une monnaie frappée en automne 114 pour commémorer la soumission de la Grande Arménie par Trajan.¹ Cette monnaie porte en exergue KOINON APMENIAC ETOYC ΜΓ, ce qui place le début de la computation en l'année 72. La Petite Arménie, comme le Pont, fut alors soumise au légat de Galatie, plus tard à celui de Cappadoce, mais elle ne fut pas plus que le Pont incorporée au territoire de ces provinces : elle conserva son individualité propre, avec un conseil provincial particulier et un chef-lieu distinct, Nicopolis.

Nicopolis resta sous les Romains une cité où les lettres grecques étaient en honneur. C'est ce que prouve une épitaphe caractéristique, que nous avons copiée dans le cimetière arménien d'Endérès, non loin des ruines de la ville antique. Elle est gravée sur un bloc de calcaire brunâtre (H: 0^m, 70; L: 1^m, 20; E: 0^m, 24) dans un encadrement terminé à droite et à gauche par des queues d'aronde et des moulures. Les lettres sont effacées au centre de la pierre :



Μουσάων θεράπων καὶ ῥητῆρ | Θεόκριτος ὃ
 πρωθήβης | [τεθνε]ὺς ἄλγος μέγα | κεῖται τοκῆω[ν], ὃ
 ὃν δὴ | γαῖα κεκε[ύθ]ει πάλαι | ξενίως [καὶ ἀτύμ]βως, ὃ |
 νῦν δέ γε τύμβος ἔχει | πάτρῃ ἐν Νεικοπόλει.

¹ Pick, *Rev. Ét. anc.*, XVI, 1914, p. 283 ss.

Il est intéressant de trouver aux confins du monde hellénique cette épitaphe d'un jeune littérateur, dont on avait ramené le corps dans sa patrie pour lui donner une sépulture digne de son talent. Les pauvres vers qu'un de ses émules a composés pour son tombeau abondent en licences et en réminiscences. Mais ils nous montrent comment la poésie et la rhétorique des Grecs avaient étendu leurs conquêtes jusqu'aux vallées de l'Arménie.

Toutefois, Nicopolis, devenue une colonie romaine privilégiée,—car elle jouissait du *ius Italicum*¹—vit sous les empereurs la langue de l'armée et de la haute administration contester à celle des rhéteurs indigènes sa prééminence. Des inscriptions latines y ont été trouvées, et elles deviennent plus nombreuses par rapport aux grecques à mesure qu'on s'approche de l'ancienne frontière, où étaient échelonnées les troupes. L'armée des Césars répandit l'usage de l'idiome du Latium jusqu'aux extrémités de l'Empire dans les trois parties du monde ancien.

¹ Grégoire, *B.C.H.*, XXXIII, 1909, p. 35, No. 13.

VIII.

ZUR EPHESINISCHEN GEFANGENSCHAFT DES APOSTELS PAULUS

von ADOLF DEISSMANN

Es ist eins der Verdienste des Traveller and Roman Citizen Sir William M. Ramsay, den wir als den Altmeister der anatolischen Forschung verehren, dass er sein literarisch-epigraphisches Wissen und den Reichtum seiner Autopsie durch ein Menschenalter hindurch in den Dienst der Gesamtgeschichte Kleinasiens gestellt hat.

Die antike Religionsgeschichte ist daher durch sein Lebenswerk ebenso sehr gefördert worden wie die anderen Gebiete der Altertumswissenschaft auch. Insbesondere die Erforschung des Urchristentums (wie auch schon des Diaspora-Judentums) und der alten Kirchengeschichte ist Ramsay zu bleibendem Danke verpflichtet.

Wenn ich als Bibelforscher und Historiker des Urchristentums sagen sollte, was man methodologisch von ihm lernen kann, so wäre es dies: unsere so oft nur in den vier Wänden abendländischer Studierstuben beim Lampenschein faustischer (oder wagnerischer?) Mitternachtsstunden begrüßelten Probleme mit einem energischen Ruck in die Heimat der Apostel zu versetzen und sie dort, ohne sich an die Überlieferung der Schuldiskussionen zu binden, im freien Raume unter der Sonne Lykaoniens und Phrygiens neu zu überlegen. Ramsays Arbeiten zu Paulus und seinen Briefen bedeuten eine solche Repatriierung des Apostels und eine Befreiung des Neuen Testaments von dem Ballaste ehrwürdiger Irrtümer.

An einem einzelnen, aber für die Gesamtgeschichte des

Apostolischen Zeitalters recht wichtigen¹ Problem möchte ich zu zeigen versuchen, wie Not es der Paulusforschung tut, die Dinge mehr im Raum zu betrachten, als es seither meistens geschehen ist. Ich meine die Frage nach der Entstehung der Gefangenschaftsbriefe des Paulus, greife aber, dem Charakter dieser Ehrengabe gemäss, ein Teilproblem heraus, das sich auf die Verkehrsmöglichkeiten des antiken Ephesus mitbezieht.

Während noch vor einem Menschenalter Hermann Freiherr von Soden² behauptete, "nur" in Caesarea und Rom sei Paulus gefangen gewesen, hat neuerdings die Annahme einer ephesinischen Haft zusammen mit der Vermutung, dass aus ihr die Gefangenschaftsbriefe sämtlich oder zum Teil entstammen, mehr und mehr an Boden gewonnen. Mit Beziehung auf die Briefe an die Kolosser, an Philemon und an die "Epheser" (Laodizener) habe ich sie schon 1897 den Kandidaten des Theologischen Seminars zu Herborn (Nassau) vorgetragen und dann später,³ den Philipperbrief einbeziehend, auch literarisch vertreten, unabhängig von Heinrich Lisco,⁴ der 1900 die ephesinische Gefangenschaft stark betont hat.

Seitdem ist eine recht ansehnliche Literatur erschienen, die eine Fülle wertvoller Beobachtungen und Bedenken enthält.⁵

¹ Von der Datierung der Gefangenschaftsbriefe hängen viele sehr wichtige Einzelentscheidungen ab: die Chronologie und Biographie des Paulus, die Geschichte der ältesten christlichen Propaganda, insbesondere die Geschichte der Gemeinden von Ephesus und von Rom und die Schicksale ihrer mit Namen bekannten Persönlichkeiten sehen, wenn man die Briefe sämtlich oder zum Teil aus Ephesus datiert, völlig anders aus, als wenn man sie in Rom entstanden denkt.

² *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*, III, Freiburg i. B., 1891, S. 15.

³ *Licht vom Osten*, 1 (Tübingen, 1908), S. 165 f., 2/3 (1909), S. 171 f., 4 (1923), S. 201 f. (*Light from the Ancient East*, London, 1910, S. 229 f.); *Paulus*, Tübingen, 1911, S. 11 (*St. Paul*, London, 1912, S. 16).

⁴ *Vincula Sanctorum*, Berlin, 1900.

⁵ M. Albertz, "Über die Abfassung des Philipperbriefes des Paulus zu Ephesus," *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1910, S. 551 ff.; Benjamin W. Robinson, "An Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 29, Part II (1910), S. 181 ff.; Kirsopp Lake, "The Critical Problems of the Epistle to the Philippians," *Expos.*, June, 1914, S. 481 ff.; Ernest W. Burch, "Was St. Paul in Prison in Ephesus?" *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1914; Ludwig Albrecht, *Die Briefe des N.T. und die Offenbarung des Johannes*, Bremen, 1914, S. 158 f.; Benjamin W. Bacon, "Again the Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul," *Expos.*, March, 1915, S. 235 ff.; E. W. Winstanley, "Pauline letters from an Ephesian Prison," *Expos.*, June, 1915, S. 481 ff.; M. Jones, "The Epistles of Captivity: where were they written?" *Expos.*, October, 1915, S. 289 ff.; Paul Feine, "Die Abfassung des Philipperbriefes in Ephesus," *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, XX (1916), Gütersloh, 1916; vgl. auch seine *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 2 (Leipzig, 1918), S. 142 ff. Von diesen Arbeiten

Insbesondere der Aufsatz von Albertz ist ein Muster scharfsinniger und besonnener Kritik, und Bacon hat dankenswerter Weise darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass Marcion ein Zeugnis für die Abfassung des Kolosserbriefes in Ephesus ablegt.¹

Unter den vielen Einzelargumenten, die für eine ephesinische Haft des Paulus sprechen, muss meines Erachtens die Tatsache in den Vordergrund gerückt werden, dass die Gefangenschaftsbriefe eine grosse Anzahl von Reisen zwischen dem Ort ihrer Adressaten und dem Ort der Haft des Apostels als bereits vollzogen oder als beabsichtigt erwähnen oder andeuten. Wenn ich hier das oben genannte methodologische Kennwort "die Dinge im Raume betrachten" wiederholen darf, so ist damit gemeint: es ist zu prüfen, ob es wahrscheinlich oder nichtwahrscheinlich ist, dass diese über eine feststellbare oder schätzungsweise vermutbare Anzahl von Kilometern gehenden Reisen wirklich ausführbar waren in der Zeit, die hinter den Briefen als verfügbar anzunehmen ist. Es ist nicht schwer, am Schreibtisch im Kiepertschen Atlas Antiquus mit dem Finger vom Herzen Kleinasiens nach Rom zu fahren und zu sagen:

habe ich infolge der im Sommer 1914 einsetzenden schwierigen Zustände Lake, Winstanley und Jones überhaupt nicht, Burch nur in einem Manuskript gesehen. Wahrscheinlich sind noch andere erschienen. [Vergl. auch die 1922 in Leipzig erschienene Einleitung in das N.T. von Heinrich Appel.]

¹ Zu diesem Hinweise von Bacon auf den Satz des Marcionitischen Prologs zum Kolosserbriefe (vgl. Peter Corssen, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, X (1909), S. 38, und jetzt Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion*, Leipzig, 1921, S. 137^{*}): *ergo apostolus iam ligatus scribit eis ab Epheso* sei folgendes bemerkt. Lisco, *Vincula Sanctorum*, S. 2, hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass schon *Petrus Lombardus*, *Lanfranc* und *Erasmus* der Meinung waren, der Kolosserbrief sei in Ephesus verfasst. Er sieht darin eine Stütze seiner eigenen Auffassung. Aber diese alten Autoritäten sind hier nicht von selbständigem Wert; denn es erscheint mir sicher, dass sie sämtlich von einer älteren Quelle abhängig sind, eben von Marcion! Jener Prolog zum Kolosserbriefe ist nämlich, seiner Herkunft nach längst unbekannt geworden und wohl dem Hieronymus zugeschrieben, in vielen Handschriften der Vulgata überliefert und dann auch in die älteren Vulgata-Drucke übergegangen; z. B. in die in meinem Besitz befindlichen Ausgaben Parisiis 1526 (Thielman Kerver) und Lugduni 1558 (Joan. Tornaesius). Das Sonderbarste aber ist, dass Erasmus in seiner *Editio princeps* des N.T. (Basel, 1516) diese Marcion-Prologe (sicher ohne sie als solche zu erkennen) als "Argumenta" den Paulusbriefen vorsetzt. So drang der grosse Häretiker unter dem Schutze des grossen Humanisten auch in das griechische N.T. ein (oder wieder ein)! In einem merkwürdigen Widerspruch zu dem lateinischen *scribit eis ab Epheso* steht in der von Erasmus ebenfalls abgedruckten griechischen "Hypothesis," der Kolosserbrief sei ἀπὸ πόμης geschrieben. In der neueren Literatur gelten die "Argumenta" des Erasmus-Testaments wohl allgemein als Schöpfung des Erasmus (vgl. z. B. Eduard Reuss, *Die Geschichte der h. Schriften des N.T.*, 6, Braunschweig, 1887, S. 450).

der entlaufene Sklave Onesimos eilte "von Kolossae nach Rom," und es ist ebenso leicht, den Mann dann auch wieder auf der Karte von Rom nach Kolossae zurückzuschicken. Aber im Raum sehen diese Wege und ihre Möglichkeiten doch erheblich anders aus.

Der Philipperbrief ist durch die Zahl der in ihm angedeuteten Reisen trefflich geeignet, als Paradigma zu dienen.

Vor dem Philipperbrief liegen folgende Ereignisse und Reisen:—

1. Reise des Paulus nach dem Ort der Gefangenschaft X und Gefangenschaft daselbst.

2. Reise des Timotheos (von Ephesus?) nach X. Timotheos ist zur Zeit der Abfassung des Briefes bei Paulus *Phil.* 1, 1) ; ist X = Rom, so können Reise 1 und 2 nicht identisch sein, da nach *Act. Ap.* 27, 2 nur der Makedonier Aristarchos¹ aus Thessalonike und der Verfasser des Wir-Berichtes (Lukas) die Romreise des Paulus mitmachten.

3. Botschaft von X nach Philippi, dass Paulus in X gefangen und in Not sei (*Phil.* 4, 14).

4. Sammlung einer Liebesgabe in Philippi für Paulus in X (*Phil.* 4, 10, 18).

5. Aussendung und Reise des Epaphroditos von Philippi nach X mit der Liebesgabe für Paulus (*Phil.* 2, 25 ; 4, 18).

6. Ankunft des Epaphroditos in X, schwere Erkrankung desselben in X (*Phil.* 2, 27).

7. Eine Botschaft von der Erkrankung des Epaphroditos kommt irgendwie von X nach Philippi (*Phil.* 2, 26, ἡκούσατε ὅτι ἠσθένησεν). Dass nicht Paulus diese Botschaft veranlasst hat, ist wahrscheinlich, da man sonst nicht begriffe, dass er nicht

¹ Dieser Aristarchos wird als sicherer Romfahrer in der Diskussion über den Ort der Abfassung der Gefangenschaftsbrieфе eine gewisse Rolle spielen: *Kol.* 4, 10 ist er als "Mitgefangener" des Apostels bezeichnet, was man für Rom als Ort der Abfassung des Kolosserbriefes geltend machen könnte. Aber dieses Argument wird paralyisiert durch *Act. Ap.* 19, 29, wo er auch in Ephesus als Begleiter des Paulus weilt, eben in der Zeit, in die man die ephesinische Gefangenschaft anzusetzen hat: vor Abfassung des zweiten Korintherbriefes. Die Frage, weshalb Lukas diese Haft in Ephesus nicht erwähnt, verliert an Bedeutung, wenn man andere, von Paulus selbst aufgezählte Ereignisse seines Lebens (z. B. 2 *Kor.* 11, 23 ff.; 1 *Kor.* 15, 32, ἐθριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ) bei Lukas oft ebenfalls vergeblich sucht. Ich nehme an, Lukas hat die ganze ephesinische Zeit zum Teil nicht näher gekannt, zum Teil nicht erzählen wollen, da sie nicht in sein Programm passte.

schon bei dieser Gelegenheit den Philippem für ihre Liebesgabe gedankt hätte.¹

8. Nachricht von Philippi nach X an Paulus, dass die Philipper von der Erkrankung des Epaphroditos gehört haben; schmerzlicher Eindruck dieser Nachricht auf Epaphroditos in X (*Phil.* 2, 26).

Von X aus sind folgende Reisen geplant:—

9. Reise des Epaphroditos als Überbringer des Philipperbriefes von X nach Philippi (*Phil.* 2, 25, 28).

10. Baldige (*ταχέως*, *Phil.* 2, 19) Reise des Timotheos von X nach Philippi.

11. Rückreise des Timotheos von Philippi nach X mit Nachrichten aus Philippi (*Phil.* 2, 19, *γνοὺς τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν*).

12. Baldige (*ταχέως*, *Phil.* 2, 24) Reise des auf Befreiung hoffenden Paulus von X nach Philippi; diese Reise ist schon vor der Reise des Timotheos von X nach Philippi (Nr. 10) als "baldige" (*ταχέως*) bezeichnet.

Die Strecke X-Philippi resp. Philippi-X ist also vor Abfassung des Philipperbriefes mindestens fünfmal zurückgelegt worden (Nr. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8) und sollte nach Absendung des Briefes noch mindestens viermal durchmessen werden (Nr. 9, 10, 11, 12).

Wenn X Rom ist, so ist die Entfernung von X nach Philippi in der Luftlinie rund 1000 Kilometer; man muss also annehmen, dass die vor dem Philipperbrief liegenden Reisen einen Luftweg von mindestens 5000 Kilometern zu überwinden hatten; die nach dem Philipperbrief geplanten einen Luftweg von mindestens 4000 Kilometern. Dabei ist zu beachten, dass die Reisen in beiden Serien aufeinanderfolgten, sodass also nicht etwa durch gleichzeitige Reisen Zeit gespart werden konnte.

5000 + 4000 Kilometer Luftweg bedeuten natürlich für die zu Land und zu Wasser zurückzulegende Strecke in Wirklichkeit weit mehr, zumal für die schlichten Wandersleute, die hier inbetracht kommen. Es wäre eine reizvolle Aufgabe, mit Hilfe der glänzenden Arbeit von Sir William M. Ramsay² und anderer Untersuchungen³ die Mindestzahl der wirklichen Wegkilometer

¹ Vgl. *Albertz*, S. 568.

² "Roads and Travel," in *H.D.B.*, Extra Volume, Edinburgh, 1904, S. 375 ff.

³ Wolfgang Riepl, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums*, Leipzig, 1913; Alphons Steinmann, *Die Welt des Paulus im Zeichen des Verkehrs*, Braunsberg Ostpr., 1915 (dort die sonstige Literatur).

zu berechnen, die für die verschiedenen zwischen Makedonien und Rom möglichen Wege in Frage kommen. Aber auch ehe das getan ist, kann man ohne weiteres sagen: in der Zeit, die für jene ungeheuren Strecken inbetracht kommt, wenn X Rom ist, können diese Wege nicht durchmessen worden sein; denn sie sind innerhalb der zweijährigen römischen Haft des Paulus (*Act. Ap.* 28, 30) nicht unterzubringen, erst recht nicht innerhalb eines Teiles dieser Zeit, den man wahrscheinlich nur zur Verfügung hat.

Steinmann¹ hat im Anschluss an Ramsays Routenangaben den Versuch gemacht, die von Paulus selbst in Kleinasien gemachten Wege zusammen auf rund 3000 Kilometer zu schätzen und die bloss für diese Wanderungen gebrauchte Zeit auf rund zwei Jahre. Natürlich eine sehr delikate Schätzung; ich halte sie für zu niedrig. Aber auch ohne eine solche Vergleichsmöglichkeit können jene fünf wirklich gemachten Reisen schwerlich in die Zeit der römischen Haft untergebracht werden. Und von den noch geplanten Reisen machen zudem noch zwei (Nr. 10, 12) durch das *ταχέως* den Eindruck, dass sie nicht mit grossen Entfernungen rechneten.

Alles, was bei der römischen Hypothese unglaublich erscheint, wird verständlich, wenn X Ephesus ist. Für die Strecke Philippi-Ephesus haben wir authentische Itinerare aus der Zeit und Umgebung des Apostels Paulus selbst, in der Apostelgeschichte:

20, 13 ff. dauerte die Reise Troas-Milet 5 Tage, bis Ephesus also vielleicht 4 Tage;

16, 11 f. Troas-Philippi 3 Tage;

20, 6 Philippi-Troas 5 Tage (wohl bei Gegenwind).

Die ganze Strecke konnte, also in 7-9 Tagen zurückgelegt werden; unter günstigen Verhältnissen konnten Hin- und Rückbotschaften in zwei Wochen erfolgen.

Die ganze Zeit für die 5 wirklichen Reisen vor dem Philipperbrief wird 6 Wochen nicht überschritten haben; die geplanten 4 Reisen sind in 4 bis 5 Wochen unterzubringen.

So scheint mir die Ephesus-Hypothese durch die Reise-notizen eine starke Stütze erhalten zu haben.

¹ *Die Welt des Paulus*, S. 34 ff.

Dass sie auch durch die Reisenotizen anderer Paulusbriefe negativ und positiv bestätigt wird, liegt ausserhalb des Rahmens dieser Arbeit; ich weise nur andeutend auf zwei Tatsachen hin:

1. Nach *Röm.* 15 sieht Paulus seine von Gott gewollte Aufgabe darin, von Rom nach dem Westen, nach Spanien zu reisen. Ist es wahrscheinlich, dass er dieses göttliche Muss in dem Augenblick vergessen sollte, in dem ihm die Befreiung aus der römischen Gefangenschaft wahrscheinlich geworden war und dass er statt nach dem Westen nach dem Osten zu reisen sich anschickte?

2. Die Korintherbriefe zeigen, dass Paulus längst entschlossen war, von Ephesus aus nach Makedonien zu reisen und dass er diesen Plan auch ausgeführt hat (1 *Kor.* 16, 5; 2 *Kor.* 7, 5). Dasselbe berichtet Lukas, *Act. Ap.* 19, 21; 20, 1. Und dies eben ist die Reise Nr. 12.

Eine Bitte noch an die Archäologen und die Historiker des byzantinischen Anatolien. Wie weit lässt sich die lokale Tradition von Ephesus, die den am Nordhang des Bülbül Dagh erhaltenen, sicher vorchristlichen (lysimachischen) Turm auf dem Astyages-Hügel "Gefängnis des Paulus"¹ nennt, zurückverfolgen? Spuren der Meinung, dass Paulus in Ephesus gefangen war, finden sich in der griechischen Kirche sonst meines Wissens nicht; Marcions Satz über den Kolosserbrief² scheint nur lateinisch gerettet zu sein. Woher also die ganz eigenartige Lokaltradition? Schon Cornelis de Bruyn, der im Oktober 1678 in Ephesus war, nennt die Ruine "gevangenhuis voor den Apostel Paulus."

¹ Die wundervolle Ruine, von der aus man einen der eigenartigsten Gesamtblicke über das riesige Gebiet des alten Ephesus hat, jedem Besucher unvergesslich, ist selbst eine weithin sichtbare Landmarke. Durch eine Missverständnis ist in Lietzmanns *Handbuch zum N.T.*, III, 2, S. 95, als "sog. Gefängnis des Paulus" eine andere noch nicht sicher identifizierte ephesinische Ruine abgebildet; die *φυλακή Παύλου* ist da nur als kleiner Punkt im Hintergrund zu sehen.

² Vgl. oben, S. 123.

IX.

EUCHAÏTA ET LA LÉGENDE DE S. THÉODORE

par H. DELEHAYE

IL n'est point question de revenir sur le problème si longtemps débattu de la position d'Euchaïta, la ville de S. Théodore. La solution de M. H. Grégoire, qui reconnaît le nom grec, à peine défiguré, dans Avkat, à l'est de Tchorum, sur la route d'Amasie,¹ n'a guère rencontré de contradicteurs, et l'adhésion du Maître à qui ce recueil est dédié, lui donne une sorte de consécration.² Ce n'est pas l'analogie des noms seule qui a suggéré l'identification. La distance est indiquée par la Passion de S. Théodore : *distat a civitate Amasiae via unius diei in locum qui appellatur Euchaïta* ;³ *non longe civitate Amascia mansione unius diei in loco qui appellatur Achayta*.⁴ On s'est souvenu que les pires légendes contiennent d'ordinaire un élément au moins qu'il n'est pas permis de négliger : la topographie.

Il est assez étonnant que personne n'ait songé à tirer parti d'une compilation bizarre, qui remonte à la seconde moitié du X^e siècle, le Βίος πρὸ τοῦ μαρτυρίου de S. Théodore, publié il y a quelques années d'après un manuscrit de Vienne du commencement du XI^e siècle.⁵ Elle a pour auteur un hagiographe qui avait au moins ce mérite de connaître Euchaïta et ses environs. Il cite le nom d'un évêque Éleuthère, qui reconstruisit la basilique détruite par les Perses ; il désigne un endroit de la ville πλησίον τοῦ λεγομένου Τετραπύλου, et dans les environs, une

¹ *Stud. Pont.*, III, pp. 202-207.

² Voir *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XX, pp. 492-494 ; XIX, p. 60, n. 4.

³ *Bibl. hagiogr. latina*, 8077.

⁴ *Bibl. hagiogr. latina*, 8078. Les textes latins représentent à n'en point douter des rédactions de la Passion grecques non encore retrouvées.

⁵ H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909), pp. 183-201.

montagne τὸ λεγόμενον Ὀμφαλίμον ὄρος. Un des miracles qu'il attribue à S. Théodore est d'avoir fait jaillir une source, que l'on montrait encore : μέχρι καὶ νῦν. Théodore quitte Amasie et se rend sur le théâtre de son premier exploit ; c'est Euchaïta. Voici de quel côté il se dirige : Τῆς Ἀμασέων λαθραίως ὑποσυρεῖς καταλαμβάνει ἀπὸ τινος μεσαιτάτης πεδιάδος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου καταπαύσει λόφον τινὰ ἐπιμήκη· καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ τούτου ἀκρωρεῖα, στὰς μετέωρος καὶ κατασκοπήσας πάντοθεν καὶ τερφθεὶς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς τῷ πνεύματι ἐπὶ τῇ ἡσυχῳς προσπαρακειμένη τοποθεσίᾳ, θεωρεῖ ὑποκείμενον ἀλσώδη σεμνὸν τόπον.¹ Pas un filet d'eau pour se désalterer. Alors Théodore invoque le Tout-Puissant, et une fontaine jaillit. Ayant apaisé sa soif, le futur martyr continue son chemin : ἀτενίσας καὶ ἑωρακὼς ἀντικρυς πρὸς ὕψος ἐπηρμένον ὄρος καὶ περὶ τὸν πρόποδα τούτου παρακείμενον βραχύτατον χωρίον ἀπῳκισμένον πολυοχλίας πόλεως . . . ὅπερ πλήρης ὑπῆρχε θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν . . . ἡσυχῳς ἐκαθέζετο.² C'est à cet endroit que se cache le dragon que Théodore va combattre.

À nous qui sommes réduits à faire de la topographie en chambre, ces phrases ne disent pas grand'chose. On s' imagine malaisément qu'elles aient été écrites au hasard. Nous les recommandons au premier explorateur qui retournera là-bas. Si, sur place, il en jaillissait quelque lumière, nous n'en serions pas étonnés.

L'auteur du Βίος est d'accord avec la tradition qui fait d'Euchaïta, avant S. Théodore, un lieu sauvage et désolé ; c'est le culte du martyr qui fit sa fortune. Jean Mauropus, vers le milieu du XI^e siècle, le rappelait à son peuple : δι' οὗ τὸ φίλον ὑμεῖς καὶ πατρῶν ἔδαφος τοῦτο ἐξ ἐρημίας ἀβάτου πολυανδρῶσαν ἔχετε πόλιν.³ Au sortir de la ville, on retrouvait le paysage morne et la campagne déserte : ἐρημία χώρας πολλή, αἰκίητος, ἄχαρις, ἄδενδρος, ἄχλοος, ἄξυλος, ἄσκιος, ἀγριότητος ὅλη καὶ ἀκηδίας μεστή, πολὺ καὶ τῆς φήμης καὶ τῆς δόξης ἐνδέουσα.⁴

Comme tous les grands pèlerinages, Euchaïta eut sa légende,

¹ H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909), pp. 186, 195, 196, 200.

² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

³ Panégyrique de Sainte Eusébie, no. 8. P. de Lagarde, *Iohannis Eucharitorum metropolitae quae . . . supersunt*, p. 205.

⁴ Lettre à Michel Cérulaire, no. 9. Lagarde, p. 88.

et cette légende, ainsi qu'il arrive ordinairement, fit oublier l'histoire. Le fait est que nous ignorons comment le corps du martyr est arrivé à Euchaïta. Car la version qui a fini par devenir courante, n'est autre chose qu'un lieu commun hagiographique, qui s'est combiné ensuite avec un thème de folk-lore. Sous sa forme dernière, la légende raconte que les reliques de S. Théodore furent recueillies par une riche dame, du nom d'Eusébie, et ensevelies par elle dans un domaine qu'elle possédait à Euchaïta. Cette dame avait des raisons spéciales de s'intéresser au martyr. Elle n'avait pas été étrangère au grand exploit qui l'avait illustré : l'extermination du dragon qui infestait Euchaïta.

L'ordre dans lequel se sont agencés les éléments de cette histoire est aisé à rétablir. Les anciennes formes de la légende de Théodore ignorent l'épisode du dragon ;¹ celui de la pieuse matrone est bien antérieur. L'hagiographe qui introduisit dans la Passion le combat contre le monstre, trouva tout naturel d'identifier Eusébie avec la femme qui est un des acteurs obligés de ce drame populaire.

On ne s'est pas fait faute d'attribuer à la victoire de S. Théodore une valeur symbolique. Le dragon qui fait la terreur de la contrée et dont le saint la délivre représenterait le site inhabitable dont les reliques du martyr ont fait une cité florissante. Pareille exégèse doit être abandonnée. Les thèmes empruntés aux contes populaires ne sont point des symboles, et ce n'est pas pour en tenir lieu qu'on les exploite généralement. L'usage que les hagiographes ont fait du dragon suffirait à le prouver. Que de saints ne voit-on pas représentés tenant le monstre en laisse, sans que l'on trouve la moindre raison qui justifie cette caractéristique ?

Les plus anciennes formes de la Passion de S. Théodore sont attestées par deux oeuvres oratoires qui remontent fort haut. La plus connue est le panégyrique qui fait partie de l'oeuvre de S. Grégoire de Nysse († après 394). L'autre, qui a pour auteur Chrysippe, prêtre de Jérusalem († 479), et dont le texte n'est publié² que depuis 1911, n'a guère été exploité. Il en existe

¹ *Les Légendes grecques des saints militaires*, pp. 11-40. Hengstenberg, "Das Drachenwunder des hl. Theodor," dans *Oriens christianus*, N.S. II, pp. 78-106, 241-280.

² J. Phokylidès, dans *Néa Σιών*, XI, pp. 557-578.

une dizaine de manuscrits, d'après lesquels M. Sigalas a donné de l'ἐγκώμιον une édition critique.¹

Le plan du discours est fort simple. Le panégyriste tresse au martyr une double couronne : celle des souffrances,² celle des miracles. Cette seconde partie n'est pas la moins intéressante. Elle rend très probable l'existence, vers le milieu du Ve siècle, d'un livre des miracles de S. Théodore, que Chrysippe a exploité mais qu'il n'a pas fait oublier. En effet on rencontre dans quelques manuscrits (ainsi le Vatic. grec 821, le Coislin. 121) un petit recueil de dix θαύματα dont la rédaction n'est pas celle de Chrysippe, mais qui, pour le fond, se retrouvent tous dans son panégyrique. Il n'est pas probable que la forme actuelle de ces récits soit primitive, et le texte a sans doute été abrégé. Certains traits doivent remonter au delà de Chrysippe. Pour ne donner qu'un exemple, citons le miracle (le no. XII) arrivé à Constantinople lors de l'incendie qui menaça de dévorer, en même temps que la chapelle de S. Théodore, le palais voisin d'un grand seigneur très dévoué au culte du martyr, et qui fit remplacer la chapelle par une grande église. Chrysippe fait de ce personnage un brillant éloge ; mais, pour se conformer à la mode des rhéteurs, il évite de le nommer. Dans le recueil des Θαύματα son nom est inscrit en toutes lettres ; c'est Sphoracius, consul en 452, qui construisit en effet une église en l'honneur de S. Théodore.³

Revenons à la légende du saint, telle qu'elle est racontée par Chrysippe. Celui-ci connaît Eusébie, et ignore le dragon. Mais il a sa version sur les origines du sanctuaire d'Euchaïta. Elle sert de transition entre le récit du martyre et les miracles : μικρὰ δὲ ἄρα προσειπεῖν ὑμῖν καιρὸς περὶ τῆς προρρηθείσης τοῦ μάρτυρος ἱερᾶς αὐλῆς, ἣν ἀντὶ κοινοῦ προτειχίσματος, ἀντὶ κοινοῦ

¹ *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Theodoros Teron = Byzantinisches Archiv, Heft 7. Leipzig, 1921.*

² Lorsque nous avons cherché à utiliser le panégyrique de Chrysippe pour l'étude de la légende de S. Théodore (*Saints militaires*, p. 37) le manuscrit de Vienne Theol. graec. 60 était seul à notre disposition. Malgré son importance il a ce défaut d'avoir subi, de la part d'un rédacteur, une énorme coupure, qui porte précisément sur la légende du saint ; celle-ci manque totalement. Nous en avons conclu, à tort, que Chrysippe n'avait pas utilisé la légende.

³ Le nom de Sphoracius a le privilège d'avoir été régulièrement dénaturé par les copistes. Voir notre *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, p. 71 et passim. Dans le manuscrit des Θαύματα, Vatic. gr. 821, fol. 120, il est appelé Σταυράκιος ; dans le Coislin. 121, Σπαράκιος.

λιμένος πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ κατὰ τὸν Πόντον ἀποκεκλήρωται· Πόντον δὲ λέγω τὸν ποτε ἄξενον, νῦν δὲ λίαν φιλόξενον, διὰ τὸ πᾶσι προτείνειν χεῖρα τὸν μάρτυρα τοῖς πανταχόθεν προστρέχουσιν.¹ L'allusion au Πόντος ἄξενος est banale² : l'application est nouvelle.

Puis l'auteur se met à raconter que le lieu sanctifié par les reliques de Théodore était autrefois le repaire des démons : ἦν μὲν γὰρ πρότερον τὸ χωρίον πνευμάτων πολυειδῶν μεστόν. Il suffit de la présence de Théodore en ce lieu, pendant une nuit, celle qui précéda son supplice, pour en délivrer à jamais la contrée : Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τελείωσιν ὁ γενναῖος οὗτος ἀγόμενος μίαν ἐν αὐτῷ νύκτα διεκαρτέρησεν, τῆς ὥρας ἀναγκάσης τοὺς ἄγοντας τοῦτον, εὐθὺς ἤρκεσε τῷ χωρίῳ πρὸς καθαρισμόν, καὶ ἀφορμὴν ἔδωκε ταύτην εἰς τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα παστάδα δέξασθαι.

Voilà, semble-t-il, la plus ancienne tradition relative à la fondation du sanctuaire d'Euchaïta. C'est également, faut-il le dire ? une légende suggérée par le contraste du pays environnant et de la prospérité naissante de la ville qui devait tout à S. Théodore.

Les panégyristes ont noté l'affluence à Euchaïta des foules anonymes ; les chroniqueurs ont signalé les pèlerins illustres qui, de gré ou de force, furent conduits au tombeau de S. Théodore, pour satisfaire leur dévotion ou pour obéir à des ordres : Pierre le Foulon, Pierre Monge, Euphémios, Macédonios, Eutychios, Alypius le Stylite, Jean Moschos.³ La liste peut s'allonger. Dans la première moitié du XI^e siècle, S. Lazare le Galésiotte († 1054), dont le biographe semble regarder comme deux localités voisines Εὐχάϊτα et Εὐχάϊνα, fit son pèlerinage à la ville de S. Théodore.⁴ Quelques années plus tard, on y vit arriver deux moines, dont l'un au moins devait acquérir une grande célébrité : Georges l'Hagiorite, ancien archimandrite d'Ivion, accompagné d'un autre Georges, qui écrivit sa vie. Le passage de cette biographie, qui ne nous est parvenue qu'en géorgien,⁵ mérite

¹ Notre texte est celui du manuscrit de Paris 1452.

² Par exemple Pindare, *Pyth.*, IV, 361 ; Strabon, VII, 298.

³ Cf. *Les Légendes grecques des saints militaires*, p. 11 ; *Stud. Pont.* III, p. 20.

⁴ *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. III, p. 518, n. 29.

⁵ P. Peeters, "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes," dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVI, p. 121-122.

d'être cité : "Antiochia egressi sumus et usque ad fluvium magnum Euphratem perreximus. Illic nobis nuntiatum est Turcos, licentia illis facta peccatis nostris, Mesopotamia universa, Syria Graeciaque potitos esse. Quo audito, inde flectentes iter Sebasten versus tendimus, ubi pacem tenere putabamus. Sed iam illuc Turci nobis praeverterant, captamque urbem incenderant. . . . Inde igitur deflectentes per montana summo cum labore transivimus et diurnis nocturnisque itineribus Caesaream pervenimus ; unde ire pergentes ad mare contendimus, nam terra iter iam non erat, et, cum Dei numine, Euchaïta pervenimus, ad S. Theodori memoriam. Huius loci archiepiscopus¹ nos benigne excepit, hospitio invitavit, summaque cum caritate recreavit. Et quia erat ille vir sanctus atque theophorus, noster adventus in his calamitatibus ei magno solatio fuit ; et de vita spiritali plurimos cum eo sermones contulimus. Sic igitur iter nostrum pergentes, ad urbem Amysum pervenimus in ora maritima, ubi venditis iumentis nostris iter navi perreximus ad Abasgiae partes ; et prospera iucundaque navigatione Photim appulimus ; unde Cytaeam mense octobri pervenimus."

Ce pèlerinage date de 1059. Les jours de Théodoropolis étaient comptés, et bientôt allait commencer l'œuvre de destruction qui n'a laissé d'Euchaïta qu'un nom à peine reconnaissable.

¹ L'évêque qui reçut nos deux pèlerins était-il Jean Mauropus ? À partir de 1054 on perd sa trace. Voir J. Dräseke, "Joannes Mauropus," dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II, p. 461-493.

X.

EIN AMTSGENOSSE DES DICHTERS HORATIUS IN ANTIOCHIA PISIDIAE

von H. DESSAU

Zu den drei bereits bekannten Grabschriften von Veteranen der Legio V Gallica aus Antiochia Pisidia¹ hat Ramsay an diesem bevorzugten Ort seiner Studien im J. 1914 eine vierte hinzugefunden und im *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1916,² abgebildet. Er liest sie: *L. Pomponio Nigro vet(erano) leg(ionis) V Gal(licae), scribai q(uaestorio) Urbanus l(ibertus); et Viviai*. Pomponius Niger war also, vermutlich nach seiner Entlassung aus dem Heere und ehe er sich im fernen Osten niederliess, in Rom Mitglied des Collegiums der Scribae quaestorii geworden und hat diese Stellung auch später nicht geradezu aufgegeben sondern dem Namen nach beibehalten oder doch weiter ihrer gern gedacht, so dass sein Diener Urbanus sie auf der Grabschrift, die er ihm setzte, erwähnen konnte. Einer der Scribae quaestorii Roms war er geworden, sage ich; denn das Amt eines Schreibers des oder der Quaestoren von Antiochia Pisidia, wenn es ein so benanntes Amt überhaupt gab, war sicherlich eines der niedrigsten der neuen Stadt, und ist schwerlich von dem alten Krieger übernommen und gewiss nicht so geschätzt worden, dass man es auf seinem Grabstein hätte erwähnen mögen.³ In der Hauptstadt

¹ *C.I.L.*, III, 6824, 6825, 6828.

² P. 90

³ In diesem Punkte bin ich andrer Meinung als Sir William. Anderwärts als in Rom wird es wohl kaum Amtsschreiber gegeben haben, die sich ausschliesslich nach der Quaestur benannten; einen scr(iba) iivir(alis) et q(uaestorius) gab es in Capua, der Duovirn und Quaestoren, wie sein Titel zeigt, in gleicher Weise zur Verfügung zu stehen hatte; *C.I.L.*, X, 3906, in meinen *I.L.S.* 6316. In Rom waren die Schreiber der Quaestoren an die Spitze geraten, in Folge ihrer Tätigkeit am Aerarium, das zugleich Staatskasse und Archiv war; sie hatten auch keineswegs den Quaestoren allein zu dienen, sondern nannten sich nur nach ihnen als ihren nächsten Vorgesetzten (Mommsen *Staatsrecht*, I, 335, der 2., I, 350, der 3. Auflage). Viele Landstädte werden mit ganz wenigen

dagegen waren die *Scribae quaestorii*, die *Scribae quaestorii ab aerario* oder *ab aerario Saturni*, wie ihr vollständiger Name lautete, eine angesehene Körperschaft, die erste unter den gar nicht wenigen alten, fast ehrwürdig gewordenen Corporationen von Magistrats-Gehülfen, ihr anzugehören war ehrenvoll und gewinnbringend, sie bezogen einen festen Jahresgehalt aus der Staatskasse und hatten vermutlich nicht wenig Gelegenheit zu Nebenverdiensten; die Stellung war so gewinnbringend, dass mancher sie erkaufte, das heisst für einen durch Rücktritt eines Mitglieds frei werdenden Posten zahlte (die zurücktretenden Mitglieder hatten das Recht Nachfolger—Ersatzmänner—vorschlagen). Die Stellung war so ehrenvoll, dass Leute von einem gewissen Rang sie gern übernahmen, freilich niemals Senatoren,¹ das war ausgeschlossen, aber öfters roemische Ritter, auch solche in hohen militärischen Stellungen, oft freilich auch Freigelassene, gewesene Sklaven. Mühsam war die Stellung ohne Zweifel für einen der sich Mühe machen wollte; doch taten Arbeit wohl nur wenige die es gern taten und wohl auch hohe Sporteln herauschlugen, für die meisten war die Stellung eine *Sinecure*, eine Pfründe, die sie mitnahmen; die eigentliche, insbesondere die wirkliche Schreiber-Arbeit, lag niedriger gestellten Personen, Staats-Sklaven,² ob. Einige *Scribae quaestorii* pflegten den Proconsuln oder vielmehr deren Quaestoren in die Provinz mitgegeben zu werden;³ aber Pomponius Niger ist jedenfalls nicht in solcher Eigenschaft nach Antiochia gekommen,

Amtsschreibern, vielleicht mit einem einzigen, dem *Scriba publicus*, ausgekommen sein (*I.L.S.*, 140, gegen Ende). Auch in Antiochia Pisidiae wird wenigstens in den ersten Jahren der Colonie nicht viel Bedürfnis nach Schreiberpersonal vorhanden gewesen sein. Mag sein, dass bei sich einstellendem Bedürfnis und Mangel an Personal Pomponius Niger, wie Ramsay meint (p. 92), eingesprungen ist; aber deshalb konnte man ihn doch nicht auf seiner Grabschrift *Scriba quaestorius* nennen. Es gab in Antiochia, wenigstens zeitweise, und gewiss nicht ursprünglich, einen *γραμματεὺς* (*C.I.L.*, 6833), nach dem Vorbild der griechisch gebliebenen Städte des Landes; aber das war etwas ganz anders als *Scriba quaestorius*.

¹ In der von Ramsay, p. 92, note 1, angeführten Inschrift (*I.L.S.*, 1033) ist nicht der Geehrte, sondern sind diejenigen, die die Inschrift gesetzt haben, *Scribae quaestori(i)*.

² Vergl., *I.L.S.*, 5030 (Arval-Acten des Jahres 155): *publicus (servus) promotus ad tabulas quaestorias transscribendas*.

³ Mommsen, *Staatsr.*, I, 332, der 2., 348, der 3. Auflage. Von urkundlichen Belegen ist jetzt eine afrikanische Inschrift hinzugekommen, *C.R. Acad.*, 1920, p. 141, auf deren Bedeutung auch für diese Frage der Herausgeber, L. Poinssot, mit Recht hingewiesen hat.

da Proconsuln und Quaestoren bekanntlich in jener Gegend Asiens nichts zu suchen hatten. Wieso gerade die Scribae quaestorii an die Spitze der Magistrats-Gehülften Roms gekommen, und wie so die Stellung käuflich geworden ist, braucht hier nicht ausgeführt zu werden, ich verweise dafür auf Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*, wo dieser Gegenstand besonders lichtvoll behandelt ist.¹ Dieser Körperschaft gehörte nun Pomponius Niger an, vielleicht seit dem Jahre 30 vor Chr., wenn er zu den vielen bald nach der Schlacht bei Actium entlassenen, bis zum Jahre 25 vor Chr., wenn er, wie wahrscheinlich, zu den ersten Colonisten Antiochia's gehört hat und die Colonie wirklich in diesem Jahre, wie Ramsay will, gegründet worden ist; fest steht dies keineswegs, aber sicher scheint mir zu sein, dass Pomponius Niger in der ersten Zeit des Kaisers Augustus Scriba quaestorius in Rom gewesen ist. Ist dies aber der Fall, so ist er auch eine Zeit lang Kollege eines der berühmtesten und uns teuersten Römer aller Zeiten gewesen, des Dichters Q. Horatius Flaccus. Dieser hat, nach der Angabe seines zuverlässigen Biographen,² nach dem Scheitern seiner politischen Hoffnungen und seiner Rückkehr nach Italien, ehe er Freund des Maecenas geworden war, denn dann hatte er das nicht mehr nötig, vermutlich mit dem Rest seines Vermögens, sich in diese Körperschaft eingekauft; und in ihr finden wir ihn auch im J. 30, in welchem Jahre er eine seiner anmutigsten sogenannten Satiren gedichtet hat (II, 6): *Hoc erat in votis*. Der Dichter schildert da die Plagen, denen er ausgesetzt ist, wenn er von seinem geliebten Landgütchen nach der Hauptstadt kommt. *Aliena negotia centum per caput et circa saliunt latus* (v. 33). Schon vor 8 Uhr Morgens soll er sich irgend einem Roscius zu Liebe zu einem Gerichtstermin einfinden. Weiter: *de re communi scribae magna atque nova te orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti* (v. 36). "Vergiss ja nicht zu der heutigen Versammlung der Scribae, wie Du versprochen, Dich einzufinden: es handelt sich um eine uns alle angehende, wichtige und neue Sache." Horaz war kein schlechter Kamerad; und er wird der Gesellschaft, der er nun einmal angehörte, die Ehre seines Erscheinens, ob gern oder nicht gern ist eine andre Frage, erwiesen haben. Von dem Folgenden interessirt uns hier nur noch eines: ein Neugieriger,

¹ Bd. I., S. 318 ff, der 2., S. 332, der 3. Auflage.

² Suetonius, p. 44, ed. Reifferscheid: scriptum quaestorium comparavit.

der in dem Dichter vornehmlich den Freund des mächtigen Maecenas sieht, will von ihm wissen, ob der Kaiser die entlassenen Soldaten in Italien oder anderswo, in Sicilien, unterbringen wird (v. 55) : das war eine Sache die jedermann, den Kollegen Pomponius Niger aber ganz besonders persönlich interessirte. Wir dürfen annehmen, dass Pomponius Niger mit Horaz wiederholte Male zusammengetroffen ist, ihm manchmal die Hand gedrückt und wohl auch einen Händedruck von ihm empfangen hat. Weiter werden wir aber nicht gehen dürfen. Es wäre vermessen anzunehmen, dass der möglicherweise aus dem eigentlichen, dem transalpinischen Gallien stammende gewesene Krieger für die horazische Poesie besonderes Verständnis gehabt habe, weder für die allerdings derben aber doch für ein verwöhntes Publicum bestimmten Epoden, noch für die feinen Satiren ; auch nicht, und gerade nicht, für die wohl erst zum kleinsten Teil veröffentlichten schwungvollen Oden. Einem Kameraden Nigers aus derselben Legio V Gallica, dem ebenfalls in Antiochia Pisidiae angesiedelten Cissonius, hat sein Bruder auf den Grabstein den nicht übeln Vers setzen lassen : *Dum vixi bibi libenter ; bibite vos qui vivitis*.¹ Hören wir nicht Horaz ? “*morantem saepe diem mero fregi*” ; “*dona praesentis cape laetus horae*” ; und so oft. Das wäre natürlich ein schwerer Irrtum. Auch auf dem Grabsteine Nigers selbst würde mir jener Vers kein Zeichen irgend welcher Beeinflussung durch Horaz sein. Solche Gedanken, solche Verse lagen damals, und nicht nur damals, in der Luft ; und sie wurden auch damals gar nicht selten auf Grabsteine gesetzt. Ein Zeit- und Schicksalsgenosse des Cissonius und Pomponius Niger, ein Veteran der 30. Legion, Colonist von Beneventum geworden und dort angesiedelt, hat sich auf seiner Grabschrift noch ganz anders ausgedrückt.²

Colonia Caesarea ist auch, trotz der vorübergehenden Beziehungen eines ihrer ersten Colonisten zu Horaz, kein Sitz der lateinischen Muse geworden. Wir haben hier ein nicht gerade belehrendes, aber doch interessantes Beispiel dafür, wie Bürgerkrieg und allgemeine Not Leute verschiedenster Art für kurze Zeit zusammen geführt hat.

¹ C.I.L., III, 6825.

² C.I.L., IX, 2114 = I.L.S., 8155.

XI.

THE LYDIAN LANGUAGE

by J. FRASER

THE publication of a small number of the Lydian inscriptions discovered by the American expedition on the site of Sardis, Enno Littmann, *Sardis*, VI, 1 : *Lydian Inscriptions*, 1916, has at last made it possible to deal, with some confidence, with the question of the classification of the Lydian language. Previous speculations were based on a number of glosses, Lydian person- and place-names and a single inscription published by Sayce, *P.S.B.A.*, XVII, 39 ff. From all this very little could be inferred with certainty. The glosses without exception appeared to be non-Indogermanic, though Pauli, *eine vorgriechische Inschrift aus Lemnos*, 67, following Lagarde, thought he could prove them to be Iranian.¹

Of the person-names, *Kandaules*, interpreted in the well-known Hipponax fragment as a Maeonian word meaning "dog-throttler," may very well be Indogermanic and has been generally admitted to be such. Its presence in Lydia, however, can be explained as due to a foreign (Indogermanic) element in the language (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, 388), and this explanation, though there are phonological difficulties in the way of the assumption that the Maeonian language, as represented by *Kandaules*, was related to Phrygian, is probably the correct one.²

Apart from *Kandaules*, Lydian names show no Indogermanic characteristics. It is true that, beside the simple names like *Guges*, *Kambles*, there are found a number of compound names like *Aluattes*, *Saduattes*, *Muattes* which contain one or, possibly,

¹ Pauli, of course, held that Lydian was not an Indogermanic language.

² Cuny's explanation, *Rev. Et. anc.*, XXI, is fantastic and impossible.

two divine names, but they suggest a Semitic rather than an Indogermanic model. The name *IŠTAR-attis* of the "Hittite" inscriptions is of the same type and the Semitic influence is evident.

The circumstantial account by Herodotus (I, 94) of the emigrations of Lydians to Northern Italy made it natural to expect that when sufficient remains of the language of the Lydians were brought to light they would turn out to be of the same character as Etruscan. The most satisfactory attempt to classify Etruscan (Vilh. Thomsen, *Remarques sur la parenté de la langue étrusque*) had shown that there existed remarkable resemblances between Etruscan and some of the Caucasian languages. Sayce's inscription, *Alus mrštl zul*, "Alus son of Mursos," also exhibited the genitive-adjectival termination *-l* characteristic of Etruscan (with *Μύρσος* : *Μύρσιλος*, cf. Etr.-Latin *Manius* : *Manilius*) and of certain Caucasian languages. The investigation of place-names in Asia Minor by Ramsay, Pauli, Kretschmer, and Sundwall established the existence in Anatolia of a number of languages of a non-Indogermanic character; and recently Herbig, in a striking work, *Kleinasiatisch-etruskische Namengleichungen*, München, 1914, made it clear that names of the same type and containing the same elements were common in Italy.

There was, therefore, a good deal of circumstantial evidence to support the view that Lydian was a non-Indogermanic language and that it was very possibly connected with Etruscan. This harmonised with the opinion generally held for a considerable period that the original home of the Indogermanic languages was in Europe. Two comparatively recent events, however, called for a reconsideration of the assumptions on which this opinion was based. The first was the discovery in Central Asia of an Indogermanic language (Tocharian) showing characteristics (the treatment of the palatal gutturals, and medial verbal forms in *-r*) which proved that it belonged to the *centum*-group of Indogermanic languages hitherto known only in Europe, and that, among these, it was most closely related to the Italo-Celtic branch. (Cf. Meillet, *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch*, I, 1 ff.; Charpentier, *die verbalen R-Endungen d. idg. Sprachen*, Upsala, 1917.) A plausible explanation of the existence of such a language in Central Asia was found in the assumption of a

colony, or forced migration, from Galatia (Charpentier, "die ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer," *Z.D.M.G.*, LXXI, 347 ff.). This view is still possible but it is no longer the only one that explains the facts. The known remains of Tocharian are of a late date, but if it appears that there are traces in Asia at a very early time of a *centum*-language with verbal *-r* terminations, the case for the Galatian origin of Tocharian is very much weakened. Such verbal endings, it may be mentioned, are found in Phrygian (which is not a *centum*-language) and there is no reason to suppose that they are due to Galatian influence.

One of the languages of the cuneiform inscriptions of Boghazköi called, perhaps inaccurately, "Hittite"¹ does show unmistakable Indogermanic characteristics, including verbal endings in *-r*. Cf. Marstrander, *Caractère indo-européen de la langue hittite*, Christiania, 1919. Some of those characteristics, moreover, are confined to languages of the *centum*-group. Whether we are to call "Hittite" an Indogermanic language or not is perhaps a matter of minor importance, but that it contains an Indogermanic element cannot be doubted. This must not only be taken into account in dealing with the question of Tocharian; it is of significance in other ways. If we have strong traces of an Indogermanic language, as we have on the upper Euphrates in the second millennium B.C. (with perhaps an offshoot to the North represented by the much later Tocharian), it is not unreasonable to suppose, if there are facts which point in that direction, that a similar language should have been carried down the valley of the Hermus. Lydian has, in fact, been compared with "Hittite" (Hrozný, *op. cit.*, 101 ff., Marstrander, *op. cit.*, 5 ff.), and the view that it is an Indogermanic language has been revived.

So far as the morphology of Lydian is concerned, the answer to the question, Is Lydian an Indogermanic language? depends largely on the transliteration of the sign 𐤫 which marks the oblique (objective) case of the singular. As this sign is used to represent the first consonant in the Lydian form of *Alexandros* (Littmann, 26) it has been generally taken to be a variety of *l*. Cf. Danielsson, *zu den lydischen Inschriften*; Cuny, "L'inscription lydo-araméenne de Sardes," *Rev. Ét. anc.*, XXII, 58 ff.; Pedersen,

¹ Hrozný, *die Sprache der Hethiter*, Leipzig, 1917.

"The Lepontian Personal Names in -alos," *Philologica*, I, 49 ff. If this interpretation is correct, it is natural to compare such pronominal forms in "Hittite" as *apél*, *kél* with the Lydian *b*ṽ, *es*ṽ. This formation is definitely non-Indogermanic but has an exact parallel in Etruscan. Further, as has been pointed out by Pedersen, *op. cit.*, it is impossible to separate the Lydian objective case in -*l* (Littmann, 68) from the very common adjective formations in -*lis*, -*lid*. We have also side by side *ata*ṽ : *atalis*, *katova*ṽ : *katovalis*, and this seems to be an additional reason for supposing that ṽ represents a kind of *l* sound. If this is granted, we see at once that Lydian and Etruscan agree in having a peculiar genitive-adjectival -*l* formation of similar, if not identical, syntactical value. Marstrander seems to hold, *op. cit.*, 7, that the adjectival suffix may be Indogermanic, and compares the Lydian *vānaś manelis* with the Latin *filius erilis*. The comparison is perfectly justified but the inference from it is questionable. The enormous extension in Latin of the adjective suffix -*lis* has no parallel in any other Indogermanic language and is as certainly due to Etruscan influence as are the gentilicia in -*lius*. The Latin names *Manius* : *Manilius*, corresponding exactly to Lydian *Mane* : *Manelis*, are an important piece of evidence, not for the Indogermanic character of the -*l* suffix, but for the relationship of Lydian with Etruscan.

On the other hand, Thurneysen has recently suggested ("zum Lydischen," *K.Z.*, L, 35 ff.) that ṽ represents a variety of *n*. The ending of the Lydian oblique case in the singular is, thus, equivalent to the Idg. -*m*, the common enclitic personal pronoun is *mń* = Ionic *μν*, and a word in L. 12 which probably means "son" because *śuńoś* = Goth. *sunus*. If the transliteration *ń* be accepted, it cannot be denied that Lydian has, morphologically and lexically, striking resemblances to Indogermanic. Probability, however, is against it. Consonant assimilation in *Alexandros* is conceivable; but the objection that Thurneysen's theory separates the suffix -*lis* from the oblique nominal forms in -ṽ is insuperable.

It is certain that ṽ represents a variety of *l*; and from the equivalence of *b*ṽ and *bu*ṽ it can be inferred (1) that the consonant could have the value of a sonant, and (2) that its point of articulation approximated to that of the "hard" Slavonic *l*. Cf.

Pedersen, *op. cit.*, 50. As it occurs between vowels it is difficult to suppose that ḡ is simply a notation for sonant ḡ . There must have been two varieties of ḡ with a difference of articulation. Nevertheless it seems probable that they could alternate and that the oblique forms of the noun in $-\text{ḡ}$ are ultimately identical with those in $-\text{ḡ}$. The sign is in what follows transcribed λ , λ .

The comparison of Lydian vānas' ; $\text{vana}\lambda$ with Etruscan $\text{lar}\theta$; $\text{lar}\theta\text{al}$, and of Lydian Mane : Manelis with Etruscan $\text{Tar}\chi\text{n}$: $\text{Tar}\chi\text{nal}$ is legitimate and points to the correctness of the traditional view that the two languages were connected. In "Hittite" a case ending $-\text{ḡ}$ is found only in the pronouns; on the other hand, the frequency of the $-\text{ḡ}$ suffix in the formation of adjectives (Hrozný, *op. cit.*, 50 ff.) is, perhaps, significant.

There are two other transliterations in Littmann's alphabet which must be considered. ḡ can scarcely be q , a value attached to it on the assumption that $\text{ḡuvell}\lambda$ is identical with the κοαλλδειν of the Hesychian gloss. Some of the consonant groups that result from this transliteration, e.g. vqb and sqc' seem formidable enough to justify doubt of its correctness, and there is positive evidence which Littmann has neglected. The same sign ḡ appears on one of the old Phrygian inscriptions in the gentilic or ethnic κῑαυαφεζος . Here it is clear that the sign cannot represent a guttural, and it has been generally transliterated by a sibilant (s). There can be no doubt that it is a modification of the T of the alphabet of Halicarnassus which was explained long ago by Ramsay (*J.H.S.*, I, 242 ff.) as a "palatal sibilant." The precise value of the sign can perhaps be inferred from the fact that in the Ionic alphabet the same sound is represented by $\sigma\sigma$, in Lycian by z and in local dialects of Greek in Asia Minor occasionally by ξ . In the Egyptian references to the Invaders from the North¹ several of the national names have the termination $-\text{ḡ}\text{ḡ}$, $-\text{w}\text{ḡ}\text{ḡ}$, and this can be only the phonetic rendering of the Aegaeon suffix written in Greek $-\sigma\sigma\text{os}$. The value of the sign in the Egyptian "syllabic script" transliterated ḡ is, as Mr. H. R. Hall kindly informs me, beyond doubt; and this confirms inferences based on other considerations as to the value of Ionic $\sigma\sigma$ and Lycian z . On geographical grounds common features in the alphabets of Caria,

¹These have been now conveniently collected by Helmuth Bossert, *Alt-Kreta*, Berlin, 1921, p. 45, ff.

Lydia and Phrygia might be expected, and there can be little doubt that the Lydian like the Phrygian and the Halicarnassian sign should be transliterated *š*. Of the words in which this sign appears (Littmann, p. 18) attention may be called to *šavλos* which may very well be identical with *sabλa-*, and to *šivard*. This assumes that *š* and *s* could interchange, and in this there is nothing improbable, for both in Old Phrygian and in Lycian the sibilants transliterated *s* and *z* interchange, it seems, arbitrarily. *S* and *š*, on the other hand, do not interchange in Lydian.

The other sign which must be dealt with is that which Littmann transliterates *č*. As it is the termination of the oblique case in the plural of the noun the correct determination of its value is of the utmost importance, and, at the same time, must not be based on a preconceived theory of the formation of the plural oblique case. Mere inspection of some of the words in which the sign is used, e.g. *katvčēl*, *vašćunkms*, *včisλ*, *ēnvčatolk*, *bašćsak*, indicates at once that it does not represent an ordinary consonant. In final position it is used after the vowels *a*, *u*, *ē*, and *i*. It is, therefore, unlikely to be an ordinary vowel. It must represent the same kind of sound as that represented by *ṽ* (*λ*, *λ*), and have the value sometimes of a vowel, sometimes of a consonant. I believe it to be a variety of *r* (*g*, *g*) standing in the same relation to the ordinary *r* as *λ* to *l*, and probably sometimes alternating with it, for I find it difficult to separate *šivg*, *šivaq* from *šivard*, and, above all, *šivgalid* from *šivralmis*.

If the transcription is right, the termination of the plural oblique case in Lydian is identical with the *-r* plural formation in Etruscan, *clan* "son," *clenar* "sons," and any doubt that could remain as to the significance of the suffix of the oblique case in the singular vanishes, and the view that Lydian and Etruscan are closely related becomes incontestable. For the final proof we must, however, wait till more Lydian material has been made accessible. In Etruscan the *-r* formation may be not a case but a plural suffix as has been inferred from d. sg. *clenši*, pl. *clenaraši*; this would be a precise parallel to the formations in the Caucasian languages. For Lydian the published material contains no certain example of the addition of anything like a case suffix to *g*; *esgaq*, the plural of the demonstrative stem *es-* seems rather to have the suffix doubled, and for *umgod*, *dumgit* (Littmann, p. 17), there is

no context. It is conceivable that in Lydian the acc. pl., consisting as in Etruscan of the bare stem, was generalized. If the nom. pl. ended, as there is reason to believe, in *-ś*, *Artimus*, the termination can be explained as having arisen from *-gś*. This, however, is mere speculation.

On the lexical side few cases of correspondence between Lydian and Etruscan have been noticed. Danielsson compares Lyd. *-k* with Etr. *-c* "and," and Pedersen Lyd. *siluka-* with Etr. *zilaχ*. The proper name Lyd. *Mane*, Etr.-Latin *Manius*, should be mentioned, and it is possible that the Lydian enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. sg. *m-* is identical with the Etr. demonstrative *mi*.

The case for connecting Lydian with Etruscan rests on (1) historical probability, and (2) morphological resemblances which cannot be accidental: (a) an adjectival formation in *-l*; (b) an *-l* suffix in the oblique case of the singular; and, it is now claimed, (c) an *-r* suffix in the plural.

The conclusion that Lydian is connected with Etruscan, though true, is, probably, not the whole truth. One of the most important of the recent developments in linguistic science is the recognition of the fact that there are mixed languages in which the mixture extends not merely to the vocabulary but also to the morphology¹ and syntax. Such a language "Hittite" undoubtedly is; and it would not be surprising if Lydian, the geographical situation of which in historical times resembles that of "Hittite" in that both lie on or about great trade routes, should resemble "Hittite" in this respect also.² With regard to the vocabulary of Lydian little or nothing can be said. In morphology and syntax, however, Lydian has features which are suggestive of Indogermanic influence.

1. Substantives in the subjective (nominative) case of the singular fall into two classes, one of them distinguished by the termination *-ś*, the other by the termination *-d*, e.g. *vānaś*, "grave," *mrud*, "stele." The adjectives in the same case have a varying termination in agreement with that of the substantives: *vānaś atalis*, *akad karolid*. The demonstrative and relative pronouns

¹ An interesting example of this is modern Eastern Armenian which has borrowed from Georgian (or Turkish) the method of forming the cases of the plural of the noun by adding the case-suffixes of the singular to a plural sign.

² That Lydian is a mixed language has been already suggested by Cook, *J.H.S.*, XXXVII, 220.

vary in a similar way : *es'(š) vānaś*, "this tomb," *est mrud*, "this stele," *lahrisak (lahrisad-k) hid* . . ., "and the couch (?) which . . ." This distinction has every appearance of being one of gender. It cannot indicate a classification into names of animate and inanimate objects (which is a feature of most of the northern Caucasian languages) as is shown by *vānaś* : *karolaś* ; nor is such a classification as is known in the Bantu languages possible. On the other hand, *-s* as a masculine (feminine) termination and *-d* as a neuter is characteristic of the Indo-germanic languages. For a possible parallel to *-d* in the substantive cf. Thurneysen, *op. cit.*¹

2. Verbal forms, with one or two exceptions like *orağit* (Littmann, p. 39), occur, outside the unintelligible metrical inscription, only in what must be taken to be the present or future tense and in the third person. The terminations in the sg. *-id*, *-ad*, *-od* (with apparently a variation of the stem vowel recalling that of the Idg. verb) and in the plural *-ēnt*, curiously resemble those of Lycian (*-ate*, *-ate*, cf. also *tadi*, pl. *tati*) as well as of Indo-germanic. It may be noticed that in L 13 *Artimuś vśbahēnt* the form of the verb shows that *-ś* is the termination of the subjective case of the plural.² In L 26, 4, we have *ēnsλibid levś saretaś*, and in L 26, 5, *levś vśbahēnt*. It appears that the substantive *levś* may take a verb in the singular or the plural, and this suggests that it may be a collective noun or something of the kind. As Greek inscriptions of this character sometimes mention the community, *δημος*, as inflicting punishment for tomb desecration (cf. Stemler, *die griechische Grabinschriften Kleinasiens*, p. 18), *levś* may mean here "community," "people." It may be suggested as a mere guess that *levś* is the Anatolian word which appears in Phrygian and Greek as *-λαFo-*, *λαός*.

3. With one or two exceptions the inscriptions published

¹The distribution of final *-ś* and *-s* is a curious feature of Lydian morphology. Substantives, so far as the published texts show, have only *-ś*, while only *-s* occurs in the common adjectival terminations *-sis*, *-lis*, *-ris*. Hence it may be assumed that the frequent *vissis* is an adjective. Of the pronouns *his* has always the sibilant of the adjectives, while the demonstrative stem *es-* becomes invariably *es'(š)*, evidently borrowing the sibilant of the substantive which it accompanies. The mixture of Indogermanic and non-Indogermanic elements in the flexion of the substantive (subjective case *-ś*, *-d*, objective case *-l*, *-λ*) would not be more surprising than the adoption in Eastern Armenian of the Georgian inflexional system in the plural of substantives.

²In *Hλdanś Tavśas Artimuk ibśimsis katsarlovakid*, Littmann, p. 13, the use of the singular of the verb is not un-Indogermanic.

by Littmann belong to a sepulchral type familiar in Asia Minor. They consist of a statement of the ownership of the tomb followed by an imprecation directed against trespassers. In one case, L 14, only the latter part is found. In the majority of the inscriptions the beginning and the end of the curse formula are clearly marked, and for its general grammatical structure we can rely not only on the Aramaic version of the Sardis bilingual, L 17, but on the analogy of the corresponding formulæ in sepulchral inscriptions composed in Greek and in Phrygian. The Aramaic text of L 17, after the elaborate discussion by Littmann, *op. cit.*, S. A. Cook, *J.H.S.*, XXXVII, 77 ff., 218 ff., and Cuny, *Rev. Ét. anc.*, XXII, 58 ff., still remains in part obscure. It is however evident that it does not correspond in all details with the Lydian text, and it is equally certain that some of the interpretations of the Lydian text based on it are erroneous.

The curse formulæ occurring in the inscriptions, omitting one or two which are in part unintelligible, are the following:

akit nāhis esλ mruλ buk esλ vānaλ buk esgaḡ lahrisaḡ bukit kud ist esλ vanaλ bλtarvod . . . fakmλ Artimuś ibśimsis Artimuk kulumsis . . . vśbahēnt. L 7.

akmλt his fēnsλibid . . . fakmē Šanñas . . . ensλibid. L 1a.

akmλt his fēnsλibid fakmλt Hλdanš Artimuk vśbahēnt. L 1b.

akit nāhis esλ vānaλ . . . fēnsλibid fakaḡ viśis nivīśšḡ varbtokid. L 6.

akit nāhis fēnsλibid esλ vanaλ . . . fakaḡ viśsis nivīśšḡ varbtokid. L 9.

ak nāhis emλ¹ vanaλ . . . šitalad fadint fakmλ Artimuś hiraλ helλk vśbahent. L 13.

akit his esλ vānaλ . . . fensλibid fakaḡ viśsis nivīśšḡ varbtokid.

hisit fēnsλibid esλ vanaλ buk esλ mruλ fakmλ levś vśbahent. L 15.

The formula consists of (a) a protasis introduced by *ak*, *ak-it*, *ak-tin* (< *ak-it-in* or *his*, *his-it*); and (b) an apodosis introduced

¹ Miswritten, or misread, for *esλ*.

by *ak-in* (L 12), more usually by *f-ak-*. A comparison of the two protases *ak-it nāhis* . . . (L 17), and *his-it* . . . (L 26), might suggest at first sight that we have in Lydian the counterpart of the two Greek constructions *εἰ τις* . . . and *ὅστις* Hence, doubtless, Littmann's *ak* = "if." But the Aramaic text of the bilingual represents *ak-it nāhis* by *wa man* "and whoever," cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, 83. Cuny's conjecture (*Rev. Ét. anc.*, XXIII, 16), that *ak-it* means "eh bien" ἀλλὰ καὶ δέ is probably correct.

In two inscriptions, L 1(a) and (b), both reading *eš vānaš Manelis Alulis akmλt his fēnslibid* . . . the particle introducing the apodosis has an additional infixed element. These are the only inscriptions in which the verb *fēnslibid* is not accompanied by a nominal object in the same sentence, and it is evident that the place of the noun, *vānaš*, has been taken by the enclitic pronoun *mλ* which is common in the apodosis referring to *his*, and that *akmλt* arises from *ak-mλ-it*. The introductory particle here is, therefore, *ak-it*.

The comparison of *ak nāhis*, *ak-it nāhis*, *ak-it his* . . . *his* . . . *fēnslibid* shows clearly that *his nāhis*, and *ak(-it) (na-)his* are syntactically equivalent, and that *ak*, *ak-it* like *nā-* are not conjunctions but particles. That is indicated also by the use of *fakit* to introduce the apodosis. Probably we should analyze (*f*)-*a-k-it(-in)* and regard *a* as a demonstrative particle. So too, *bu-k*, *bu-k-it*, *b-k-in*, "or." Of these forms, the second and third are used only to introduce the last of a number of alternatives, "or, further." The particle *-it* has the same force in *his* . . . *his-it* (L 26), "whoever . . . and, further, whoever."¹ In *ak-it*, standing at the head of the protasis, after the name of the owner of the tomb has been given, it has much the same sense, "so, then, . . ." The protasis is, therefore, in every case the equivalent of the Greek *ὅστις* . . . clause; and *his*, with or without the particles *nā*, *ak*, *ak-it*, is a relative pronoun, "whosoever." It never has the sense of an indefinite pronoun. Danielsson, *op. cit.*, suggests that it is identical with the "Hittite" *kuiš*, with an intermediate stage *piš*. That is, for the present, uncertain; on

¹ Indogermanic etymologies of *bu-k* and *-it* are obvious, if they are wanted. *Bu-* (< *bhud*) is the 3rd pers. sg. subjunctive (imperative) of the substantive verb (cf. the similar use of French *soit* and German *sei*), and *-it* is identical with Greek *ἐτι*.

the other hand, the syntactical construction *his* . . . *fěnslibid*, *fak-* . . . *všbahēnt*, is Indogermanic.

There is in Lydian another relative pronoun, hitherto known only in the "neuter" form, *kud*, "what," "all that." It occurs twice in the bilingual: *est mrud esš-k vānaš lahrisa-k hela-k kud-k-it ist esλ vanaλ bλtarvod* . . ., "this stele . . . and, further, (-*k-it*) all that belongs (?)¹ to this tomb." The second example *ak-it nāhis esλ mruλ bu-k esλ vānaλ* . . . *bu-k-it kud ist esλ vānaλ bλtarvod* . . . *fěnslibid* shows clearly that the -*k-* in *kud-k-it* is the conjunction and not, as might conceivably be suggested, a generalizing particle like Latin -*que* in *quidque*. The same inference is to be drawn from the example of *kud-k-it* in L 9. It is unlikely that *kud* has anything to do with *his*, as Danielsson holds, *op. cit.*, 26, n. 2; but it is difficult to separate it from the Latin *quod*, "Hittite" *kuwat*. Its place in the sentence, too (in which respect "Hittite" usage varies), and the structure of the sentence, are distinctly Indogermanic.

To summarize, the following features of Lydian suggest that the language has been influenced by Indogermanic: (1) the -*s*, -*d* terminations in the noun and pronoun; (2) the verbal endings of the 3rd pers. (which Lydian seems to share with Lycian), -*d*, -*nt*; and (3) a fully developed relative construction and a relative pronoun *kud*.

The conclusion is that Lydian is a language related more or less closely with Etruscan and belonging to the same family as the Caucasian languages, which at an early period was in contact with such an Indogermanic language as influenced "Hittite." The theory that Lycian too contains an Indogermanic element is gaining ground. It is certain that it will be necessary in the near future to adapt to new facts our views of the early history of the Indogermanic languages. We mean by Indogermanic a group of languages which had formed a unity down to the time when certain characteristics which now constitute the definition of an Indogermanic language were evolved. But the possibility must be admitted that dialects separated from the main body before that stage of development

¹That *bλtarvod* is a verb has, I find, been already suggested by Cowley. Vid. Cook, *loc. cit.*, 227.

had been reached.¹ Moreover, languages of a different type must have borrowed both words and grammatical forms from what may be called partly developed Indogermanic. In dealing with the older languages of Western Asia possibilities of this kind must, I believe, be considered.

¹ Since writing the above, I find that Meillet makes a somewhat similar suggestion *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, XXIII (2), 178 f.

JESUS COLLEGE,
OXFORD,
July 15, 1922.

XII.

MIETTES D'HISTOIRE BYZANTINE

(IV^{ME}-VI^{ME} siècle)

par H. GRÉGOIRE

Le premier fascicule du *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* aura sans doute paru lorsque ce volume de mélanges verra le jour. Mais l'impression du reste, qui n'est même pas commencée, prendra sans doute beaucoup de temps. Et d'autre part, les textes intéressant l'histoire byzantine sont un peu noyés dans la masse des *funéraires* plus ou moins insignifiantes qui forme surtout la matière de notre *Recueil*. J'ai donc cru rendre service aux historiens en groupant ici quelques inscriptions remarquables à divers titres. J'ai choisi mes documents en usant du critère *prosopographique* ; les textes que j'ai retenus mentionnent des personnages connus d'ailleurs. Puissent ces modestes notes, prémices du *Corpus* chrétien d'Asie Mineure, agréer à l'illustre chercheur dont les admirables découvertes nous ont montré la voie.

I.

Le Préfet du Prétoire Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus (388-392)

Le préfet du prétoire Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus n'était pas chrétien. Libanius, dans son *Pro Templis*, se réjouit de son entrée en charge. Le rhéteur félicite Théodose de "s'être adjoint, croyant être utile à l'État, un homme qui jure par les Dieux, non seulement devant les autres, mais encore devant l'Empereur." M. Van Loy,¹ dans ce personnage qui n'est pas autrement désigné, a reconnu, après Sievers et Seeck, le préfet

¹ R. Van Loy, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXII (1913), pp. 316.
(151)

Tatianus, et il en a conclu que le discours de Libanius "pour les temples" devait être daté du milieu de l'année 388. La première constitution adressée à ce préfet est du 16 juin 388.

Il est certes utile, à l'historien du progrès du Christianisme dans l'empire, de savoir quelle a pu être la popularité d'un haut magistrat ennemi de la nouvelle foi, qui jouissait de la faveur d'un empereur chrétien à la fin du IV^e siècle. C'est pourquoi l'épigraphie chrétienne ne peut s'en désintéresser. J'ai donc recueilli soigneusement les témoignages lapidaires de l'incontestable popularité du préfet Tatien. Ce fut une grande figure, à en juger par les monuments qui lui sont consacrés. Il était originaire de Lycie, sans doute de Sidyma, où l'on a trouvé, sur deux grands autels quadrangulaires qui bordaient l'accès d'un édicule, une longue inscription métrique donnant son *cursus*. Ce texte,¹ où s'exprime d'une façon naïve l'admiration des gens de Sidyma pour leur illustre concitoyen, fut gravé, semble-t-il, au moment où Tatien, assesseur, gouverneur de la Thébaidé, puis d'Égypte, consulaire de Syrie, *comes orientis*, *comes sacrarum largitionum*, préfet du prétoire, venait de recevoir ἀἰδίον ὑπάτων λάχος, c'est à dire en 391, l'année de son consulat.² Mais Tatien, préfet du prétoire dès 388, comme nous l'avons dit, garda cette charge pendant son consulat et jusqu'à l'année 392. Sa carrière se termina alors brusquement. Les intrigues de Rufin le firent déposer et bannir (392) tandis que son fils Proclus ou Proculus périsait sur l'échafaud. Leurs mémoires furent condamnées. Aussi, le nom de Tatien a-t-il été martelé sur les monuments où il figurait, de même que, sur le fameux obélisque de l'Hippodrome de Constantinople, le nom de Proculus fut effacé.³ Mais sur cet obélisque le nom de Proculus fut rétabli. En effet, après la chute de Rufin, leur mémoire à tous deux paraît avoir été réhabilitée : il faut lire au Code Théodosien, IX, 38, 9, l'édit du 31 août 396. Arcadius, par cet édit fameux, et dont la portée exacte n'est d'ailleurs pas complètement déterminée, rendit alors à sa dévouée province de Lycie *priorem famam meritumque inter ceteras*, qui lui avaient été

¹ *Recueil* 293bis (Kaibel, 919—Benndorf-Niemann, *Reisen*, I, p. 81, no. 64).

² Liebenam, *Fasti consulares*, s.a.

³ Mommsen, *Bullettino dell' Inst. di Corr. archeol.*, 1866, pp. 238-239, et *C.I.L.*, III, 737; *C.I.G.*, IV, 8612.

enlevés à cause de Tatien. Nous renvoyons à Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*,¹ pour la discussion classique de toute cette affaire, passablement embrouillée.

Wescher, il y a cinquante-six ans, lut les noms effacés de Φλ. Εὐτόλμιος Τατιανός dans une inscription d'Antinoé en Égypte,² et les restitua, par une heureuse conjecture, au no. 4693 du *C.I.G.* (Aboukir). Je les ai rétablis moi-même dans deux *tituli* de mon *Recueil*, au n°. 281, d'abord. C'est une inscription d'Aphrodisias en Carie, publiée naguère par M. Th. Reinach (*Rev. Ét. gr.*, XIX (1906), p. 111) :

Τὸν ἐκ τῆς θείας γονῆς | θεοφιλέστατον | Φλ(άβιον)
 Ὀνώριον | τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον | |
 | τῇ συνήθει καθοσιώσει | ἀφιέρωσεν | ἐπὶ
 Ἀντωνίου Πρίσκου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου | ἡγεμόνος.

Comme Honorius, né en 384, devint Auguste en 394, le dédicant au nom martelé ne peut guère être que Tatien, et l'on restituera les deux lignes illisibles :

Φλ. Εὐτόλμιος Τατιανός | ἑπαρχος τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων |.

La formule τῇ συνήθει καθοσιώσει se rencontre pareillement dans l'inscription d'Antinoé, d'ailleurs *jumelle* de la nôtre :

Τοὺς τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίας γῆς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ τροπαιούχους
 δεσπότας | ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανὸν Θεοδόσιον | Ἀρκάδιον, τοὺς
 αἰώνιους Αὐγούσ|τους, καὶ Φλαύιον Ὀνώριον τὸν | ἐπιφανέστατον,
 Φλ. Εὐτόλμιος | Τατιανός ὁ λαμπρότατος ἑπαρχος | τοῦ ἱεροῦ
 πραιτωρίου τῇ συνήθει | καθοσιώσει ἀφιέρωσεν, ἐπὶ Φλαύιου |
 Σεπτιμίου Εὐτροπίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου | ἡγεμόνος.

La même restitution s'imposait dans notre no. 290. Studniczka avait copié en Lycie, sur le grenier d'Hadrien à Andriaké, un texte curieux, relatif à des poids et mesures étalons : Ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου μου καὶ τὰ πάντα θαυμασιωτάτου τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου Φλ(αβίου) Εὐτολμίου ἐπάρχου τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων . . .

Ici le gentilice, dont subsistent des traces fort nettes, était

¹ T.V. p. 156, paragr. 71 (éd. de Bruxelles), et note L (p. 52).

² Wescher, *Bullettino dell' Inst. di Corr. archeol.*, 1866, pp. 153-199; cf. Mommsen, *ibid.*, pp. 238-239. L'inscription est republiée par Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, p. 464, no. 723.

seul gravé ; mais l'identité du personnage et par conséquent la date de l'inscription (388-392) n'est point douteuse. Ainsi le dossier épigraphique de Tatien s'enrichit de quelques pièces ; le paganisme de l'illustre Lycien, dont la carrière fut couronnée par le consulat, ne nuit pas à l'influence, ni, répétons-le, à la popularité dont il jouissait, surtout dans son pays d'origine. C'est la leçon des textes de Sidyma, d'Aphrodisias et de Myra. Les provinciaux d'Asie, chrétiens pour la plupart, semblent avoir eu pour Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus, tant qu'il fut heureux, les yeux de Libanius. Toutefois, ils s'inclinèrent devant la *damnatio memoriae*, et, en 396, après l'édit d'Arcadius, le nom du "grand préfet" ne fut point rétabli, tandis que celui de son fils Proculus l'était à Constantinople. La religion du père explique sans doute cette différence.

II.

Le Proconsul d'Asie Flégéthius

(vers 441).

M. J. Oehler a bien voulu nous communiquer le texte inédit d'une inscription appelée sans doute à une certaine notoriété. Elle est gravée sur une colonne trouvée dans les fouilles d'Éphèse. À cause de son importance, je la reproduis intégralement.

- + Φλ(άβιος) 'Α[φ]ίος 'Α[ρ]κάδιος
 Φλεγέ[θι]ος ὁ μεγαλοπρ(επέστατος)
 κόμ(ης) τῶν καθ(ωσιωμένων) δομεστίκω(ν)
 καὶ ἀνθύπατος.
- 5 Οὐ τὰ τυχόντα πταίσματα ἐτολμήσεται,
 ὃ ἀνόσιοι Σμυρναῖοι, οὐ καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ
 εἰ δεῖ σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν, κατ' αὐτῆς τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ οὐκ ἔδει
 ὑμᾶς οὕτως ἐλεεινῶς ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν δίκην·
 διὰ δὲ τὰς ἐκβοήσεις ταύτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς
- 10 'Εφεσίῳν μητροπόλεως καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ αὐτῶν τὰς
 δεήσεις τὸ καθόλου παρακροῦεσθαι, ἀπολύομεν
 ὑμᾶς νυνὶ ὀφίλοντας τὸ εὐσεβὲς τοῦτο καὶ φιλάνθρωπον
 'Εφεσίῳς ἀναγράψαι +

J'ai restitué les noms du proconsul. Ἀφῳος et Φλεγέθιος me paraissent dérivés suivant la mode du V^e siècle, des noms de fleuves Ἀφῶος et Φλεγέθων; ce sont à proprement parler des *signa*. Mais Flégéthius est connu. Un personnage nommé *Flegetius* était maître des offices à la cour de Théodose II en 441 (Nov. Theod. II, 21). C'est sûrement le même qui fut, peut-être avant cette date, comte des domestiques et proconsul d'Asie.

L'inscription rappelle une sentence rendue par le proconsul Flégéthius. Il y interpelle avec une singulière vivacité les "impies Smyrnéens," coupables d'avoir manqué d'égards au gouverneur et de respect à l'État (*crimen majestatis*). Les termes de la sentence nous portent à croire qu'il s'agit d'une émeute. Nous ignorons à peu près tout de l'histoire de Smyrne au V^e siècle. Aussi sommes-nous tentés d'ajouter foi à une anecdote que nous rapporte la *Chronique pascalle*.¹

Théodose II, jaloux de la popularité du préfet Cyrus, le fait clerc et l'envoie, en qualité d'évêque, à Smyrne : καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον εἰς Σμύρναν τῆς Ἀσίας· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἤδη τέσσαρας ἐπισκόπους φονεύσαντες· καὶ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸν Κῦρον ἀνέλωσιν, Cyrus arrive à Smyrne le jour de la Nativité, c'est à dire de l'Épiphanie. On l'y reçoit fort mal, et la foule, toujours agitée, soupçonnant en lui un païen, lui demande un sermon. Cyrus prononce alors une homélie aussi laconique que spirituelle . . . sur le silence, et le peuple, désarmé, l'acclame. La date serait l'an 450, d'après la *Chronique*. De cette histoire on pourrait inférer une série de tumultes populaires, contemporains des deux conciles d'Éphèse et postérieurs à ces synodes, qui auraient troublé Smyrne vers 430-445, et c'est à l'une de ces émeutes que se rapporterait la sentence de Flégéthius, invectivant vers 441 les impies Smyrnéens.

Malheureusement, les textes "parallèles" de Malalas et de Suidas, qui nous racontent la même affaire, ou qui la résument, contiennent une variante très gênante pour nous. D'après Malalas (p. 361, 14, éd. Bonn) Cyrus aurait été fait évêque de Cotyaeon en Phrygie; et la turbulence dont la *Chronique* charge les Smyrnéens serait, au dire de Malalas, le fait des gens de Cotyaeon. Théophane (I, pp. 96-97, éd. de Boor) suit la version de la *Chronique pascalle*, mais Suidas (s.v. Κῦρος, ἐποποιός)

¹ *Chronicon Paschale*, éd. Bonn, I, p. 588, 6.

nous dit : *Κῦρος ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἱερῶν γίγνεται ἐν Κοτυαεῖρ τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ παρέτεινε μέχρι Λέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως*. Tillemont, qui a longuement examiné ces récits,¹ se prononce pour Cotyaeon et pour la date de 442. Le Quien, pareillement, omet Cyrus dans sa liste des évêques de Smyrne et le cite sous Cotyaeum. Déjà Tillemont alléguait, à l'appui de Cotyaeon, un texte hagiographique bien mis en lumière depuis par le R.P.H. Delehaye. C'est la vie de S. Daniel Stylite, qui nous donne des renseignements fort précis.² Cyrus évêque de Cotyaeon, redevint laïc en 450 après la mort de Théodose II, et rédigea une épigramme pour la colonne du Stylite. Aussi le R.P. Delehaye n'hésitait point à rejeter la variante smyrnéenne.

Celle-ci n'a été retenue que par les seuls savants qui croyaient que la notice de la *Chronique pascalle* venait de l'historien Priscus. Déjà Tillemont combat cette opinion, reproduite encore par Bernhardt dans l'appareil critique de son Suidas. C'est la notice qui précède celle-là dans la *Chronique* qui vient de Priscus ; il ne faut point attacher d'importance au *λέγει ὅτι* qui introduit l'anecdote. Toutefois, il nous semble difficile d'éliminer complètement la mention de Smyrne. Dans aucun des textes cités nous n'avons l'histoire complète de Cyrus. Sans la vie de S. Daniel, on croirait par exemple, que Cyrus mourut évêque, alors qu'il abandonna l'épiscopat en 450. La source commune à laquelle remontent plusieurs de ces notices devait mentionner deux épiscopats, ou tout au moins deux séjours successifs dans deux villes différentes. La substitution pure et simple de Smyrne, *lectio faciliior*, à Cotyaeon, *lectio difficilior*, est peu croyable, chaque nom de ville étant correctement suivi de l'indication de la province. Bref, en dépit de ces graves difficultés, il n'est peut-être pas absolument interdit de faire usage, avec réserve, du récit de la *Chronique* pour illustrer notre inscription. On pourrait songer aussi à la jalousie des Smyrnéens vis à vis de la métropole d'Éphèse, qui, précisément à cette époque, amenait Aetherichos de Smyrne (cf. Le Quien, *s.v.*, et notre inscription

¹ Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, t. VI, p. 34, 1 ; 36, 1 ; 37, 2. "D'où Cyrus a-t-il été évêque" ? t. VI, note 19, p. 6, 2. "En quel tems a été la disgrâce de C. ?" *ibid.*, note 20 (éd. de Bruxelles, 1732).

² *Rev. Ét. gr.*, IX (1896), p. 216, pp. 219 *seqq.* On y trouvera l'indication des sources. Pour Smyrne : *Chronique pascalle*, Théophane, Cédrenus, Zonaras ; pour Cotyaeon : Malalas, Suidas, Vie de Daniel.

no. 66) à prendre le titre "d'archevêque." L' "atmosphère" spéciale de Smyrne nous est suffisamment révélée par ce fait, qui suppose des contestations et des luttes ; et ce n'est pas en vain que le proconsul Flégéthius, dans sa sentence, rappelle aux mutins de Smyrne la prééminence de la métropole éphésienne.

Mais le grand intérêt de notre inscription est ailleurs ; il est dans une procédure extraordinaire, qui évoque un précédent fameux. Faisant droit aux clameurs, aux ἐκβοήσεις de la foule, Flégéthius acquitte ou grâcie les coupables, malgré la faute grave dont ils sont convaincus. Les ἐκβοήσεις paraissent être, au V^e siècle, une manifestation légale ou du moins traditionnelle du sentiment des foules. On lit dans Mansi, *Concilia*, t. III, col. 1118 *seq.* : τὸ γὰρ μὴ καταθέσθαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ μοναχοὺς (distingués des évêques) τοῦτο ἔθος ἄνωθεν κρατῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι μόνον ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐκβοήσεσιν. Le mot grec paraît du V^e siècle ; la chose est particulièrement fréquente à cette époque. Le Sénat lui-même ne votait plus que par acclamations. C'est le point de départ de cette dernière phase (du mode de votation du Sénat) qui se présente à nous dans les débats de l'an 438¹ après J. Chr., sur l'introduction du *Code Théodosien*.

Il n'y est plus aucunement question de résolution, et il n'y a de mentionnées que les "acclamations du Sénat." On sait que des acclamations pareilles à celles de ce procès-verbal se trouvent dans *l'Histoire Auguste* ; mais suivant la plupart des critiques, elles prouvent précisément que les biographes de cette compilation ont attribué au III^e siècle des usages postérieurs à l'an 400.² Dans tous les cas, vers 438 et 441, les acclamations étaient à la mode ; elles le resteront aux siècles suivants. Au VI^e, au VII^e, les "dèmes" réunis à l'Hippodrome n'ont plus d'autre moyen d'exprimer leur volonté parfois encore souveraine. À Éphèse, sous le proconsul Flégéthius, quelle est la nature précise des ἐκβοήσεις ? Sont-elles judiciaires ? S'agit-il, comme dans les textes conciliaires, d'une sorte de témoignage collectif, de la "rumeur publique" qui instruit la justice ? Ou le peuple de l'illustre métropole maintient-il, sous cette forme, quelque

¹ Mommsen-Marquardt, *Manuel des Antiquités romaines*, trad. Humbert, VII (1891), p. 134, no. 2 ; p. 216, no. 2.

² Cf. Hirschfeld, "Die römische Staatszeitung und die Akklamationen im Senat," *Sitzungsberichte* de l'Académie de Berlin, 1905, surtout pp. 940-942.

ancien droit, comme cela paraît être le cas pour les dèmes de Byzance? Nous ne sommes pas loin de croire à une sorte d'amalgame des deux conceptions.

La scène rappelle étonnamment le procès de Phibion,¹ antérieur de plus de quatre siècles (85 après J. Chr.) : Σεπτίμιος Ουέγετος τῷ Φιβίωνι· Ἀξίος μὲν ἦς μαστιγωθῆναι . . . χαρίζομαι δέ σε τοῖς ὄχλοις.

Mitteis et Deissmann, après Vitelli,² avaient marqué l'intérêt de cette formule, jusque là unique dans les documents judiciaires. "Tu aurais mérité d'être flagellé, mais j'accorde ta grâce à la foule . . ." À vrai dire, on ne pouvait citer qu'un "texte parallèle," ou plutôt trois : et c'étaient, Marc XV, 6-8, Matthieu XXVII, 15-26, Luc XXIII, 18-25.³ Les exégètes d'autre part sont grandement embarrassés par la "procédure" de Ponce Pilate proposant aux Juifs d'élargir Jésus, et mettant en liberté Barabbas, pour faire droit à ce que nous appellerions, en style du Ve siècle, leurs ἐκβοήσεις. "C'est une légende populaire, plutôt qu'une coutume juridique," dit M. Loisy. Nous n'entrerons pas dans la discussion des textes évangéliques, mais nous croyons que si M. Loisy avait connu le papyrus d'Égypte et l'inscription d'Asie, il aurait retenu l'hypothèse de la "coutume juridique." Il paraît certain qu'en pays d'Orient, soit à l'occasion de fêtes "nationales," soit en d'autres circonstances, les juges romains faisaient fléchir la toute-puissance de l'imperium devant la volonté nettement exprimée du peuple, et qu'ils pouvaient accorder des grâces à la "clameur publique."

III.

Les Domaines de Marine et d'Hormisdas, le Consul Magnus et les Curateurs τῶν θείων οἴκων

M. B. Pace vient de publier, dans l'*Annuario della R. Scuola di Atene*,⁴ une inscription copiée près d'Attalia en Pamphylie.

¹ Vitelli, *Papiri Fiorentini*, no. 61 ; Bruns-Gradenwitz, *Fontes iuris Romani*, I, p. 420, 194 ; Mitteis-Wilcken, *Chrestomathie der Pap.*, II, no. 80.

² Mitteis, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung*, röm. Abt., XXVI, 485 ; XXVII, 222 ; Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*², p. 199.

³ Cf. Loisy, *Évangiles Synoptiques*, II, pp. 640, 642.

⁴ III (1921), p. 21 = *Recueil*, 308 bis.

+ Χωρίον διαφέρων-
τα τῷ θείῳ οἴκῳ τῶν
Μαρίνας προνοου-
μένων ὑπὸ Μάγνου τοῦ
5 ἐνδοξοτάτου κουράτο-
ρος +

M. Pace n'a point compris ce petit texte. Le verbe *προνοεῖν* lui a suggéré l'idée des providiteurs vénitiens ! La date qu'il serait conduit, de la sorte, à assigner au monument est en contradiction absolue avec la forme des caractères, qui ne sauraient appartenir qu'au V^e ou aux VI^e-VII^e siècles. Le sens ne peut être que celui-ci : "Domaine appartenant à la maison impériale des biens de Marine, administrés par Magnus le très glorieux curateur (ou : par Magnus le très glorieux, Curateur)."

Avant de commenter cette inscription, disons tout de suite qu'elle nous fournit la clef d'un petit problème épigraphique à la solution duquel nous nous étions essayés sans succès. Nous voulons parler d'un *titulus* de Bābiskā en Syrie, publié par M. Prentice.¹ Forcé de copier ce texte dans une position incommode, M. Prentice nous en donna une sorte de *fac-similé* qu'il laissa sans transcription, sauf en ce qui concerne la première ligne :

χωρίον διαφέρει | τῷ θεῷ οἴκῳ | ΝΟΡΜΙΣΔΥΝ |
ΟΟΥΝΙΕΜΟΝΥ- | ΕΜΑΓΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ Α | ΠΑΝΕΥΦΗΜΩ |
ΑΠΟΥΠΟΤΩΝΚΟ | ΚΑΓΟΕΓΟ-ΙΕΝΙΚ | ΚΟΥΡΙΤΟΡΟΣ |

Et certes, pour quiconque n'a point sous les yeux le *titulus* d'Adalia, le déchiffrement des lignes 2-3-4 n'est pas aisé. Mais à présent on, lira sans peine : *χωρίον διαφέρει* (ou plutôt *διαφέρων*) | *τῷ θεῷ οἴκῳ τῶν* Ὁρμίσδου προνοουμένων ὑπὸ Μάγνου τοῦ πανευφήμου | ἀπὸ ὑπάτων κ . . . | | *κουράτορος*. Les lignes 7 et 8 demeurent obscures. Pour les déchiffrer, nous recourrons à un autre texte, daté avec certitude du règne de Justinien, que M. Yorke a trouvé à Ketchiout dans le Pont² :

¹ W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, p. 93, no. 77. "On the under side of a large stele lying on the line of the ancient road just mentioned, where this road ran due north-east, about 2½ miles east of Bābiskā." Lettres du VI^e siècle, d'après l'éditeur.

² Yorke, *J.H.S.*, XVIII (1898), p. 325, no. 45 (fac-simile).

+ Ὁρᾶς κ(αὶ) [θ]αυμά[ζ]ις ἀγαθοῦ κ(αὶ) φιλο|χρίστου δεσπότης
 φιλοτιμίαν · | Ἰουστινιανὸς Αὐγουστος αὐτοκράτωρ | νικη[τῆ]ς
 τροπεοῦχος αἰσέβαστος | ἀνέγιρε[ν τ]ὰ [τῆ]δε σπουδῇ κ(αὶ)
 προνοία | Θεοδ[οσί]ου τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) κόμητ(ος) τῶν καθοσιω-
 μένων δομεστίκων κ(αὶ) θείου κουράτορος ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
 οἰκητῶν. On lira donc, aux lignes 7-8 de l'inscription de
 Bābiskā : κό[μ]η(τος) τῶν | καθοσ(ιωμένων) [δ]ο(μεστίκων) . . .
 Enfin, la lecture de l'avant dernier mot nous sera suggérée par le
 no. 240 de notre recueil, de l'an 481 environ, où mention est
 faite d'Alexandre, γενικοῦ κουράτορος τῶν προσηκόντων πραγμάτων
 Πλακιδία τῇ ἐπιφανεστάτῃ. Les titres de Magnus dans l'inscrip-
 tion de Bābiskā sont donc : ex-consul, comte des domestiques,
 curateur général.

Il suffit de parcourir les *indices* de Théophane, des *Scriptores
 originum Constantinopol.*, ou du *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*
 du R. P. Delehaye, pour y trouver quantité d'exemples de ces
 dénominations, composées de l'article pluriel neutre et du génitif
 d'un nom propre : τὰ Μαρίνης, τὰ Ὁρμίσδου, τὰ Ἀντιόχου, τὰ
 Ἐλευθερίου. Ce sont des quartiers de Constantinople, com-
 prenant un palais, une ou plusieurs églises, des magasins,
 anciennes propriétés privées, léguées à l'Empereur ou confisquées
 par lui ; ces biens forment des "domaines sacrés." Ils ont
 naturellement des dépendances en province.

L'origine de la Maison de Marina nous est connue. Il s'agit
 de Marina, fille d'Arcadius, née en 403, morte en 449 (cf. de
 Muralt, *Chronogr. byz.*, pp. 9 et 58). On lit dans la *Chronique
 pascale* (p. 566 Bonn) : ἔσχεν δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας Πουλχερίαν καὶ
 Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ Μαρίναν. καὶ ἐκ τούτων αἱ μὲν δύο, τουτέστιν
 Ἀρκαδία ἔκτισε τὸ δημόσιον Ἀρκαδιανάς, Μαρίνα δὲ τὸν οἶκον
 ἔκτισε τῶν Μαρίνης, κτλ. Après sa mort, la maison de Marina
 devint un θεῖος οἶκος. Dans notre inscription 240, datée de 480
 environ, la maison de Placidie est, de son vivant, qualifiée
 d'ἐπιφανεστάτη οἰκία.

Un curateur de cette maison de Marina est cité par
 Théophane à l'année 560 (I, p. 235, éd. de Boor) : Μετὰ τὸ
 ὑγιᾶναι τὸν βασιλέα, Εὐγένιος ὁ ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν διέβαλε Γεώργιον,
 τὸν κουράτορα τῶν Μαρίνης, καὶ Αἰθέριον τὸν κουράτορα τῶν
 Ἀντιόχου, ὥς θελήσαντας ποιῆσαι βασιλέα Θεόδωρον, κτλ.
 L'année suivante, ce curateur Georges, et Jean ἀπὸ ὑπάτων,

parents de Théodora, accusèrent à leur tour d'un crime semblable Zémarque, curateur des biens de Placidie (κουράτωρ τῶν Πλακιδίας). En 565, Bélisaire étant mort, ses biens sont réunis au domaine de Marina : ἡ τούτου περιουσία ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν δεσποτικὸν οἶκον τῶν Μαρίνης (Théophane, p. 240, ed. de Boor). Enfin, en 607, le mariage de Priscus (alias Crispus), patrice, magister, comte des excubiteurs, avec Domentia, fille de Phocas, fut célébré ἐν τῇ παλατίᾳ τῶν Μαρίνης (cf. Théophane, I, p. 294, éd. de Boor). Après l'avènement d'Héraclius, Priscus fut envoyé à l'armée de Cappadoce. Muralt, à ce propos, l'appelle curateur ou logiste du domaine de Marina. Mais j'ignore sur quel témoignage il se fonde. Je pense que c'est là une simple conjecture, tirée du passage cité de Théophane.

Quoi qu'il en soit, les textes allégués suffisent à démontrer que la curatèle des biens de Marina était, à la fin du VI^e siècle et sans doute au commencement du VII^e, une charge très recherchée, dont les titulaires faisaient grande figure à la cour.

Il en allait de même de la curatèle d' "Hormisdas." Ce domaine est probablement celui qui fut attribué au prince persan de ce nom qui se réfugia en 324 auprès de Constantin, et qui servit ses successeurs Constance et Julien. On ne sait si Hormisdas, préfet du prétoire en 448-450, était de sa famille.¹ Le quartier d'Hormisdas, à Constantinople, renfermait un monastère fameux (cf. Théophane, éd. de Boor, I, p. 225, 22 ; II, p. 29, 28). Nous en connaissons quelques curateurs. Ainsi, sous Phocas, fut mis à mort Patrice, ἰλλούστριος, neveu (ou cousin) de Domniziolus, ancien curateur τῶν Ὁρμίσδου (*Chronique pascalle*, p. 696) ; un ou deux ans auparavant avait péri, immolé par le même tyran, Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Λάρδης, ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων πραιτορίων, καὶ λογοθέτης καὶ κουράτωρ τῶν Ὁρμίσδου (*Chronique pascalle*, p. 694).

Et les actes du Concile de 680 (Mansi, *Concilia*, XI, 209) mentionnent parmi les plus hauts dignitaires de l'Empire, Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου, ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, πατρικίου καὶ κουράτορος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῶν Ὁρμίσδου οἴκου . . .

Les inscriptions de Bābiskā et d'Attalia sont jumelles. Dans l'une et l'autre, la formule initiale est identique. Seuls,

¹ V. l'article "Hormisdas" dans Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*

les noms propres au génitif diffèrent. Il en résulte une certaine présomption en faveur d'une date approximativement pareille. Et cette présomption devient presque une certitude, lorsqu'on constate que le curateur nommé *dans les deux textes* s'appelle Magnus.

Si Magnus ἀπὸ ὑπάτων est un véritable ex-consul, et non point un ἀπὸ ὑπάτων codicillaire, ce ne peut être que le consul de l'an 518, Flavius Anastasius Paulus Probus Moschianus Probus Magnus. Le Magnus de 460 est un consul d'Occident. Mais les deux inscriptions ne portent-elles aucun caractère qui nous oblige à leur attribuer une date plus tardive que le règne de Justin Ier ? L'épithète de πανεύφημος donnée à Magnus dans l'inscription de Bābiskā devient surtout fréquente dans la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle, comme on peut s'en assurer en parcourant les *indices* des collections de papyrus byzantins. Elle est constamment donnée au préfet de la Thébaidé Fl. Anastasius Marianus, etc., qui vécut sous Justin II, comme il est aujourd'hui démontré. Toutefois, nous en trouvons quelques exemples antérieurs à 550.¹ Πανεύφημος est une expression qui n'a rien d'officiel. Comme ὑπερφυέστατος elle paraît une sorte de surenchère sur les prédicats d'ἐνδοξότατος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, qu'elle remplace, ou auxquels elle s'ajoute. L'emploi de l'épithète πανεύφημος n'empêche donc point d'identifier le Magnus de Bābiskā avec celui d'Attalia, ni avec le consul de 518.

Nos inscriptions jettent-elles quelque lumière sur la question, étudiée par M. J. B. Bury,² de l'administration des maisons impériales ? Vers la fin du règne de Justinien, estime M. Bury, la *divina domus per Cappadociam* fut soustraite au περίβλεπτος κόμης τῶν οἰκιῶν (agent du *praepositus sacri cubiculi*), et placée sous un curateur, ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κουράτωρ τῶν οἰκιῶν. Ce

¹ En voici un de 536, qui suffit à justifier notre assertion : [† Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν] Φλανίου Βελισσαρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου, ἀθ[ύ]ρ γ' π[ρ]ώτης [ἐ]νδ[ο]ξ[ο]τ[ά]τ[η] καὶ πανευφήμῳ στρατηλάτῃ. J. Maspero, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, I, p. 197. Les consuls sont parfois dits πανεύφημος au lieu d'ἐνδοξότατος ou λαμπρότατος : μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ. Βασιλίου τοῦ πανευφήμου ἔτους ἕκτου, ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος : J. Maspero, *Papyrus grecs*, I, p. 185.

² J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, London, 1911, pp. 79, 101.

fonctionnaire, dont l'autorité s'étendait à toutes les *domus divinae* "apparaît en 566 sous Justin (Justin, Nov. I, p. 4)." Mais M. Bury découvre sa trace plus tôt, dès 557. Il reconnaît toutefois que les divers domaines gardaient leurs curateurs particuliers, mentionnés par la *Novelle* 8 de Justin (p. 19), par la *Novelle* 12 de Tibère II (p. 26) : οἱ τε ἐνδοξότατοι κουράτωρες τῶν θείων οἰκῶν, . . . τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἢ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων κουρατόρων τῶν θείων ἡμῶν ἢ τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης βασιλίδος οἰκῶν, ainsi que par les historiens et les chroniqueurs cités plus haut. "Cette organisation n'a guère subi de changement au IX^e siècle ; car le *Clétorologe* de Philothée connaît le *grand curateur*, avec ses subordonnés, les *curatores* τῶν παλατίων, τῶν κτημάτων, ὁ μειζότερος τῶν Ἐλευθερίου et d'autres."

On pourrait, certes, reconnaître en Magnus, *curateur général*, ce haut fonctionnaire dont dépendaient tous les *θεῖοι οἶκοι*. Ce serait toutefois, pensons-nous, une erreur. Le raisonnement de M. Bury n'est pas décisif. Plusieurs personnages qu'il cite comme ayant été *grands curateurs*, sont tout simplement des administrateurs d'un *θεῖος οἶκος*. Ainsi, suivant M. Bury, Anatolius (Agathias, 5, 3), consul honoraire, serait un de ces intendants généraux (557). Il reçut, dit Agathias, ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκῶν τε καὶ κτημάτων ἀρχήν. Mais le Byzantin ajoute : κουράτωρας δὲ τούτους καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. Et ce pluriel nous montre qu'Anatolius ne devait pas être seul de son espèce. M. Bury cite encore Aristobule, "curateur sous le règne de Maurice" : ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν κουράτωρα τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκῶν πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν ἀπέστειλεν, κτλ. (Théophane, I, p. 261, 3). Il n'a pas pris garde que Théophylacte, parlant du même personnage, mentionne exactement son titre : ἦν δ' ἄρα οὗτος τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας προεστὼς τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ Ἀντιόχου προσαγορευομένης (Théophylacte, III, 3, 14, p. 118, ed. de Bonn).¹ Enfin Aetherios, *κουράτωρ* tout court, dont parle Jean Malalas (I, p. 493), se trouve être, lui aussi, d'après Théophane (I, p. 235), le curateur des biens d'Antiochus.

Ainsi, tous ces prétendus surintendants de la maison impériale sont simplement des curateurs des divers domaines. La charge de

¹ Cf. *Chronique pascal*, p. 695 (Léonce, ex-curateur τῶν Ἀντιόχου). D'origine perse, comme Hormisdas, fait *praepositus* et patrice, il se souleva contre Théodose II, qui confisqua ses biens (Théophane, I, 96, et Malalas, p. 361, 1).

grand curateur a existé au IX^e siècle, c'est évident ; elle n'est certainement pas attestée pour l'époque de Justinien. Dans les Nouvelles 53 et 55, l'empereur distingue la "*res privata*," le *patrimoine*, le *θεῖος οἶκος* (au singulier). Il est clair pour nous que ce singulier comprend toutes les *divinae domus*, mais on ne peut en inférer que leur administration était centralisée. Le curateur de la nouvelle de Justin était probablement l'intendant de la *divina domus per Cappadociam*. En tous cas, même aux VI^e et VII^e siècles, les historiens et les chroniqueurs ne font jamais mention du curateur unique.

Il est donc évident que le titre de γενικὸς κουράτωρ, donné à Magnus dans l'inscription de Bābiskā, doit s'entendre comme le même titre, attribué à Alexandre dans notre no. 240 : γενικοῦ κουράτορος τῶν προσηγόντων πραγμάτων Πλακιδία τῇ ἐπιφανεστάτῃ. Le domaine de Placidie avait un autre intendant, placé sous les ordres d'Alexandre, et qualifié simplement de φροντίζων. Cet Alexandre était à la fois curateur de la domus Placidiae, et *comes rei privatae*. Nous savons par les historiens qu'il comença par exercer la première charge, et reçut ensuite la deuxième.¹ Mais ce cumul est purement fortuit.

Magnus a pu de même cumuler l'administration des deux domaines de Marina et d'Hormisdas. Il peut aussi avoir passé de la curatèle du premier à l'intendance du second. Cette seconde hypothèse est rendue vraisemblable par l'allongement de la liste de ses titres dans l'inscription de Bābiskā. Quant au curateur Théodose de l'inscription de Ketchiout, nous verrions volontiers en lui le curateur de la *divina domus per Cappadociam* qui reparaît dans la nouvelle de Justin.

On voit à combien de remarques et de discussions peuvent prêter les petits monuments épigraphiques que nous venons de restituer et de commenter. Nous sommes heureux d'avoir, à leur propos, attiré l'attention des byzantinistes sur ces curateurs des domaines qui, sous Justinien et ses successeurs, semblent avoir été parmi les premiers personnages de l'Empire.

¹ Cf. *Recueil*, commentaire du no. 240.

XIII.

THE HITTITES AND EGYPT

by H. R. HALL

IN the thirty-fourth year of king Rameses II (about 1266 B.C.) Khattusil,¹ king of the Hittites, whose capital was at Boghàz-Kiöi near the Halys, made a state visit to the land of the Pharaohs, bringing with him his daughter to be married to the Egyptian king as a seal of the covenant which thirteen years previously the two monarchs had made to end the long wars between the two empires. Such a visit was a thing unprecedented in time of peace, and it is highly improbable that Rameses ever paid a return visit to Boghàz-Kiöi, and was the first Egyptian monarch to cross the Taurus. Nor can we imagine the Babylonian king of Karduniyash doing anything so unusual. But somehow we can imagine a Hittite king, the ruler of a comparatively young, energetic, and restless people, breaking with tradition in this way. His pilgrimage would not detract from his dignity in the eyes of his own people. But the Egyptians can only have regarded his coming as that of an inferior and tributary monarch, and in the inscription describing it he is called (as in the treaty of thirteen years before) *p-uer-^{co} n Heta*, "the great chief of Kheta," not even as *p-^{hi}k-^{co}*, "the great prince," which was the nearest the Egyptian could get to a phrase for "king" implying any sort of equality with their own king. This would in their minds counterbalance the fact that in his progress Khattusil passed through lands that had in

¹ As transcribed from Hittite cuneiform, Hattusiliš. I have for the moment spoken of him under the Egyptian form of his name, without its characteristic nominative suffix in -s, which the Egyptians dropped in transliteration (see later, p. 182). In the same way I have spoken of the Hittites from the Egyptian point of view as Kheta, from the Hittite as Hatti.

effect passed from the hands of Egypt into his, and was accompanied by subject princes and chiefs whose fathers had received their unction from the hands of pharaohs, chief among them the prince of Kode (see p. 178).

He came and went in winter, as to the Anatolians no doubt the summer heat of Egypt would have been insupportable, and probably went no further into Egypt than the royal city of Rameses at Pelusium,¹ on the borders of Palestine.

We cannot imagine the arrival at Thebes of a barbarian monarch, claiming absolute parity with Pharaoh, in peace, when his parity would have to be in some sort recognized by priests as well as nobles and officials. This barbarian monarch, too, implying by his presence the equality with Amon of the foreign Sutekh, more or less identified with the Hyksos and with the evil Set, in the city historically identified with the expulsion of the Asiatics and the now abandoned revenge-hegemony in Asia (and signifying the loss to Sutekh of the patrimony of Amon in Asia), would have caused if not actual disturbance, serious difficulties to the protocol. But at half-foreign Pelusium, in the eastern Delta where the Hyksos tradition had, in spite of the Theban expulsion, survived till its practical resuscitation under the XIXth Dynasty, and where Set-Sutekh had always been honoured, such difficulties would not arise. It is curious, however, that the inscription commemorating the visit has been discovered not in the Delta but even further away from Asia and Asiatic influence than Thebes, in the rock-temple made by Rameses at Abu Simbel in Nubia. And it is equally curious to read there in hot Nubia how when Rameses bade farewell to his royal guest he expressed the hope that he would not meet with snow and ice in the passes of the Taurus on his way back to his distant home in Anatolia. To express the unknown thing ice the Semitic word *selg*, Assy. *šalgu* (the Arabic *thalg*, our *talc*) is used.²

This juxtaposition of Anatolian snows and Nubian sands is emblematic of the antithesis between the two nations of Muṣri and Ḫatti. At opposite poles of climate and national char-

¹ On the identity of Per-Rameses ("Raamses") with Pelusium, see Gardiner, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, V (1918), p. 265.

² Breasted, *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, Oct., 1906, p. 27.

acter, and separated by a broad sea, they were yet connected by an easily passable land-bridge. It was inevitable that when the ancient Babylonian control over the middle land of Syria had broken down, these two would rival one another for its possession, and eventually clash. The story of this collision of opposites is one of the most interesting in ancient history.¹

Although the existence of the Hatti in Asia Minor was probably already known to the Egyptians under the Middle Kingdom (c. 2000 B.C.),² the first recorded relation between the two peoples appears to be the sending of gifts to the conqueror Thutmosis III in his 33rd year (c. 1469 B.C.) by the chiefs of "Great Kheta," consisting of eight silver rings, weighing 401 *deben*, a great block of "white precious stone," (crystal or meer-schaum?) and much *tigu*-wood.³ This gift (or tribute, as the Egyptians would consider it) was no doubt deemed politic on account of the near approach of the conqueror to Asia Minor.

In a series of eight campaigns he had completely reduced Northern Syria and Phœnicia to obedience, and finally in a decisive battle at Carchemish had driven the confederated princes across the Euphrates. Among these princes were no doubt many of Hittite blood. The infiltration of the Children of Heth into Syria, which in the next century had reached Southern Palestine, may already have made Carchemish a Hittite principality, although it was not actually part of "Great Kheta," a phrase which seems to mean Anatolian Hatti, the Syrian outpost being, so to speak, "Little Kheta," though the phrase does not actually occur. The prowess of Thutmosis among their brethren made its impression on the "great" Kheta beyond Taurus, and they prudently sent him presents. Again, eight years later, the Hittites sent presents, this time in the shape of gold, which Egypt hardly needed.⁴

Thus began the relations in peace and war which continued for 250 years till, about the year 1200 B.C., probably after the reign of the last Hittite king known to us, Dudḥaliyaš IV, the

¹ It has recently been treated from the Egyptian side alone by Dr. G. Roeder, *Ägypter und Hethiter* ("Alte Orient" Series, 1919).

² We have no direct proof of this (Roeder, *Ägypter und Hethiter*, p. 5; Breasted, *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, April, 1905, pp. 153 ff.), but it is probable enough.

³ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, ii, 485.

⁴ Breasted, *op. cit.*, 525.

empire of Hatti was overthrown by the invasion of the Phrygians and Mysians from Europe,¹ which brought the Philistines into Palestine in the reign of Rameses III when "the Isles were restless" and "no land stood before them, beginning with Kheta." Of this invasion the final waves broke up on the rampart of Egypt (c. 1196 B.C.).

Our knowledge of the early history of the Hittites is being much increased by the decipherment of the cuneiform tablets discovered at Boghaz-Kiöi, which are yielding their secrets to their interpreters. Although until we have the cuneiform texts before us it is quite impossible to control the work of Forrer described in the *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* for December, 1921 (No. 61), yet, whatever we may think at present of his elaborate analysis of the eight languages which he thinks the Hittites or their subjects spoke, "Frühkanisisch," "Mittelkanisisch," "Ur-Luvisch," "Luvisch," "Protohattisch," "Baläisch," and so on,² yet the rough historical results, as communicated in his paper, and supplemented by Hrozný's later communication in *Boghazköi-Studien*, III,³ can no doubt be accepted without demur. According to Forrer, the founder of the Hittite empire was a king named Labarnaš (or Tlabarnaš, according to Hrozný⁴) who must have reigned before 2000 B.C. (a contemporary therefore of the Egyptian XIIth Dynasty), since his fifth successor, Muršiliš I, was the Hittite king who sacked Babylon at the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty, and the date usually assigned to this event is 1926 B.C.⁵ This date, however, which rests on Kugler's astronomical arguments, is now, from material recently made available, suspect, and the latest view is that the end of the Hammurabi Dynasty, and so the date of the taking of Babylon, must be brought down again to c. 1750 B.C. So that if Forrer is right as to this Muršiliš being the taker of Babylon, his date is 1750 and Tlabarnaš comes down to about 1850, possibly later. It is true that Forrer says there were 44 kings between Tlabarnaš and the sons

¹ Hall, *Anc. Hist. Near East*, p. 386.

² *M.D.O.G.*, 61, pp. 23 ff.

³ *Hethitische Könige*, pp. 49 ff.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* The name is sometimes spelt *Labarnaš*, sometimes *Tabarnaš*, so that the supposition that it began with a very "kleinasiatisch" *Tl*- seems justified.

⁵ *M.D.O.G.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 29. Hrozný (*loc. cit.*), however, makes Tlabarnaš much later, *circa* 1580 B.C. (see p. 170).

of Šuppiluliu(waš?) or "Shubbiluliuma,"¹ the contemporary of Amenhetep III and Akhenaten of Egypt (c. 1380 B.C.) which would give an average of 10 to a century, which might seem high but for the fact that it is perhaps paralleled in Babylonia, where we are told, 148 kings reigned between Samsuiluna (the second king of the Hammurabi Dynasty), c. 2050 B.C., and Kandalānu (7th century B.C.).² The life of a Hittite king was probably often short and stormy.

This was probably also the case even if Hrozný's reconstruction of Hittite history is preferred to Forrer's. He gives only eleven kings between Tlabarnaš and the sons of Šubbiluliumaš, and makes the gap between Telibinuš and Dudḫaliyaš I, as to which both agree, much shorter than does Forrer, so that he

¹ In cuneiform this name may be transliterated (since *b* and *p* were often rendered by the same sign) as *Šubbi-* or *Šuppi-luliu-ma*. Five hundred years later it reappears as a North Syrian name (in the Carchemish region, and so evidently Hittite) as Sapalulme (III R. 7, I, 42, 43; Schröder, *Keilinschr. Bibl.*, I, pp. 156-159). Now M. Halévy (*Recherches Bibliques*, I, p. 279) and Mr. C. J. Ball (*P.S.B.A.*, 1888, p. 428) have pointed out that the same name survived to a far later date, since it is found in the shortened form Saplūl as the name of a king of Edessa. The Egyptians transliterated the name of fourteen hundred years earlier in a similar shortened form, as Sapalulu. It is known that in these names the syllable *-me* or *-ma* is often merely a Semitic emphatic particle, and need be no part of the name. Forrer, however, gives this particular name as appearing in Hittite cuneiform with the nominative *-š* suffix after the *-ma*, as "Šubbiluliumaš." This might indicate that its correct nominative form was Šuppiluliuš, the name proper being Šuppiluliu, which the Egyptians transliterated correctly, dropping the nominative ending as usual (see below, p. 182). Such a tacking on of the nominative case-ending after the emphatic particle could perhaps hardly be explained, however, except as a scribe's error, and if it occurs more than once or twice it becomes improbable and we must look for another explanation of the *-ma*. It is a commonplace of "cuneiform philology" (if one can use such a term) that the sounds *m*, *v*, *w* in Babylonian were constantly merged, and such a syllable as *-ma* in a name may quite conceivably have been pronounced *wa* or *va*. Cf. in the Behistun inscription the Babylonian form of the name of Kyaxares (Umakištar) and the Persian form (Uwakštra). So that the pronunciation of the Hittite king's name thus spelt in Hittite cuneiform may have been intended to be Šuppiluliuwaš or Šuppiluliuvaš, *quasi* Šuppiluliufaš, the digamma well expressing the sound reproduced in the cuneiform as *m*. The name without the nominative case-ending (as the Semites transcribed it) will then have been Šuppiluliu*f*(a) and the dropping of this final *w* or *v* sound by the Egyptians in their transcription Sapelulu is comprehensible enough. The single *p* of the Egyptian form is probably due to a difficulty of expressing two juxtaposed consonants in hieroglyphics. As the true form of the name is still doubtful, I transcribe it here simply as Šuppiluliu, in accordance with the Egyptian transcription (see my note on the Egyptian transliteration of Hittite names in *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1922, p.).

² Schröder in *Zts. Assyr.*, Dec., 1921, p. 57. Weidner, "Die Könige von Assyrien" (*M.V.A.G.* 1921, p. 20), however, gives 98 as the figure, which seems more probable. It is a question of the correct reading of a cuneiform sign in a newly discovered king-list.

brings Tlabarnaš down to *c.* 1580 (?) B.C.¹ This gives about six kings to a century, which betokens shortish reigns. Muršiliš I Hrozný makes the second, not the fifth, successor of Tlabarnaš, and on his computation he can have had nothing to do with the taking of Babylon *c.* 1750, but must have reigned two centuries later. The matter must be left till the two "Hethologists" agree.

According to Forrer, Muršiliš I took not only Babylon but also Aleppo, thus overthrowing a Syrian domination over Ḫatti which the kings of Haleb had exercised ever since the time of Tlabarnaš.² Possibly the Babylonian king, Samsuditana, was the ally or overlord of the Aleppan prince (his dynasty came originally from Syria), and so incurred the same fate as he. A powerful dynasty at Aleppo, exercising hegemony over inner Anatolia at this time, is interesting in connexion with the question of the identity of the Hyksos conquerors of Egypt.

According to the generally received German dates for the XIIth Egyptian Dynasty (2000-1788 B.C.), Tlabarnaš will then (if we reject Kugler's date) have been roughly a contemporary of Senusret III, the original of Sesostri. But, adopting the dates (*c.* 2212-2000) which I personally think more probable,³ he will have lived well after the close of the dynasty, and possibly not long before the irruption of the Hyksos into Egypt. It would be tempting to connect the Syrian domination over Anatolia that is said to have followed his reign with the Hyksos rule in Egypt, to imagine a Syrian "empire" of Aleppo whose kings had conquered Egypt as well as Ḫatti, and reigned over Egypt first as unrecognized foreign conquerors, but not long after as Pharaohs, borrowing the Egyptian royal insignia when they visited Egypt, and appearing correctly in inscriptions as Egyptian kings, just as in later days the Persians and the Romans did. Then later, after the Hittites had thrown off the yoke and Aleppo had fallen, we may conceive the foreign Pharaohs, followed by an allophylic horde of expelled people, taking final refuge in the Egyptian Delta and ruling thence over Southern Palestine till the Egyptian war of liberation expelled them, in

¹ *Hethitische Könige ; Boghazköi-Studien*, III, p. 53.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

³ *Ancient History of the Near East* (1920), p. 25.

what is, perhaps, as Josephus thought, the Exodus of the Hebrews looked at from another angle.¹

Among other recent chips from German workshops we have the hint (not yet in any way confirmed or documented) that Sharrukîn I, an early king of Assyria (about 2000 B.C.) conquered Egypt. If he was the original Hyksos conqueror, is he the original of Salitis? If so, did the Syrians follow in his wake?

But all this is in the realm of uncertainty or even fantasy until we have the documents before our eyes, and it is to be hoped that it will not be very long before they appear. Meanwhile, even if we hesitate to make the first Hyksos an Assyrian, or him and his immediate successors Syrian emperors ruling from Aleppo, the Hyksos invasion may fairly be connected with the Hittite attack on Aleppo and Babylon, c. 1750 B.C.

A Hittite conquest of North Syria with fire and sword and destruction of Aleppo would conceivably displace a large population that would press southward led by its exiled princes. It is possible also that it was at this time that the Semitic population of the Argæus region (perhaps a colony established by the Babylonian kings Sargon of Agade and Narām-Sin, c. 2800 B.C., who, Forrer says, had conquered Ḫatti),² which,

¹ See my *Ancient History of the Near East* (1920), p. 408. Mr. W. F. Albright has recently (*Journ. Palest. Or. Soc.*, II (1922), p. 123) supposed that "the nucleus of the Hyksos hordes consisted of nomadic peoples from the plains of Eurasia, probably from Transcaspia," but one does not see that this is "certain" from his comparison of the forts of Tell el-Yahūdiyyeh in Egypt, Tell Mishrifeh and Tell Sefīnet Nūh in Syria, and Kirk Tepe in Transcaspia. Northern Mesopotamia is just as much a land of "tumuli and earthen ramparts" as is Transcaspia, and the Hyksos, if they are to be connected with these forts, need not have come from further north than North Syria and Mesopotamia, whence indeed the knowledge of earthen walls and mounds is more likely to have passed to Transcaspia than the reverse. I do not deny the possible allophylic character of the Hyksos; all I wish to imply is that Mr. Albright's new suggestion of a Transcaspian and presumably Mongolian element does not convince me of its probability. As for the Hyksos names, certainly some of them seem not Semitic; but surely not Hayan, which is demonstrably Syrian, and is known as that of a later chief of Sam'al. The leaders, and probably the majority of the invaders, were Syrians, according to my view, but they were no doubt accompanied by a mixed multitude from beyond Taurus, among whom were no doubt some Indo-Europeans. This would look as if the invasion were rather a *Völkerwanderung* than a deliberate conquest by a powerful king of Syria. But perhaps the conquest came first, the *Völkerwanderung* afterwards, when the Syrian kings were expelled from Aleppo by the invading Hittites. In any case this is merely a suggestion, which may or may not be confirmed.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 29. Weidner, "Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien," *Boghazköi-Studien*, III (1922), p. 57 ff., makes the Babylonian historical romance or legend,

we know from the "Cappadocian" tablets of Kül-Tepe, near Kaisāriyeh, was flourishing in the time of the Babylonian Third Dynasty of Ur (*c.* 2300 B.C.), was at least partly displaced by the Hittites. Oddly enough, Forrer makes no mention of this Semitic population, and does not explain it in relation to his Hittite history. It has usually been taken to be merely a trading settlement¹ of expatriated Semitic merchants, but my colleague, Mr. Sidney Smith, who has edited the Cappadocian tablets in the British Museum,² is of opinion that it was probably much more than this, and that a real North-Semitic population of the Argæus region generally is indicated in the third millennium B.C.³ The metropolis of these Semites seems to have been Ashur, so that we may perhaps call them Assyrians ("White Syrians"?); but they had peaceful trading relations with the Hatti, whose *buruš* or capital (*bur-uš* = Burg, burh?) is mentioned, probably Boghâz-Kiöi (Hattušaš, see pp. 177, 184).

However this may be, this Semitic population when partly expelled (some no doubt remained) across the Taurus, would add to the commotion in Syria, of which the repercussion reached Egypt in the shape of the Hyksos invasion, just as six hundred years later the coming of the Phrygians caused a southward movement of the peoples which again dashed itself against the barrier of Egypt, this time without success. At the same time it may not be possible to dissociate these commotions from the more general Indo-European invasion of the Near East that has been conjectured to have taken place about 2000 B.C. It may be that we are not to associate the coming of the "Kanisian" Hittites into Anatolia with this incursion, but that, if they are, or are closely related to, Indo-Europeans, they belong to an older invasion. Hrozný and Forrer maintain that "Kanisch," the official language of the Hittites, was more or less Indo-European, and, according to Hrozný, a cousin of Latin, and the contem-

"The King of the Battle," discovered on a tablet found at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt in 1913, refer to an expedition of Sargon to rescue the colony at Kül-Tepe from the attacks of the Hittites, in which case it will have existed before his time. Is this Forrer's authority for Sargon's conquest of "Kleinasien"?

¹ So Woolley, *Liverpool Ann. Arch. Anthropol.*, IX, p. 46.

² *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, I (1921).

³ This would agree with Weidner's view (p. 171, n. 2).

porary inscriptions of Tlabarnaš are, says Forrer, in "altkanisisch."¹ Forrer makes the "Kanisians" drive out the "Luvians," who extended over Anatolia and the Aegean, from the Anatolian highland into Cilicia, and for him the Luvian tongue was a more distant relation of Indo-European, with, however, occasional resemblances to Greek due to later Greek borrowing from their "Luvian" predecessors in Greece.² So that we have Indo-Europeans, or people nearly related to Indo-Europeans, in Asia Minor, certainly by, possibly before, 2000 B.C., imposed apparently on the older ethnic element, the native Anatolian to which the "Protohattisch" and "Balaisch" languages of Forrer are assigned, which, like the Harrian or native language of Mitanni, are not Indo-European.³ "Luvisch" may or may not belong to this group. This is, of course, assuming that the Austrian and Swiss scholars are right. Personally, I find it difficult to believe that the apparent West Indo-European character of "Kanisian" is a mere "element" of extraneous origin.⁴ While provisionally

¹ "Auf altkanisisch sind hauptsächlich die Inschriften des ersten Grosskönigs von Hatti, des Labarnaš, abgefasst" (Forrer, *loc. cit.*, p. 28).

² *Ibid.*, p. 27. The Minoan Cretans and other Bronze Age Greeks will then have been Luvians. On the relation between these two languages and Indo-European he says "Wenn wir das Kanisische zur Zeit des Urindogermanischen als dessen Schwester bezeichnen, werden wir diese beiden Sprachen etwa als Nichten der Grossmutter unseres Luvischen bezeichnen, und feststellen müssen, dass das Urkanisische weit mehr seiner urluvischen Tante nachgeschlagen hat als das Urindogermanische." Hrozný, however (*Boghazköi-Studien*, III, p. 55), does not think that "Luvisch" (or "Lâisch," as he calls it) is even distantly related to Indo-European.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25. It must be remembered that there was also in Mitanni a strongly Aryan, not to say old-Hindu (to avoid the word "Indian") element, whether it came from India or was on its way thither. These Mitannians must have talked Sanskrit (see p. 175).

⁴ Prof. Sayce does not accept Hrozný's claim (*Die Sprache der Hethiter*, 1917; and *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte*, 1919) that the Hittite of the tablets (Forrer's "Kanisisch") is Indo-European. He prefers to believe ("The Hittite Language of Boghaz Keui," in *J.R.A.S.*, 1920, p. 49 ff.) that the language is Asianic, with an Indo-European element. Nor would he presumably accept Forrer's description of it as a "sister" of "Urindogermanisch." Dr. Cowley in his Schweich Lectures, "The Hittites" (1918), pp. 46 f., took much the same view as Sayce, but was not so positive in rejecting Hrozný's results. The late Prof. L. W. King, writing in 1917 (*Journ. Eg. Arch.*, IV, pp. 190 ff.), considered it premature to pronounce judgment then, but confessed that he was impressed, as I am, by the cumulative effect of Hrozný's instances, and had he lived it would have been interesting to see how the matter presented itself now to his mind, which, though cautious, was flexible, and always ready to abandon preconceived ideas and adopt a new orientation without demur, if necessary. F. Sommer (*Boghazköi-Studien*, 4 (1920) and *O.L.Z.*, 1921, 314 ff.) accepts Hrozný's "Hethitisch" as Indo-European, although with many non-European elements in the vocabulary. Hrozný (*Boghazköi-Studien*,

considering the views of Hrozný and Forrer probable enough, it appears to me indubitably, however, that though the ruling caste of "Kanisians" may have been Indo-Europeans, the main Anatolian stock which we call Hittite was pre-Aryan, and no doubt originally spoke languages akin to Carian and Lycian, Forrer's "Protohattic," in fact. It is to this "protohattic" element that the characteristic religion of Asia Minor, and all, in fact, that is most characteristically "Hittite," is still to be assigned.¹ And probably the language of the Hittite hieroglyphs, as opposed to the cuneiform tablets, is Asianic "Luvian" or "Protohattic," not Aryan (?) Kanisian.²

It will have to be proved by Dr. Forrer that his "Luvian" Cilicians ever lived in Hatti proper at all. It seems much more likely they were the indigenous littoral population, and that if the Luvians were "Sub-Aryans," the "Kanisian" Hittites may, after all, have been the first "Indo-Europeans" in Anatolia. Dr. Forrer seems to imply that they were already there in the days of Sargon of Agade. But here we are getting into very dubious and darksome regions. Suffice it that we must probably dissociate the Indo-European element in the Hittite population from the invasion of the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) tribes from the East, which must have taken place about 2000 B.C., and added to the welter in Syria. There was in Northern Mesopotamia and in Palestine at the time of Šuppilulium and the Amenheteps

5: "Über die Völker und Sprachen des alten *Chatti*-Landes") considers that the Indo-European language of the tablets (Forrer's "Kanisch") which he called "Hethitisch," is not really the language of Hatti. This, the "Chattisch" or true Hittite (Forrer's "Protohattisch"), was not Indo-European. Bork (*O.L.Z.*, 1916, 290 ff.; 1920, 60 ff., 211 ff.), Weidner (*ibid.*, 114 ff.), Bloomfield (*J.A.O.S.*, 1921, 195 ff.) and Prince (*ibid.*, 210 ff.) oppose the conclusions of Hrozný and Forrer with regard to "Kanisian" Hittite. Finally, however, Prof. Zimmern, who has been collaborating with Dr. J. Friedrich in the edition of the Hittite law-tablets from Boghaz Köi (*Hethitische Gesetze aus dem Staatsarchiv von Boghazköi: "Alte Orient" Series*, 1922), gives his testimony in favour of Hrozný and Forrer and the "Indogermanism" of Hittite: "die hethitische Landessprache, die sich neuerdings . . . immer sicherer, wenigstens aus dem grammatischen Bau, wenn auch weniger dem Wortschatze nach, als indo-germanisch herausgestellt hat" ("Hethitische Texte," in Lehmann u. Haas, *Textbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 2 Aufl., 1922). I owe this reference to Prof. Langdon.

¹ Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 90.

² Prof. Sayce's latest conclusions as to the language of the hieroglyphs will be found in *J.A.S.*, 1922, pp. 537 ff. His view that this language is not Aryan but "Asianic," whether "Protohattic" or "Luvian," will probably prove correct, but it does not follow that the language of the tablets is the same.

a definitely Aryan ethnic element, without any of the uncertainty which may temporarily cling to "Luvians" and "Kanisians," which betrays itself in the possession of the Sanskrit numerals and the worship of Indra, Varuna, Mitra and the Nasātya-twins by the Mitannians¹ and by the occurrence in Palestine of such proper names of chiefs as Shuyardata (Surya-dāta, *sc.* 'Ηλιόδωτος), Yazdata (Yazd-dāta), and Biridiya (Bardiya).² These people were Indo-Iranians (one might at most call them "old Hindus") whether on their way from or to the East, and to be connected with the Kassites, who seem to have called the Sun *Suryaś*, whose word for "god" was *bugaś* (Slav *bogŭ*)³ and who possessed a wind-god Buriaś (*Βορέας*)⁴ and a storm-god (?) Maruttaś (Marut). They were the occupiers and rulers of Babylonia after the sack of Babylon and destruction of the First Babylonian Dynasty by Muršiliš the Hittite(?). The Kassite tongue has been said, however, to be non-Indo-European by some,⁵ as also has Mitannian;⁶ we know little of either, but we have the curious fact that the Aryan (nay, Indian) god-names of Mitanni appear with terminations (evidently case-endings) paralleled in the much later Indo-European Central Asian language called Tokharic.⁷ Forrer says⁸ that "Ḫarrian" Mitannian came from Central Asia, and is more Turkish in character than anything else. Very possibly it was of Central Asian origin, and the Ḫarri may well have brought with them the horse into Northern Mesopotamia from its home in Central Asia. What the connexion was between these possibly Turki "Ḫarrians" and the Indo-Iranians in Mitanni we do not yet understand. Were they horse-breeding nomads from Central Asia with an Indo-Iranian aristocracy akin to the Kassites? Or Indo-Iranians with "Ḫarrian" leaders?

We thus have an extraordinary welter of peoples in Asia Minor, Northern Mesopotamia, and Syria in the period 2000-1400

¹ Winckler, *M.D.O.G.*, No. 35, p. 51.

² Hall, *P.S.B.A.*, XXXI (1909), p. 234; *A.H.N.E.*, p. 410.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 201, No. 1.

⁴ Dhorme, *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.*, II (1922), p. 67.

⁵ E.g. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*.

⁶ Bork, *Die Mitannisprache*, in *M.V.A.G.*, 1909. This is of course "Ḫarrisches," which is generally admitted to be non-Aryan.

⁷ Cowley, *The Hittites* (Schweich lectures, 1918), p. 45.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

B.C., and whether the Hyksos were led by Syrian chiefs of Aleppo or not, whether they were expelled from North Syria by the Hittites (Luvian, Protohittic, or Kanisian) or originally attacked Egypt without being driven by extraneous pressure, it is very probable that the "mixed multitude" that had certainly overrun Syria by 1600 B.C. accompanied or followed them into Egypt. And among them may have been "Hittites" of one sort or another.

The success of the Hyksos was certainly largely due, at any rate on the desert-border of the Delta, to their possession of the horse and chariot; in Upper Egypt, as in the interior of the Delta, these can have been of little use, owing to fens, ditches, and canals. But the knowledge of both remained to the Egyptians, in whose land no wheeled vehicle had previously been seen, and was used by them with great results in their invasion of Syria that followed the expulsion. Also, the Hyksos possibly had better weapons, of fine bronze, whereas the Egyptians, while possessing short swords, daggers, and axes of bronze, still used unalloyed copper to some extent for axes and spear-heads, and still had hard-wood and flint-tipped arrows, not wasting bronze or even copper on a weapon that could not be retrieved. Certainly they possessed no arms so efficient as the Syrian scimitar (which they called *khopesh* on account of the likeness of its shape to that of an animal's thigh)¹ or the vicious war-pickaxe; both were introduced by the Hyksos, and the *khopesh* was always afterwards a favourite weapon in Egypt. Hard trial had cured her of any disdain to learn from her oppressors.

During the earlier part of the Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty, according to Forrer, it would appear that Ḫatti was subject to the Syrian kings of Ḫanigalbat.² Then came a revolt under Dudḫaliyaš I and Ḫattušiliš II. We can hardly err, I think, if this fact is substantiated, in attributing it to the effect of the Egyptian conquest of Northern Syria by Thutmosis III. Ḫattušiliš II was the father of Dudḫaliyaš II, who was the

¹ A fine example of the original Syrian type, used by the Assyrians, is the scimitar of the Assyrian king Adadnirari, illustrated by Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 607 (= *Hist. Anc. de l'Or. Class.*, II, *ibid.*).

² Forrer, *M.D.O.G.*, 61 (1921), p. 30.

father of Šuppiluliuwaš or Šuppiluliu, who certainly began to reign not later than 1385 B.C. This would place the beginning of the reign of Dudḫaliyaš I not earlier than 1470, about the time of the final Egyptian victory over the Syrians, and it may have been he who sent the gifts to Thutmosis mentioned above.

After the short reign of an elder brother, and the episode of a usurper, Arnuandaš I, the great "Sun" Šuppiluliu (Šuppiluliuwaš) or Shubbiluliuma, the Sapelulu of the Egyptians,¹ ascended the throne of Great Hatti. The Hittite Great-King was not the "Son of the Sun," like the Egyptian pharaoh, but was spoken of as "the Sun" himself; but this may have been a mere honorific appellation, without any religious implication such as existed in the title of the Egyptian king, who was himself a god. The royal president of the Hittite confederation could hardly pretend to such a position. Hittite constitutional law is likely to interest Germans, as the Khatti empire must have in some ways resembled the old German Confederation. It was an *Eidgenossenschaft* of city-states and wider kingdoms, presided over by a royal *Reichsverweser*, the "Sun" of Hattušaš, who corresponded in some sort to a Kaiser. An analogy of Hatti with Prussia in her relation to her subject-allies would not be inapt. The Hittites seem to have had some Prussian characteristics, and Šuppiluliu has perhaps not inappropriately been dubbed "The Hittite Bismarck." The story of the long and elaborate intrigues and short sharp military operations by which he attained his end, the supremacy of "the Sun" not only over the Hittite confederation, but also over the alien kingdoms of Cilicia and Mitanni, and the chieftains of all Syria and Phoenicia as far south as the Lebanon and Palestine, is well known from the Tell el-Amarna letters, the Semitic tablets from Boghàz-Kiöi deciphered by Winckler, and the more recent work of Weidner and Forrer. We know from Egyptian archaeological discovery also how his opportunity was given by the pacificism of Akhenaten, who abandoned Syria to its contending princelings, which meant handing it over to Šuppiluliu, who stepped at once into Egypt's shoes. Aleppo was ruled for him by his son, Telibinuš, while Carchemish was administered

¹ See above, p. 169, n. 1.

by his son-in-law (?) Biyaššiliš. One of the most interesting lately-published documents is the treaty between Muwattališ (?) or Muršiliš and Šunaššura, the king of Kizzuwadna,¹ which is conceived on much the same lines as the later and well-known treaty between Rameses II and Hattušiliš.

Kizzuwadna, a state always closely related to Hatti and mentioned once or twice by the Egyptians as the ally of Kheta, has hitherto generally been regarded as situate on the southern coast of the Black Sea, in Pontus, or at any rate east of Khatti from the upper course of the Tigris to the sea. This is the view of its position taken by Weidner, Forrer, and other writers. Mr. Sidney Smith has, however, recently shown reasons for thinking that this is a mistake, and that the real position of Kizzuwadna is to be found in east Cilicia, around the gulf of Issus.²

It may be more or less identical with the country known from time immemorial to the Egyptians as Kedi or Kode,³ the land "where one turns round"; i.e., where one doubled on oneself and described a circle, before going away indefinitely westward at right angles to the previous direction of one's course from Egypt. Probably this point marked the extreme limit of Egyptian knowledge of the coast in early days. Kizzuwadna, then, may be Cilicia or part of it, where also the land of Alashiya, identified by Conder with the Elishah of the O.T., should perhaps be placed, rather than in Cyprus.⁴ Alashiya will then, as Niebuhr thought in 1894,⁵ be further to the west along the coast, in the neighbourhood of Ayas (Eleousa or Elaïoussa; note

¹ *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, I, 5; Weidner, *M.D.O.G.*, 58, pp. 61 ff.; Gella, *Vertrag des Hattikönigs Mursil mit dem Könige Šunaššura von Kizwadna* (Breslau, 1920). See also S. Smith, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1922, p. 45.

² "Kizzuwadna and Kode:" *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, loc. cit.

³ In this connexion it is notable that the chief of Kode was regarded by the Egyptians in the time of Rameses II as the chief vassal or ally of the king of Kheta, and from the Hittite side we know that this position was actually occupied by the prince of Kizzuwadna. In a fragment preserved in Pap. Anastasi II we find an Egyptian poet at the time of the visit of Khattusil (see above, p. 165) writing verses supposed to be the summons of the great Chief of Kheta to the Chief of Kode to accompany him to Egypt (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, III, 425); the over-king invites his greatest feudatory to come with him. And this was the prince of Kizzuwadna.

⁴ Hall, "The Land of Alashiya": *Manchester Eg. and Or. Journal*, 1913, pp. 33 ff. Cf. *A.H.N.E.*, p. 243, n. 1 (Conder, *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1892, p. 44).

⁵ "Zur Lage von Alaschja": *Studien u. Bemerkungen zur Gesch. des alt. Or.*, I, pp. 97-102.

the possible folk-etymology in the hellenizing of the name) and the Kalykadnos, south of the mining district of the Bulgar Dagħ. The fact, moreover, that (according to Forrer) Muwattališ or Mutallu, the third successor of Šuppiluliu, conquered Alashiya, is against that country being Cyprus, as we have no knowledge that the Hittites could dispose of a fleet. But this is not certain; they may have employed Phœnician or Cilician ships, and, if Alashiya was anywhere near Bulgar Maden, it is strange that the king of Alashiya should have asked Pharaoh, as he did, to send him silver.¹

The Cyprian identification is then still possible, and the existence in classical times of a cult of an Apollo Alahiōtas or Alasiōtas in Cyprus is in favour of it, although of course there is always the possibility that this cult may have been transferred from the mainland. If it is Cyprus, however, Alashiya (the "Alesa" of the Egyptians) cannot be identical, as Müller thought,² with the Egyptian "Asy," since the latter can hardly be Cyprus, but should be the Asiatic mainland.³ Possibly the name is 'Ασία itself.

Towards the end of his life, Šuppiluliu planned a marriage relation between his family and the royal family of Egypt, sending one of his sons (who was murdered on the way) to be married to Daḥamun . . ., the widow of the recently deceased king Bibḥururiya (read Nibḥururiya), i.e. Nibkhoprurē 'Tut'ankhamon, who reigned c. 1360-1350 B.C.⁴ We do not know this queen from Egyptian sources. She can hardly be the same person as Tut'ankhamon's consort, the well-known 'Ankhsenamon. The old Hittite king died about 1345. In the time of his second son, and second successor, Muršiliš III, came the expedition of Seti I to Palestine, and then the long war with Rameses II (Riyamašēša) under Muršiliš and Mutallu. Here again the

¹ Knudtzon, *El-Amarna-Tafeln*, I, p. 285 (letter 35).

² *Zts. Assy.*, 1895, p. 262.

³ Hall, *Manchester E. and O. J.*, 1913, p. 35. Nothing is added to our knowledge by Weber's disappointing note on Alashiya in his annotations to Knudtzon's *El-Amarna-Tafeln*, II, pp. 1076-7 (1915). He knows nothing of any non-German contribution to the subject. How also the Golenischeff Papyrus (the Report of Unamon) "bezeugt, dass Cypern bei der Ägyptern Alasia hiess," as he says, it is not possible to see. Unamon merely says that he was cast away on the shore of Alesa, which might just as well be Cilicia as Cyprus. (Hall, *ibid.*, p. 45, n. 2.) Weber begs the question at issue.

⁴ Hrozný, *M.D.O.G.*, 56, p. 36.

Prussian parallel holds good to some extent, as the degenerate and meretricious Egypt of the XIXth Dynasty does in opposition to Prussian Hatti resemble in some sort the France of the Second Empire. That the battle of Kadesh, in spite of the "triumphal poem" copied by the scribe Pentauere, was, if a tactical victory, in reality so far as its consequences were concerned an Egyptian defeat, seems evident; and the conclusion of the treaty in 1279 B.C. between Rameses and Hattušiliš consecrated the abandonment of Syria, if not also of Palestine, by Egypt to Hatti. The Egyptian text of the treaty, with its Babylonian version discovered at Boghàz-Kiöi, has recently been re-edited by Dr. Gardiner and Prof. Langdon in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. VI (1920), pp. 179 ff. The alliance between the former enemies was cemented by the royal marriage and the unprecedented visit of Hattušiliš to Egypt over ten years later. Rameses died in 1234; it would appear that during the remainder of his life the peace had not been disturbed.

It seems very probable that again in this case victory had inclined if not to the side of the bigger battalions, at any rate to that possessing the better weapons. Iron was now being introduced into the civilized world, and the Hittites controlled the supply of iron to the south. The Egyptians, generally speaking, and their Shardina and Shekhelal auxiliaries still fought with bronze weapons,¹ but they certainly appreciated iron ones when they could get them. At this very time the king Hattušiliš writes to Rameses II regretting his inability to oblige him with the iron which he asks for.² No doubt the Hittites wanted all they could get for themselves, and it is probable that at Kadesh they used iron weapons in appreciable number, while the Egyptians were deficiently provided in this respect.

Probably iron was the decisive factor in the catastrophe that overthrew Hatti little more than thirty years after the death of Rameses, and introduced the new West Indo-European element of the Mysians and Phrygians into Asia Minor. The newcomers were exclusive iron-users, and the Iron Age now begins in the Near East. It was not only

¹ An actual Shardina broadsword of bronze has been found at Gaza, and is in the British Museum (Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, p. 252, Fig. 109).

² *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, I, No. 14; *M.D.O.G.*, 58, p. 77.

Hatti that went down before the newcomers. Mycenæan Greece went down, too, before the men of iron, and Egypt only escaped because she had to fight, not the real Northern invaders at all, but the mixed multitude of the expelled Philistines and others from Asia Minor and the Isles, who were possibly still largely bronze-armed themselves. Mr. Woolley has recently identified in the Museum of the American College at Beirût Mycenæan or sub-Mycenæan tomb-groups from the Lebanon that can hardly be other than relics of the migration of the Philistines and their "settlement in the midst of Amor," of which the Egyptians tell us.¹ But they did not

¹ "La Phénicie et les Peuples Égéens" (*Syria*, 1921). I do not follow Mr. Woolley in ascribing the sea-going propensities of the Phœnicians entirely to the influence of the Philistines and Zakkali or Zakkarai. There is no proof of any Philistine aristocracy, soon semitized, in the Phœnician cities, or that any language but Semitic was ever spoken by the Phœnicians. Also we know that Semites traded to Egypt by sea under the XVIIIth Dynasty (Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 169; cf. illustration, Maspero, *Struggles of the Nations*, p. 407, after Daressy, *Rév. Arch.*, XXVII), and the "ships of Byblos" under the XIIth and earlier are likely to have been originally Phœnician as well as Egyptian. At any rate Byblos was from the earliest times a port, already under the Old Kingdom closely connected with Egypt (in fact almost an Egyptian colony, as we see from M. Montet's recent discoveries), and must have had ships of its own. M. Autran's views about the Minoan origin of the Phœnicians in his *Phéniciens* commend themselves to me no more than they do to Mr. Woolley. But that the Mediterranean Philistines, Zakkali and other tribes, who now frequented and often held Phœnician ports had a considerable influence on Phœnician sailors is probable enough. It must be remembered that the Philistines were not Minoans or originally Cretans, but tribes of S.-W. Asia Minor of Lycian or Carian race, so that we cannot in any case, if we ascribe Phœnician sea-craft to them, speak of the Phœnicians as having learnt seamanship from the Minoans or from the Keftians, unless we regard Keftiu-Kaphtor as extending beyond Crete and covering the "Dodekanese," and at any rate Caria as well. I cannot unreservedly agree with Mr. Wainwright's extension of Keftiu to Cilicia (*Liverpool Annals*, VI, 1913, pp. 24 ff.), as no Minoan remains are known to us from Cilicia, at any rate as yet, and the Keftians depicted in the tombs of Rekhmire and Menkheperresenb at Thebes were Minoans and the Minoans of the tomb of Sennemut were presumably Keftians. The term "Keftiu" may have covered the coast as far east as Cilicia, but we have no proof that it did. (What Albright means (*Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.*, I (1921), p. 57, n.), when he writes "Wainwright's arguments . . . against the identification of the land of the *Kftiwy* with Crete are convincing; the term had a wider connotation and his location of it in Eastern Cilicia is nebulous," I do not understand. The sentence is self-contradictory.) Since there were Minoans in Cyprus after 1450 B.C. at any rate (probably not before; Hall, *Anc. Hist. Near East*, p. 67), "Keftiu" may thereafter have included Cyprus also. But originally it surely meant Crete. That the Philistines are said in the O.T. to have come from Kaphtor may indicate either that Keftiu-Kaphtor included islands and coasts of S.E. Asia Minor as well as Crete, or that the Philistines and their allies actually occupied Eastern Crete in the course of their migration: hence perhaps the name Cherethim. And we have no representation of the Zakkali, so that it is not impossible that they may have been actual Cretans, genuine *Cherethim*, who were swept along with the over-running Philistines from Caria. Prof. Petrie's comparison of

survive more than a few years in the North, whereas in the Shephelah they continued to exist as a nation.

The Muškaya, as the Assyrians called the Phrygians, seem to have reached Northern Syria, if we may judge from the archæological evidence at Carchemish, where the new culture with its iron weapons and its incineration of the dead begins just now, at about 1200 B.C.¹ No doubt they were mixed with expelled Hittites who now reinforced their southern brethren, and the later civilization of Carchemish was still that of the old Ḫatti. The Muški nobles (who may reasonably be postulated) were lost in the older race.

With the later Hittite state of Carchemish Egypt had naturally nothing to do; the days of the empire were past, and the kingdoms of Israel and of Syria lay between her and them. When Pharaoh Necho came, rivalling Thutmosis, to do battle by the Euphrates at Carchemish,² but with very different success, there was no Ḫatti state there any more. Assyria had cleared it from her path a century before.

Our evidence as to connexion between the two peoples is confined to political events and is literary only. One point arises in this connexion, of philological interest, which has already been mentioned in footnotes. When the Egyptians reproduce Hittite names in the hieroglyphs they almost invariably do so minus the characteristic final syllable in -š, which is normally found in the Hittite "Kanisian" cuneiform transliterations, apparently. Thus Muršiliš becomes in Egyptian Mursil, and Ḫattušiliš is Khattusil, while names mentioned by the Egyptians, such as Khilpsil and Sapzil, would, if found in a

their name with that of the little port of Zakro in Eastern Crete is by no means inapt, as we do not know how old the name may be. (See Hall, "The Peoples of the Sea," in *Recueil Champollion*, 1922; *A.H.N.E.*, p. 73, n., and a section in the forthcoming *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II.)

¹ Woolley, *Liverpool Annals Arch. Anthropol.*, loc. cit., p. 51.

² We now know from Mr. C. J. Gadd's recent discovery in the British Museum (*The Fall of Nineveh*, published by the Trustees, 1923) that Necho was not the only pharaoh whose armies visited the Euphrates region at this time. Ten years earlier the soldiers of Psametik I had more than once essayed to come to the help of Assyria against the armies of Nabopolassar and Kyaxares, but could do little to prevent the catastrophe of Nineveh that occurred in 612 B.C., not in 606 as has hitherto been thought. It is interesting to find the Egyptian king, who once had been an Assyrian satrap and had borne the name Nabu-shezib-anne, loyally keeping up the tradition of almost subject-alliance with Assyria to the end of his reign and the collapse of his old overlord.

Hittite text almost certainly be *Hiłpšiliš* and *Šuppiziliš* or *Šubbiziliš*. As we have seen, the name of *Shubbiluliuma* or *Šuppiluliu(ma)š* is reduced to *Sapelulu*. *Dudḫaliyaš*, if, as is probable, it is the name given by the Egyptians as *Tod'al* or *Ti'dul*, is considerably reduced. On the other hand, names such as *Targanenasa*, *Payasa*, *Zauazasa*, *Garbatusa*, and *Samairtusa* perhaps retain the termination, and would appear in the Hittite as *Targamenaš*, *Payaš*, *Zauazaš*, *Garbatuš*, and *Samairtuš*.¹ It is, however, possible that the termination is also here omitted, and that these names were originally *Targamenašaš*, *Payašaš*, etc. It is evident that this termination is a masculine nominative case-ending like the Greek *-os*, Latin *-us*, etc. It looks as if men's names were often pronounced without this termination (in the vocative?): we find that in the Semitic cuneiform texts from *Boghàz-Kiöi* it is often dropped, as in Egyptian: *Ḫattušiliš* becomes *Ḫattušili* simply. Either the Egyptian scribes did not transcribe the names from Hittite, but from Semitic-written originals, or, knowing that the termination was not part of the name, properly speaking, they purposely omitted it in transcription. This is somewhat analogous to the Latin transcription of *Ἀλέξανδρος* by *Alexander*.²

Archæology tells us little yet as regards the relations between Egypt and the Hittites. Further excavations in Anatolia may and probably will tell us something with regard to commercial and artistic relations between the two states. But from Egyptian excavations it does not at present appear that under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties Hittite art, for instance, was much appreciated in Egypt, or that Hittite pottery was imported like that of Syria or as Mycenæan pots were imported from Greece. Probably the Hittites never shone with the graces of culture to any extent. The Great *Ḫatti* were probably still to the Egyptian and Babylonian, as indeed to the Syrian also, a comparatively rough and uncultured people, and *Boghàz-Kiöi* bore much the same relation to Thebes and Babylon, or even to Damascus and Aleppo, as, let us say, *Cetinje* or *Sofia* to Constantinople to-day.

¹ Many of the names are of Hittite warriors mentioned as having fallen at the Battle of Kadesh (Champollion, *Notices Descriptives*, I, pp. 587 ff., Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 164 f.)

² Hall, "The Egyptian Transliteration of Hittite Names," *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1922, pp. 219 f.

We have indications that the art of Northern Syria and perhaps (though we cannot be certain of this) of Cilicia also,¹ was appreciated in Egypt, as also in Cyprus, in the 15th and 14th centuries B.C., but of such civilized relations with the remoter region across the Taurus we see nothing as yet. The sphinxes of Euyük have heads that recall Egyptian Hathor-heads, and have perhaps a Middle Kingdom look. The idea of the sphinx must be Egyptian. There are lion-heads of Egyptian style at Boghàz-Kiöi.² We do not know yet their date, though it may perhaps not be long before we do. There is an interesting hint of connexion between Hatti and Minoan Crete in the strange little steatite sphinx found at Hagia Triada by the Italians. This object is reminiscent of both early Babylonian and Hittite art, and recalls the Euyük sphinxes. It does not seem impossible that it is actually a Hittite production. It belongs to the First Late Minoan period, and its date is about 1600 B.C.³

Forrer's results are said to show that the city of Hattušaš (Boghàz-Kiöi) was founded by Muršiliš I, the conqueror of Aleppo and Babylon, in the 18th century B.C. Egyptian influence is, however, hardly probable till the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty and most probably under the XIXth, towards the end of the existence of Hattušaš. I know of no Egyptian objects from the earlier graves or strata at Carchemish that would show any import from the Nile-land. From Boghàz-Kiöi we have heard as yet little of results in the way of pottery, and nothing Egyptian has been signalized.⁴

In the Hittite hieroglyphic script, which we know from monuments mostly, it seems probable, of the later day, we see no such Egyptian borrowings as are evident in the Minoan script of Crete. How old the hieroglyphic script may be we do not know, but it is hardly probable that it is not the original Hittite writing, and that they adopted it after they had used

¹ Hall, *Manchester Eg. and Or. Journ.*, 1913, p. 41.

² Hall, *Anc. Hist. Near East*, p. 329, n. 5.

³ Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, p. 201.

⁴ It is impossible to comment too sharply on the fact that nothing has as yet been published of the smaller finds, of pottery fragments, etc., that must have been made by Winckler when he discovered the archive of Boghàzkiöi. Assyriologists ought not when they excavate to incur the charge of being "mere tablet-hunters," but it looks as if Winckler did not think that uninscribed material had any value at all.

cuneiform for centuries.¹ In fact, we know that the hieroglyphs do go back to an early period from Prof. Sayce's discovery of Hittite ideographs, impressed by a seal, on a Cappadocian tablet of about 2200 B.C.² Perhaps, besides cutting them on seals they painted their picture signs, as the Aztecs and Zapotecs did, on skins, which have perished in Anatolia, and did not, any more than did the Cretans, yet inscribe them on walls, a practice probably borrowed later from Assyria.³ A Hittite pictured skin may yet reward some digger in Egypt. Let us hope that the evidence of further excavation will not be too long in coming.

¹ Here I differ from Cowley (*The Hittites*, Schweich Lectures, 1918, p. 38) who regards the use of cuneiform as earlier. An adoption of cumbrous hieroglyphs after acquaintance with cuneiform seems to me quite unlikely (Hall, "Egypt and the External World in the time of Akhenaten," *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 1921, p. 47). Very possibly the language of the hieroglyphs will be found to be the Asianic non-Aryan "Protohittic" or "Chattish," not the apparently Indo-European language of the Boghazköi cuneiform tablets (see above, p. 174).

² Sayce, *P.S.B.A.*, 1913, p. 203.

³ Hall, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, VII (1921), p. 49.

XIV.

INSCRIPTION GRECQUE DE SUSE

par BERNARD HAUSSOULLIER

SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY me permettra d'entrer par une porte détournée dans le royaume des Séleucides, c'est à dire dans son domaine. Bien qu'il provienne de la satrapie de Susiane et de Suse même, le texte que j'offre à l'éminent géographe de l'Asie Mineure n'est pas sans intérêt pour l'histoire de cette dynastie séleucide qui a tenu en Asie Mineure une si grande place. Que Sir William Ramsay veuille bien trouver ici l'expression de mon admiration pour ses travaux et de ma reconnaissance pour les services que ses livres ont rendus à tous ceux qui étudient l'histoire de l'Asie Mineure.

[Pl. VIII]

Débris en calcaire dur qui n'a été aplani ni sur la tranche gauche, la seule conservée, ni sur la face postérieure. Haut. max. : 0''·176, larg. max. : 0''·075 ; épais. variant de 0''·032 à 0''·05. Les caractères sont grêles, mais étaient rehaussés de couleur rouge dont il subsiste des traces aux ll. 9, 10, 11. L'inscription est complète à gauche et en haut : vide de 0''·022 au dessus de la l. 1. Au Musée du Louvre : Inv. A.S. 6758.

Il faut, pour la restitution, tenir compte de la règle suivie par le lapicide : à chaque ligne commence un mot ; jamais un mot ni un nom propre n'est coupé en deux.

Les quatre premières lignes ne présentent pas de difficultés :

1. Βασιλεύον[τος Σελεύκου ἔτους] 25 l.
2. ΕΛ καὶ Ρ, μη[νὸς nom et quantième],
3. ἐν Σελευκ[εῖαι δὲ τῇι πρὸς τῶι] 24 l.
4. Εὐλαίωι.

L'année 136 de l'ère des Séleucides correspond à l'année 177/176 av. J.-Chr. et au règne de Séleucus IV.¹

¹ On possède des monnaies datées de la même année de l'ère des Séleucides : Babelon, *les Rois de Syrie*, etc., 1890, p. 66, nos. 509-511 (monnaies de Tyr) ; cf. p. xc et xci.

Le nom de Séleucie de l'Eulaeos nous était déjà connu par une inscription de Magnésie du Méandre, où à la suite d'un décret d'Antioche de Perse sont nommées sept cités de l'Extrême-Orient grec dont l'identification est embarrassante.¹ Je n'ai pas hésité en 1903 à identifier Séleucie de l'Eulaeos avec l'ancienne Suse, me fondant sur la présente inscription qui a été découverte à Suse même.² Ce dernier texte n'était pas encore connu de W. Dittenberger quand, dans ses *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae* no. 233, il proposait de confondre Séleucie de l'Eulaeos avec Séleucie de l'Hédyphon. L'Hédyphon est un affluent de l'Eulaeos et Séleucie de l'Hédyphon est nommée par Strabon.³ Mais peut-être est-elle nommée aussi dans l'inscription de Magnésie, à côté de Séleucie de l'Eulaeos. Voici les derniers noms de la colonne de gauche :

Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς	105
πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ	
θαλάσσει,	
Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς	
πρὸς τῷ Εὐλαίῳ,	
Σ[ε]λευκ[εῦσι]ν τ[οῖς]	110
π[ρὸς] τῷ[ι].	

Je propose de restituer : π[ρὸς] τῷ[ι Ἐδυφῶντι]. Nous obtenons ainsi trois cités qui forment groupe : Séleucie de la mer Rouge, entendons : du golfe Persique ; Séleucie de l'Eulaeos ; enfin Séleucie de l'Hédyphon. Maintenons donc, pour l'époque hellénistique, le nom de Séleucie de l'Eulaeos à Suse.

La dernière partie de l'intitulé est plus malaisée à restituer. Nous lisons :

5. Ἀμμωνι
6. μετὰ τῆς
7. Δημητ
8. γνώμη
9. Ἀττάλου

¹ O. Kern, *die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, 1900, no. 61, p. 53.

² "Inscriptions grecques de l'Extrême-Orient grec," dans les *Mélanges Perrot*, 1903, p. 157.

³ Sur l'Eulaeos et l'Hédyphon voy. : Pline, *Nat. hist.*, VI, 135 ; sur Séleucie de l'Hédyphon : Strabon, XVI, 744 ; sur la satrapie de la région de la mer Rouge : Polybe, V, 54, 12.

Le rapprochement des mots *μετὰ τῆς . . . γνώμη[s]*, qui s'appuie sur plus d'un exemple,¹ suffit à nous indiquer que nous avons affaire à un décret.

On sait combien sont rares les décrets de ces cités éloignées. Pour compléter les ll. 4-8 du décret de Suse, nous ne pouvons nous aider que d'un décret d'Antioche de Perse, rendu en réponse à une ambassade de Magnésie du Méandre, sous le règne d'Antiochus III (223-187), avant la mort du fils aîné du roi, c'est à dire avant 193.² Il est d'une longueur et d'une prolixité décourageantes. Voici les formules de l'intitulé, des considérants et de la sanction :

Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Σελεύκου Νικάτορος καὶ . . . (suivent les noms des rois séleucides, jusques et y compris le fils aîné d'Antiochus III) Ν. τοῦ Ν. (ll. 2-6),

τῆς πρώτης ἐξαμήνου, δόγματα ἐκκλησίας κυρίας τὰ ἀπενεχθέντα ὑπὸ Ν. τοῦ Ν. τοῦ γραμματέως τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, μηνὸς Πανθέου τρίτη φθίνοντος (ll. 6-10),

ἔδοξε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρυτάνεων εἰπάντων (l. 10),

ἐπειδὴ . . . (ll. 10-11),

δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ (l. 48).

Les Grecs de l'Eulaeos sont plus brefs et nous disposons de très peu de place. Aux ll. 4-5 il nous faut faire tenir la date locale, c'est à dire le nom du mois de Séleucie et le nom, avec ou sans le titre, de l'éponyme. Le mois commençait par un lambda et devait être suivi d'un chiffre et d'un participe *ἵσταμένου* ou *φθίνοντος*.³ Le nom de l'éponyme Ἀμμωνί[ου] ne serait précédé que de la préposition *ἐπί*. Il n'y a pas de place pour *ιερέως*.

Nous emprunterions ensuite au décret d'Antioche la formule de la sanction et la mention du secrétaire et des prytanes. Le secrétaire du Conseil et de l'assemblée était dans ces petites cités

¹ Voy. Schulthess, à l'article *Γνώμη* dans Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, VII, col. 1497-1498.

² *Inscr. von Magnesia am Maeander*, no. 61 = W. Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 1903, no. 233.

³ Cf. l'inscription d'Antioche de Perse citée plus haut et une inscription de Babylone (*O.G.I.*, no. 253) où on lit aux ll. 4-5, *ὑπὸ τρίτην ἀπώντος Ὑπερβερεταίου*. Dans notre décret de Suse, à la l. 2, c'est à dire dans la date royale, le quantième du mois n'était vraisemblablement indiqué que par un chiffre. Il en est de même dans une inscription inédite, tout récemment découverte à Suse, où on lit à la l. 2 : *[μηνὸς] Αὐδναίου κ'*.

un personnage considérable, et l'assemblée du peuple n'avait guère qu'à confirmer la décision prise par le secrétaire et les prytanes.¹

Venaient les considérants, introduits par la conjonction ἐπειδή ou ἐπεί. Nous obtiendrions ainsi :

- | | |
|--|-------|
| 4. Εὐλαίῳ Λ[nom de mois et quantième, ἐπὶ] | |
| 5. Ἀμμωνί[ον · ἔδοξε τῇ ἐκκλησίαι] | 25 l. |
| 6. μετὰ τῆς [τοῦ τε γραμματέως] | 22 l. |
| 7. Δημητ[ρίου καὶ τῶν πρυτάνεων] | 24 l. |
| 8. γνώμη[s · ἐπειδὴ] | |

Des considérants nous n'avons conservé que la première partie (ll. 8-14), mais nous y rencontrons des noms connus de membres de la famille royale : d'abord celui de Séleucus (l. 10), puis deux Laodice (ll. 11 et 13). La première (ll. 11-12), à laquelle se rapportent les mots τῆς μητρός, est à n'en pas douter la mère du roi ; celle qui suit est selon toute vraisemblance sa fille. Nous lisons donc :

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| 10. τῆς Σελεύ[κου] | |
| 11. καὶ Λαοδίκη[s τῆς πρεσβυτέρας] | 25 l. |
| 12. τῆς μητρὸ[s τῆς Σελεύκου καὶ] | 23 l. |
| 13. Λαοδίκης τ[ῆς νεωτέρας τῆς] | 22 l. |
| 14. [θυγατρὸς] [τῆς Σελεύκου] | |

Ces deux Laodice nous sont connues par les historiens et les inscriptions. La reine mère était fille de Mithridate II roi de Pont et elle avait épousé Antiochus III, père de Séleucus IV, en l'année 221.² La fille de Séleucus IV est également nommée par Polybe ; elle avait épousé, très probablement en 178/177, le roi de Macédoine Persée.³

Il reste à nommer une princesse de la famille royale : une princesse, puisque c'est à elle que se rapporte l'article féminin τῆς Σελεύκου au commencement de la l. 10. Son nom se trouvait à la fin, aujourd'hui perdue, de la l. 9. Son rang était le premier, puisqu'elle est la première nommée. Nous n'hési-

¹ Sur le sens exact de μετὰ τῆς γνώμης, voy. Schulthess, *art. cité*.

² Polybe, V, 43, 1-4 ; cf. E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, I, 1902, p. 303 ; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, 1913, p. 129.

³ Polybe, XXV, 4, 8-10. Sur le mariage de Laodice et de Persée voy. plus loin.

terons pas à reconnaître en elle la reine régnante, l'épouse du roi Séleucus, et nous restituerons ainsi la l. 10 :

τῆς Σελεύ[κου βασιλέως γυναικός] 27 l.

Son nom ne nous est pas connu : ni les historiens, ni les monnaies ne nous l'ont conservé.¹ Nous en sommes réduits à des hypothèses et je tiens à rappeler celle qu'a faite autrefois—il y a près de deux siècles—le P. Froelich.² Il admet que Séleucus IV épousa sa soeur Laodice, veuve de son frère aîné Antiochus. Ce fils aîné d'Antiochus III, né vraisemblablement en 220 et mort en 193, avait épousé sa soeur Laodice en 195/194.³ L'hypothèse est séduisante et je suis tenté d'inscrire une troisième fois le nom de Laodice dans notre décret, à la fin de la l. 9.

Pour terminer il nous faut rétablir le début des considérants et retrouver le mot—préposition, substantif ou verbe—d'où dépendent ces noms de reines au génitif. Si nous n'avions pas affaire à un décret, la formule banale ὑπὲρ ou ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Λαοδίκης . . . καὶ Λαοδίκης nous tirerait d'embarras ;⁴ elle n'est pas de mise ici. Ce qui peut rapprocher et réunir les trois reines c'est, il me semble, le culte commun qu'elles recevaient dans le royaume. Le culte de la reine était d'institution ancienne dans la dynastie des Séleucides : il remontait à Antiochus II Théos (261-246). Le rescrit royal, rendu en l'honneur de la reine Laodice, épouse et soeur d'Antiochus II, est aujourd'hui conservé au Musée du Louvre.⁵ On lit aux l. 21 et suiv. : [κρ]ίνομεν . . . καθάπερ | [πανταχοῦ καθεστήκασιν κ]ατὰ τὴν βασιλε[ί]α[ν] | ἡμῶν ἀρχ]ιερεῖς, καὶ ταύτ[η]ς καθίστασθαι | [ἐ]ν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις ἀρχιερείας. Nous restituerons donc ainsi qu'il suit les ll. 8-9 de notre décret :

8. ἐπειδὴ Ν. (nom de femme)

9. Ἀττάλον, [ἀρχιέρεια Λαοδίκης] 24 l.

¹ Nous avons peut-être son portrait sur des héli-chalques du Cabinet des Médailles de Paris : Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 65, nos. 505-508 et p. xc.

² Er. Froelich, *Annales compendiarum regum et rerum Syriae, numis veteribus illustrati*, pp. 42 et 43 de l'édition de 1744. Cf. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. xc.

³ Sur la naissance du fils aîné d'Antiochus III, voy. : Polybe, V, 55, 4 ; sur sa mort : Tite-Live, XXXV, 15, 2 ; sur son mariage : Appien, *Syr.*, 4.

⁴ Voy. par exemple Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, no. 251.

⁵ Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, 1900, no. 40 ; Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, no. 224. Le rescrit a été découvert à Durdurkar en Phrygie par MM. M. Holleaux et P. Paris : le texte en a été établi par M. M. Holleaux.

À la vérité, en dépit de l'édit d'Antiochus II, nous pourrions aussi bien restituer *ἱέρεια* que *ἀρχιέρεια*, car, dans une double liste de prêtres contemporaine de Séleucus IV, le prêtre des rois séleucides est compris sous la rubrique *ἱερείς*.¹ La liste ne comprend que des prêtres : les prêtresses figuraient sans doute sur une autre stèle. Elle nous apprend d'abord qu'il y avait un prêtre spécial pour le roi régnant, et un seul pour tous ses prédécesseurs. Mais la liste provient de la grande ville de Séleucie de Piérie, et les choses ne se passaient peut-être pas de même à Séleucie de l'Eulaeos ; nous n'avons ici qu'une prêtresse pour les trois Laodice.

C'est une démarche de cette prêtresse qui a motivé notre décret. Le culte auquel elle présidait dans la satrapie de Susiane lui a vraisemblablement fourni l'occasion d'une visite ou d'une lettre officielle au secrétaire du Conseil. Elle peut, par exemple, avoir adressé quelque rapport sur des sacrifices qu'elle a accomplis. Tel décret d'Athènes du commencement du II^e siècle (165-164) nous montre ainsi le prêtre d'Asclépios se présentant au Conseil pour annoncer que les sacrifices ont tourné au bien et au salut de tous les Athéniens et de tous les habitants des cités soumises aux Athéniens.² Mais l'intervention de la prêtresse ne trouve-t-elle pas plus aisément son explication dans un événement plus solennel ? Le mariage de la fille du roi Séleucus, Laodice, avec Persée roi de Macédoine avait été célébré l'année d'avant avec une pompe et une magnificence qui n'avaient laissé ni le monde grec ni surtout les Romains indifférents.³ Toute la flotte de Rhodes avait été mobilisée pour escorter en Macédoine la royale fiancée qu'accompagnait le ministre d'État de Séleucus, Héliodore : elle avait fait escale à Délos, où plus d'une inscription atteste encore les libéralités des illustres visiteurs et la reconnaissance de leurs hôtes.⁴ N'est-ce pas cette grande nouvelle que la prêtresse des trois Laodice annonce à Séleucie de l'Eulaeos ? Ne vient-elle pas demander au peuple d'invoquer

¹ Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, no. 245.

² *I. G.*, II, 1, 477b, p. 427 = Ch. Michel, *Recueil*, no. 699.

³ Polybe, XXV, 4, 8-10 ; Tite-Live, XLII, 12, 3. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *ouv. cité*, p. 235.

⁴ Sur les dédicaces déliennes et les offrandes d'Héliodore, voy. le recueil récent de Félix Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, avec traduction et commentaire, I, 1921, nos. 70-72, p. 93 et suiv.

les dieux, par quelque sacrifice et prière extraordinaire, en faveur de la reine de Macédoine ?

Ci-joint le texte de l'ensemble du décret :

- | | |
|---|-------|
| 1. Βασιλεύον[τος Σελεύκου, ἔτους] | 25 l. |
| 2. ΕΛ καὶ Ρ, μη[νὸς nom et quantième], | |
| 3. ἐν Σελευκ[εῖαι δὲ τῇ πρὸς τῶι] | 24 l. |
| 4. Εὐλαίῳ Λ [nom de mois et quantième, ἐπὶ] | |
| 5. Ἀμμωνί[ου · ἔδοξε τῇ ἐκκλησίαι] | 25 l. |
| 6. μετὰ τῆς [τοῦ τε γραμματέως] | 22 l. |
| 7. Δημητ[ρίου καὶ τῶν πρυτάνεων] | 24 l. |
| 8. γνώμη[ς · ἐπειδὴ Ν. nom de femme] | |
| 9. Ἀττάλου [ἀρχιέρεια Λαοδίκης] | 24 l. |
| 10. τῆς Σελεύ[κου βασιλέως γυναικὸς] | 27 l. |
| 11. καὶ Λαοδίκη[ς τῆς πρεσβυτέρας] | 25 l. |
| 12. τῆς μητρὸς [τῆς Σελεύκου καὶ] | 23 l. |
| 13. Λαοδίκης τ[ῆς νεωτέρας τῆς] | 22 l. |
| 14. [θυγατρὸς] [τῆς Σελεύκου . . .] | |

8 RUE SAINTE-CÉCILE,
PARIS.

XV.

GYMNASISCHE UND ANDERE AGONE IN TERMESSUS PISIDIÆ

von R. HEBERDEY

Zu den ergiebigsten epigraphischen Fundstätten des südlichen Kleinasien zählen die in der romantischen Bergeinsamkeit des Güllük-Dagh gelegenen Ruinen von Termessus maior. Die durch E. Petersen (bei Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II, S. 196-223) und G. Cousin (*B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, pp. 165-192, 280-303), auf etwa 300 gebrachte Zahl der Inschriften gelang es mir im Verein mit A. Gaheis und W. Wilberg in zweimaliger mehrwöchentlicher Arbeit der Sommer 1899 und 1902 nahezu auf das Dreifache zu bringen; seither sind mir, mit der Herausgabe für die *T.A.M.* beschäftigt, Nachträge nur von R. Paribeni und P. Romanelli ("Studi e ricerche archeologiche nell' Anatolia meridionale," *Mon. Linc.*, XXIII, 1915, pp. 230-234) bekannt geworden. Wenn nun auch der Grossteil den Grabdenkmälern entstammt, die in fast unabsehbarer Fülle Täler und Hügel um die Stadt einnehmen, so zähle ich doch etwas über 200 Texte nicht sepulkraler Art, die von Leben und Einrichtungen der Bewohner im II. und III. Jhdt n. Chr. ein eindrucksvolles Bild zu entwerfen gestatten. Besonders zahlreich sind die agonistischen Inschriften vertreten; zusammenzustellen, was sie über die Pflege dieses Bildungszweiges in einer vom grossen Strome seitab gelegenen Provinzstadt lehren, möge nicht unwert erscheinen, dem Altmeister kleinasiatischer Forschung als Festgabe dargebracht zu werden.

Rein formell betrachtet zerfallen sie in zwei Gruppen, Siegerlisten und Ehreninschriften für Einzelne, eine Scheidung, die auch in der Art der Kundmachung zum Ausdrucke kommt.

(195)

Die Listen, in geringerer Zahl und meist sehr unvollständig erhalten, scheinen durchgängig auf den Wänden öffentlicher Bauten eingegraben worden zu sein. Wenigstens stammen von Gebäuden alle auf uns gekommenen Reste. So stand die besterhaltene, Lanck., n. 60-67, zu deren Praeskript ich Lanck., n. 72**, ziehe, auf dem Odeion, mindestens sechs, Lanck., n. 25-28, 44, und die Liste des in Lanck., n. 34 erwähnten 'Ερμαῖος Ὀπλωνος, deren neu gefundenes Praeskript der Schrift nach zu keiner der vorigen passt, auf der Südwand, Lanck., n. 29 auf der Westwand, Lanck., n. 30 und eine unedirte auf der Innenmauer der Attalos-Stoa, Lanck., n. 12 (dazu n. 51) und n. 47 auf der Osbaras-Halle, Lanck., n. 54 auf der Halle L₃, die Petersen (Lanck., II, S. 41) wohl richtig als Teil des Gymnasiums J auffasst; unbekannt bleibt nur der Bau, von dem das von Petersen mit Unrecht zur Odeionliste gezogene Fragment Lanck., n. 72*, an das *Mon. Linc.*, p. 231a links anpasst, verschleppt worden ist.

Dagegen sind von den 58 Ehreninschriften nur zwei auf Mauerquadern der Attalos-Stoa (Lanck., n. 31) und der Hallenstrasse L₅ (uned.), alle übrigen auf Statuenbasen eingegraben. Als Aufstellungsort überragt dabei die letztere alle anderen an Beliebtheit, indem nicht weniger als 43 (dazu ist vielleicht noch Cousin, n. 15 zu ziehen, von der kein Standplatz angegeben ist) von ihr stammen; dieser Zahl gegenüber spielen der Bezirk des Zeus Solymeus, das Gymnasium J und der Bau unbekannter Bestimmung P₃ mit je drei, das Gymnasium H, die Terrasse vor dem Tempel N₃ und der Platz am Stadttor B, an dem nach einem Vermerk auf der Basis, den Petersen nicht korrekt abgeschrieben hat, die νέα Λέσχη zu suchen ist, mit je einer Weihung keine nennenswerte Rolle.

Ob dieser Scheidung sachliche Momente, etwa verschieden hohe Einschätzung der Spiele, zu Grunde liegen, lässt sich nicht erkennen; bemerkenswert ist jedenfalls, dass kein Name der ersten Gruppe in der zweiten wiederkehrt. Vielleicht stellen indes die Listen nur die ältere, einfachere Form der Ehrung dar, die später durch die anspruchsvollere Statuenweihung abgelöst wurde; in Einklang damit stünde, dass sie im Ganzen nach Namen und Schriftcharakter einen etwas älteren Eindruck machen.

Die Statuen waren, soweit die Dimensionen der Standflächen oder Fusspuren ein Urteil gestatten, etwa lebensgross; nur für drei Fälle steht durch letztere Bronze als Material fest, die meisten waren aus Stein, vermutlich Marmor gearbeitet.

Was nun die Spiele anlangt, die zu diesen Inschriften Anlass boten, so zeigen deren Praeskripte zunächst, dass auch in Termessus, wie anderwärts (vgl. E. Ziebarth, *Aus d. griech. Schulwesen*, S. 114-121) Schulagone neben den öffentlichen standen.

Als Spielleiter erscheint in diesen ein Paedonom oder Ephebarch. Da seine Tätigkeit mit *ἀγῶνας ἄγειν* oder *ἀγωνοθετεῖν τὰ ἄθλα* bezeichnet wird, ohne dass seiner oder eines Anderen *φιλοτιμία* gedacht würde, darf man wohl annehmen, dass die Kosten aus öffentlichen Mitteln bestritten wurden.

Die Wettkämpfe fanden—wenigstens für die Knaben steht dies durch die ständige Formel *νικήσας τοὺς καθ' ἡλικίαν* fest, von Ephebenagonen ist nur das Praeskript einer Liste erhalten, das hiefür nichts ausgibt—nach Altersklassen statt. Als eine allerdings ungewöhnliche Parallele zu *καθ' ἡλικίαν* scheint mir auch der Ausdruck *παίδων ἐξ ἀγέλης* zu verstehen, den nachstehende Einzelinschrift bietet, die einzige ihrer Gattung, die ich in diese Klasse einbeziehen möchte, zumal sie auch bezeichnender Weise nicht auf einer Statuenbasis sondern auf der s. ö. Schmalwand der Hallenstrasse aufgeschrieben ist:

Διότειμος δις Τροκό[νδου
τοῦ καὶ Κορκαίνου νεικήσ[ας πάλῃ (?)
παίδων ἐξ ἀγέλης ἀγώ[νων τῶν
ἀχθέντων ὑπὸ Στράβω[νος Ἀπολ-
5. λωνίου, πρ. Ἑρμαίου Τειμ[- - -

Ἀγέλαι hiessen nach Plut., *Lyk.* 16, die Abteilungen, in welche die Knaben von Sparta und Kreta während der öffentlichen Erziehung eingereiht waren; *νικήσας παίδων ἐξ ἀγέλης* käme also sachlich dem *νικήσας τοὺς καθ' ἡλικίαν* gleich. Beziehungen zu Sparta sind nun zwar nicht für Termessus selbst, wohl aber für die nördlichen Nachbarlandschaften durch die Reliefs mit Helena und den Dioskuren aus der Karalitis (*Reisen im s. w. Kleinasien*, II, S. 168 ff.) und die genealogische Inschrift von Oinoanda (Heberdey-Kalinka, *Abh. d. Akad.*

Wien, XLV, 1896, S. 43, Z. 1 ff; vgl. A. Wilhelm, *Arch.-epigr. Mitt.*, XX, 1897, S. 77 ff.) sattsam bezeugt; die Herübernahme der Bezeichnung kann also nicht befremden.

Nur gymnische Spiele sind belegt: *δίαιλος* (Lanck., n. 30), *πάλη* (ausser obiger, wo die Ergänzung Z. 2 nach den Raumverhältnissen die wahrscheinlichste ist, Lanck., n. 25), *πανκράτιον* (Lanck., n. 26, 27, 29), *ἄλμα* (Lanck., n. 28), *λαμπάς* (uned.); ob und welche musische Wettkämpfe abgehalten wurden, muss dahin gestellt bleiben.

Als Siegespreise sind durch Lanck., n. 30, Z. 22 ff. und n. 44 *ἄθλα* belegt, die wenigstens in ersterem Falle nachweislich von den Siegern gemeinsam öffentlich aufgestellt wurden; worin sie bestanden, ist nicht ersichtlich.

Für die in den Inschriften weit stärker vertretene zweite Klasse der öffentlichen Agone wurden die Kosten durchwegs von Privaten aufgebracht. Dies erhellt daraus, dass stets der Name des Spenders beigefügt wird, der auch, und zwar meist allein, zu ihrer Kennzeichnung dient; nur zwei führen daneben noch einen, engere Beziehung zu bestimmten Kulturen andeutenden Sondernamen, *θέμις* (*ἀγών*) *Ἀσκληπεῖος* (Nr. 11 des nachfolgenden Verzeichnisses) und *ἀγῶνες Σεβάσταιοι Σολύμειοι* (Nr. 7), die dann auch ständig beigesetzt werden.

Im Ganzen sind 20 Stiftungen bekannt, die ich unter Beifügung der Iterationsziffern und Spielgattungen nach den Namen der Stifter alphabetisch geordnet zusammenstelle.

Nr. 1. Τι. Κλ. *Ἀγρίππας* (6 Inschriften): A, B; *πάλη*, *λαμπάς*, *ἵππος τέλειος*.

Nr. 2. Τ. Αἰλ. *Ἀγριππεῖνος* (12): A'; *πάλη*.

Nr. 3. Αὐρ. *Χαριδημιανὸς* *Ἀπολλώνιος* und seine Gattin Αὐρ. *Ἀντιοχίς* (1): A; ?.

Nr. 4. *Ἀπολλώνιος Σιμωνίδου* (1): —; *πάλη*.

Nr. 5. Αὐρ. Γῆ *᾽Οτάνου ἐπὶ Μειδία* (*τῷ καὶ Περικλεῖ τῷ γενομένῳ νύῳ*) (2): E, IB; *πάλη*.

Nr. 6. *Ἐρμαῖος Ἐρμολάου* (1): —; *πάλη*.

Nr. 7. *Ἐρμαῖος Ἐρμολάου Ἐρμαίου Θόαντος* (2): —; *πάλη*.

Nr. 8. Μ. Αὐρ. *Ἐρμαῖος* Π. Αἰλ. *Πλάτωνος ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ* Μ. Αὐρ. *Ἐρμαίου τοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρου* (5): A, B, Δ; *πάλη*.

- Nr. 9. Λάλλη Μελησάνδρου ἐπὶ Τειμοκράτει τῷ ἀνδρί (1):
A; πανκράτιον.
- Nr. 10. Μολῆς β' Ἑρμαίου Μολέους Ὀπλέους ὑπὲρ Ἑρμαίου
τοῦ υἱοῦ (2): Γ, Ζ; πάλη.
- Nr. 11. Ὀδώλλος Μολέους Ὀδώλλου ὑπὲρ Μολέους τοῦ
υἱοῦ (5): Γ, Δ, ΙΑ; πάλη, χορὸς παιᾶνος.
- Nr. 12. Ὀπλῆς Ὀβριμότου (Ὀτάνειτος) πρεσβύτερος (2):
A; πάλη.
- Nr. 13. Περικλῆς Ὀβριμότου Ἑρμαίου Παδαμούριος und
seine Gattin Μάμαστις Μαμωτάσιος β' Μοτα-
σούργιος (1): Γ; πάλη.
- Nr. 14. Περικλῆς Πλάτωνος Μειδίου (3): —; πάλη.
- Nr. 15. Τιβ. Κλ. Πλάτων ὁ καὶ Τιβέριος und seine Gattin
Αὔρ. Γῆ Ἑρμαίου Ὀπλέους Ἑρμαίου (1): A;
πάλη.
- Nr. 16. Σιμωνίδης Ἀπολλωνίου Σιμωνίδου (φύσει Θόαντος
Σιμωνίδου) (12): A, B, Γ, Ξ, Ζ, Η, ΙΑ, ΙΔ,
ΚΖ; πάλη.
- Nr. 17. ? (Liste): H; ?.
- Nr. 18. ? Πιλλακό(ας ?-ου?) (Liste): ?; πρωτοβόλος, ἄβο-
λος, παντιβόλος, μικρὸς δρόμος, μέγας δρόμος,
ὀπλείτης, πάλη.
- Nr. 19. ? (Liste): ?; μικρὸς δρόμος.
- Nr. 20. ? (Liste): ?; ἵππος ἄβολου.

Die Spender gehören, wie in vielen Fällen nachweisbar, in den übrigen durchaus wahrscheinlich ist, den angesehensten Familien der Stadt an, die sich auch sonst im Dienste des Gemeinwesens betätigten, eine Tatsache, die für die Wertschätzung, deren sich diese Veranstaltungen bei der Bevölkerung erfreuten, nicht ohne Bedeutung ist. Neben Männern sind auch Frauen vertreten, allein (Nr. 5, 9) oder (Nr. 3, 13, 15) in Gemeinschaft mit den Gatten. Mehrmals stiftet der Vater für den Sohn (ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ, N. 8, 10, 11), wo dann der Anlass in dem Eintritte des Letzteren in das öffentliche Leben zu erblicken sein wird. Anderen Sinn hat die Stiftung ἐπὶ τῷ υἱῷ (Nr. 5), oder ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρί (Nr. 9); zweifellos war sie dann durch den Tod des Sohnes oder Gatten veranlasst, wenngleich γενομένῳ nur einmal (Lanck., n. 97 = Nr. 5) beigesetzt ist. Zweimal

(Nr. 3 und Nr. 15) scheint sie anlässlich der Bekleidung der Gymnasiarchie erfolgt zu sein, da sonst der Ämter der Stifter niemals gedacht wird.

Stiftung durch Testament ist wiederholt ausdrücklich bezeugt: Nr. 1: ἐκ τοῦ καταλειφθέντος χωρίου, Nr. 2: ἐκ τῶν καταλειμμένων (καταλειφθέντων) χρημάτων, Nr. 8: θέμιν καταλειφθεῖσαν (ἀγῶνος τοῦ καταλειφθέντος), Nr. 11: ἀγῶνα τὸν καταλειφθέντα. Aber auch wo solcher Zusatz fehlt, ist testamentarische Einsetzung nicht ausgeschlossen. Unzweideutig ist nur das bei Nr. 7 auftretende ἐκ τῶν δεδομένων ἀργυρίων; dass dagegen die Formel ἐκ φιλοτεμίας keinen sicheren Schluss auf Stiftung bei Lebzeiten gestattet, erhellt daraus, dass sie einerseits gelegentlich zu jenen Wendungen hinzutritt (Lanck., n. 137 = Nr. 12; zwei unedirte Texte von Nr. 1), andererseits mit ihnen wechselt, auch dort, wo Identität der Feier durch Gleichheit des Agonotheten (Nr. 2, Lanck., n. 118 — Cousin, n. 5) oder des Jahreseponymen (Nr. 11, Lanck., n. 80 — n. 117; Cousin, n. 8 — uned.) vollkommen sichergestellt ist. Besonders nahe liegt Zurückführung auf ein Testament bei Nr. 16, wo die Iterationsziffern bis zu der stattlichen Höhe von KZ' (Lanck., n. 95) ansteigen. Daneben bleibt natürlich auch die Möglichkeit zu erwägen, dass ein zu Lebzeiten eingesetzter Agon nachträglich durch Testament über den Tod des Stifters hinaus gesichert wurde; bestimmte Belege hiefür lassen sich allerdings nicht beibringen.

Überhaupt weisen die Iterationsziffern, die bei den meisten Stiftungen, wenn auch nicht konsequent beigelegt werden, darauf hin, dass die Spiele in der Regel als wiederkehrende eingesetzt wurden. Bloss einmalige Abhaltung bildete jedenfalls die Ausnahme; am ehesten ist sie glaublich bei Nr. 7, wo sich hieraus die bereits erwähnte singuläre Formel ἐκ τῶν δεδομένων ἀργυρίων statt ἐκ φιλοτεμίας erklären könnte, möglich noch bei Nr. 4, 6, 18–20, ausgeschlossen dagegen trotz Fehlens der Iterationsziffern bei Nr. 14 durch die Verschiedenheit der Eponymen.

Es wäre interessant und bei der beträchtlichen Zahl der Inschriften, welche den Jahreseponymen nennen, auch chronologisch von Wert, wenn sich ermitteln liesse, ob diese Wiederholungen in gleichen Zeitabständen stattfanden und wie gross diese waren. Leider fehlen unmittelbare Angaben hierüber;

Kombinationen, durch die ich versucht habe, dem Problem beizukommen, sind zu weitläufig, haben auch noch zu keinem einwandfreien Ergebnisse geführt, so dass ich auf ihre Darlegung an dieser Stelle verzichte. Nur soviel sei gesagt, dass zum Mindesten bei den durch Testament eingesetzten Agonen Periodicität von vornherein als wahrscheinlich gelten darf.

Angaben über den Leiter der Spiele sind verhältnismässig selten, entbehren auch einer festen Terminologie. Am öftesten ist ἀγωνοθετεῖν vertreten (Lanck., n. 118, 136, und drei unedirte), wozu sich προστάντος τῆς ἀγωνοθεσίας (Cousin, n. 5) stellt; daneben kommen je einmal vor ἐπιμελητοῦ (Cousin, n. 15), ἐπιμελησαμένου τοῦ ἀγῶνος (Lanck., n. 139), προκαθεζομένων (Lanck., n. 122), endlich διακοσμοῦντων, wenn ich Lanck., n. 12 mit Heranziehung des neu gefundenen Anfanges, der die Auffassung als Liste sichert, und des Fragmentes Lanck., n. 51* richtig folgendermassen ergänze:

Οἷδε τὸν [ἀγῶνα ἐνείκησαν τὸν ἀ]χθέν[τα τὸ] ἡ' [ἐκ φιλο-
τειμίας τοῦ δεῖνα δ]ιακοσ[μούντων τοῦ δεῖνα `κα]ὶ Ὀβρι[μό]του
τῶν M[- - -

Aber auch das einfache ἀγῶνος ἀχθέντος ὑπό neben ἐκ φιλο-
τειμίας (Lanck., n. 132, 140; Cousin, n. 1, 2, 9, sämtliche aus den ersten drei Feiern von Nr. 16) kann kaum anders verstanden werden, desgleichen der Genitiv allein in Lanck., n. 80 und einer unedirten Inschrift desselben Agones Nr. 11.

Jedenfalls war nicht ein bestimmter Beamter mit dieser Aufgabe betraut; dies erhellt schon daraus, dass gelegentlich (Lanck., n. 12, 122, 136) sich auch Mehrere ihr unterzogen. Wenn die Einzelinschriften gerne am Schlusse den Probulen nennen, dankt er dies nur seiner Eigenschaft als Jahreseponym; daher wird seiner häufig auch neben dem Spielleiter gedacht und in dem einen Falle, wo er wirklich mit einem Zweiten zusammen den Vorsitz führte (Lanck., n. 122), dies ausdrücklich hervorgehoben. Spiele, die zu Lebzeiten des Stifters stattfanden, wird dieser in der Regel selbst geleitet haben. Sonst ist dies für den Sohn, allein (Lanck., n. 132, 140; Cousin, n. 1, 2, 9) oder mit Anderen (οἱ περί, Lanck., n. 136), einmal auch für den Neffen (uned., Nr. 8) bezeugt; in den übrigen Fällen ist nähere Beziehung des Spielleiters zum Stifter danach wohl wahrscheinlich, aber nicht nachweisbar.

Unter den Preiswerbern kennen die erhaltenen Inschriften nur die zwei Altersklassen der *παῖδες* und *ἄνδρες*. Da sie diese Angabe nur da weglassen, wo sie nach der Art des Agones (*λαμπάς*, Lanck., n. 31, 103; *ἵππος τέλειος*, Lanck., n. 76^a) sich von selbst erübrigt, dürfte bei der grossen Zahl der Beispiele das Fehlen von Belegen für *ἐφηβοί* (*ἀγένοιοι*) nicht auf Zufall zurückzuführen, sondern dahin zu deuten sein, dass besondere Wettbewerbe für diese nicht üblich waren. Bestätigung findet diese Annahme in dem vereinzelt Vorkommnisse, dass M. Aur. Platonianus Varus bei derselben Feier (dies ist durch Identität der Iterationsziffer und des Probulen gesichert) als Sieger im Ringkampfe sowohl der Knaben (Lanck., n. 135) als der Männer (Lanck., n. 138) hervorgieng; dies ist nur unter der Voraussetzung denkbar, dass er damals gerade an der Altersgrenze stand und so sich für beide Kategorien melden konnte, schliesst aber natürlich aus, dass zwischen diesen beiden Altersklassen eine mittlere anerkannt gewesen wäre.

Über das Programm der Spiele geben die Einzelinschriften trotz ihrer grossen Zahl unerwartet wenig Auskunft. Es ist nämlich bemerkenswert und für die Einschätzung der verschiedenen Übungen seitens der grossen Menge ungemein bezeichnend, dass den 53 Weihungen für gymnische Siege nur 2 (wenn ein neugefundenes Fragment, das nur den Schluss der Inschrift enthält, aber nach Fundort und Gestalt sich gleichartig neben Lanck., n. 80 stellt, mitgezählt werden darf, 3) für musische und eine für einen hippischen Sieg zur Seite stehen, und unter jenen wieder die Ringersiege mit 50 Statuen alle übrigen Kampfarten völlig in den Schatten stellen. Augenscheinlich war das allgemeine Interesse vornehmlich dem Ringersport zugewendet, so dass man auf den Gedanken kommen könnte, dass viele, wenn nicht die Mehrzahl der Stiftungen ihm allein gegolten hätten, zumal für die meisten ausschliesslich Zeugnisse für Ringersiege vorliegen. Indes mahnt zur Vorsicht doch wieder, dass die musischen und hippischen Siege nicht etwa für sich allein stehen, sondern durchwegs aus Stiftungen bezeugt sind, von denen wir auch Ringersiege kennen. So wird man besser tun, die in den Listen Nr. 17-20 zu Tage tretende Reichhaltigkeit des Programmes, selbstverständlich mit mannigfachem Wechsel in Einzelnen, als durchgehend

anzusehen. Denn dass es sich bei diesen nicht etwa wie bei den übrigen Listen um Schulagone handelt, folgt für Nr. 18 und 19 (Nr. 20 lässt bei der kläglichen Erhaltung allerdings kein bestimmtes Urteil zu und wird nur der formellen Ähnlichkeit mit Nr. 18 halber hier eingereiht) einfach daraus, dass sie auch hippische Siege umfassen, die mit dem Schulbetriebe nichts zu tun haben.

Aber auch so sind von gymnischen Kampfarten ausser der *πάλη* nur das *πανκράτιον* (Lanck., n. 122) und die verschiedenen Läufe, *μικρὸς δρόμος* (Lanck., n. 63, 72*), *μέγας δρόμος* (Lanck., n. 64, 66), *ὀπλείτης* (Lanck., n. 65), und *λαμπάς* (Lanck., n. 31, 103) nachweisbar; wie weit das Fehlen der übrigen dem Zufall zuzuschreiben ist oder darauf zurückgeht, dass sie ausser Übung gekommen waren, muss dahin gestellt bleiben. Den *μικρὸς δρόμος* wird man wohl dem *στάδιον*, den *μέγας* dem *δόλιχος* gleichstellen und die Vermeidung der ersteren Bezeichnung daraus erklären dürfen, dass die zu durchlaufende Wegstrecke nicht einem Stadion gleichkam. Schwierigkeiten bereitet, dass Nr. 18 für den *μέγας δρόμος* (die Parallele beim *μικρὸς δρόμος*, die Petersen annimmt, entfällt, da Lanck., n. 72*, nicht zur Odeionliste gehört; s.o.) zwei Sieger nennt. Petersen setzt in die zerstörte erste Zeile von n. 66 den Namen des Siegers von n. 64 ein und glaubt, dass die Sieger im Laufe zweimal aufgeführt worden seien, ohne freilich einen Grund für dieses ganz ungewöhnliche und kaum verständliche Vorgehen beizubringen; die Vermutung wird indes dadurch hinfällig, dass der von ihm übersehene Anfangsbuchstabe des Namens zwar Σ, aber so weit nach links ausgerückt ist, dass die Ergänzung Σ[άτας Ὀπλέους viel zu kurz wird. Die Erklärung wird kaum in der Scheidung nach Altersklassen, auch nicht in der Annahme erster und zweiter Preise zu suchen sein; Beides wäre sicherlich durch Zusatz ersichtlich gemacht worden. Bedeutsam scheint mir, dass in Lanck., n. 31 auch für den Fackellauf zwei Sieger aufgeführt und sogar zusammen geehrt werden; danach möchte ich annehmen, dass bei besonders grosser Bewerberzahl gelegentlich zwei Gruppen gebildet und für diese Parallelpreise ausgesetzt wurden.

Als hippische Agone finden wir nur Rennen einzelner Pferde. Die Deutung von *ἀβόλω* (Lanck., n. 47 = Nr. 20; n. 61 = Nr.

18), πρωτοβόλω (Lanck., n. 60 = Nr. 18) und παντιβόλω (so, nicht παντὶ πώλω, wie Petersen las, steht auf dem Steine Lanck., n. 62 = Nr. 18, wodurch die Terminologie erst einheitlich wird) als Altersklassen nach dem Stande des Zahnwechsels hat schon Petersen zu Lanck., n. 72* aus Geopon., 16, 1, 13 gegeben; zwischen ἄβολος = πῶλος und παντιβόλος = ἵππος τέλειος (so Lanck., n. 76^a = Nr. 1) tritt der zweieinhalbjährige πρωτοβόλος.

Aus dem musischen Bereiche ist zuverlässig nur ein Agon χορῶ παιᾶνος παί(δων) λ' belegt durch Lanck., n. 80, deren berichtigte Lesung durch einen unedirten Text ergänzt wird. Er scheint einen ständigen Programmpunkt von Nr. 11 gebildet zu haben, von deren 3. und 11. Feier die beiden Basen stammen. Beide Statuen waren im Temenos des Zeus Solymeus aufgestellt, wie ihr Fundort und der Zusatz: Ἀνεστάθη δὲ ἐπὶ ἱερέως Διὸς Σολυμέως am Schlusse von Lanck., n. 80 verbürgen. Daraus wird man trotz des Beinamens Ἀσκληπείος, den der Agon ständig, auch bei den gymnischen Siegern führt, zu schliessen haben, dass der Paeon eben dem Zeus Solymeus gegolten habe.

Ein Zufall hat uns, wie jetzt durch das von Gaheis aufgefundene Oberteil von Lanck., n. 80 feststeht, die Siegerinschriften von Vater Ἑρμαῖος Μολέους Κενδέου Ματυριανοῦ (Lanck., n. 80) und Sohn Αὔρ. Κόνων Ἑρμαίου Μολέους Κενδέου Ματυριανοῦ (uned.) und dazu noch den Sarkophag des ersteren mit einem längeren Epigramme erhalten, von dem ich unter Weglassung der hoffnungslos zerstörten Mittelpartie Anfang und Schluss hersetze:

Τὸν λιγυρὸν Μουσῶν τε φίλον σορὸ[s] ἧδ' ἐνὶ κεύθει
Ἑρμαῖον, ὅς ῥα Μολῆτος υἱὸς πέλε | Κενδέοιο ·
τὴν θήκην δ' ἔτευξα κοινὴν τεὸς ὦν Φίλιος παῖς,

5. drei fast ganz zerstörte Verse

ξύν [τ]ε ἐμοὶ Φιλίῳ καὶ υἱεῖ μούνῳ Θόαντι.
Μούνους ἡμέας ἧδε σορὸς δέξι|τε θανόντας,
οὐδενὶ δ' ἐξέσται μερόπων τινὰ τῇδ' ἐνὶ | θήκῃ

10. ἄλλον ἐπενθάψαι βροτέων κατατεθνηῶτα |
οὐδὲ παραστήσαι | σορὸν σορῶ τῇ|δέ τινα ἄλλον · |
ἦν δέ τις εὐτολ[μο]s μερόπων παρὰ ταῦ|τά τι πράξῃ,
δῶ|σει πρόστειμον | δραχμῶν φύσκῳ | [δι?]τάλαντον.

Die Lücke in v. 4-6 erlaubt leider nicht, die naheliegende Vermutung, dass gerade Aur. Konon das Grabgedicht für seinen Vater verfasst habe, zur Gewissheit zu erheben. Sollte sie zutreffen, so würde das klägliche Gestammel dieses Machwerkes mit der verwilderten Prosodie und dem armseligen Aufputz homerischer Floskeln von seiner preisgekrönten Leistung kein sonderlich günstiges Vorurteil erwecken. Keinesfalls steht es über dem Niveau anderer Produkte termessischer Gelegenheitsdichtung, für die es genügt auf Lanck., n. 105, 161, 173 und die Weihinschrift des kolossalen Marmorfusses, Lanck., n. 179 (vgl. ebda S. 77) zu verweisen, die noch eine Betrachtung erfordert.

Der Dedikant dieses eigenartigen Anathemes spricht nämlich Z. 2-3 von *ἱεροὶ ἀγῶνες*, in denen er sich Ruhm erworben habe. Petersen zweifelt, ob Agone der Dargestellten oder der Darsteller gemeint seien. Die Frage erledigt sich dadurch, dass nach dem Zeugnisse des Abklatsches zu Beginn von Z. 2 statt Petersen's *ζωγ]λυφίης* zu lesen ist *ζωγ]ραφίης*; so ergibt sich auch eine klare Gedankenfolge: *ζωγραφίης κῦδος μὲν ἔχων . . . καὶ πλαστῇ δὲ τέχνῃ ὑπερβαλόμην . . . χαλκῷ συνκεράσας . . . λιθογλυφίῃσιν*. Dann aber ist der Weihende—der Name *Θεόπομπος* steht deutlich auf dem Steine—sicherlich identisch mit dem M. *Αὐρ. Θεόπομπος*, von dessen Grabschrift Lanck., n. 154 die erste, n. 154* die zweite Hälfte bildet (Petersen hat sie in irriger Deutung seiner Notizen zwei Sarkophagen zugeschrieben und zu Anfang von n. 154* gegen den Stein *οὐδενὶ* eingefügt); da dieser sich als *ζωγράφος ἱερoneίκης* bezeichnet, kann über die Deutung von *ἱεροῖς ἐν ἀγῶσιν* in n. 179 kein Zweifel sein. Ob freilich diese Künstleragone in Termessus oder anderwärts abgehalten wurden, steht dahin.

Ebenso bleibt fraglich, wo und durch welche Leistungen der Ringersieger von Lanck., n. 96 sich den Titel *ἱερoneίκης παράδοξος* erwarb.

Als Siegeslohn bei allen diesen öffentlichen Agonen sind, obwohl unmittelbare Zeugnisse mangeln, sicherlich Wertpreise anzunehmen, weil in der weitaus überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Inschriften die einzelne Feier den Namen *θέμις* führt. Dass nicht etwa durch den allgemeineren, *ἀγών* (*ἀγῶνες*), für den ein Dutzend Beispiele vorliegen, *στεφανῖται* von den *χρηματῖται*

geschieden werden sollten, erhellt daraus, dass mehrmals beide Termini von derselben Stiftung (Nr. 1, 5, 8, 11) gebraucht werden; aus demselben Grunde kann auch das fünffmal, Lanck., n. 46 (Nr. 8), Lanck., n. 120 (Nr. 3), Lanck., n. 139 (Nr. 5), Cousin, n. 9 (Nr. 16), uned. (Nr. 15), für das sonst durchgehende *νεικήσας* eintretende *στεφθεὶς ἀγῶνα* nur als völlig abgeblasste, rein stilistische Variante gewertet werden. In der Regel wird der Preis in Barem ausbezahlt worden sein; nur bei den Siegen mit dem Knabenchor legt der charakteristische Dreiecksgrundriss der beiden sicheren Basen und des Unterteiles einer dritten, die oben vermutungsweise ihnen beigelegt wurde, (vgl. Lanck., II, S. 41 f.; irrig bezeichnet Petersen Lanck., n. 80 als vierseitig) den schon von Petersen aufgeworfenen Gedanken an Dreifüsse nahe, die dann nach bekanntem Brauch der Sieger dem Gotte geweiht hätte, in dessen Dienste er den Sieg errungen hatte.

Ganz auf Vermutungen angewiesen sind wir hinsichtlich des Schauplatzes der Wettkämpfe. Für die gymnischen standen die zwei Gymnasien, J auf dem Markte (Lanck., II, S. 41 f.) und H in der Unterstadt (ebda, S. 60 f., 103 ff.), zur Verfügung; dagegen fehlt jede Spur eines Stadiums, so dass man annehmen muss, dass auch die Wettläufe in den Gymnasien stattfanden, womit weiter der oben vermutete Ersatz von *νεικήσας στάδιον* durch *μικρὸν δρόμον* zusammenzubringen sein wird. Den Paean werden die Knaben gewiss im Heiligtum des Zeus Solymeus gesungen haben; für sonstige musikalische Wettbewerbe wird man an Theater oder Odeion denken. Schwer abzusehen ist, wo bei dem bergigen Terrain und den steilen Zugängen zu der Stadt in ihr oder auch nur in der näheren Umgebung Pferderennen hätten abgehalten werden können. Ebene, wie sie erfordern, bot sich erst in den tief unten am Bergfusse sich hinziehenden Terrassen der pamphyliischen Landschaft (vgl. die anschauliche und zutreffende Schilderung bei Lanck., I, S. 2 f.), von der ja nach Ausweis der Inschriften Teile des äussersten Westens noch zum Machtbereiche der Stadt gehört haben; lassen sich auch Spuren einer Rennbahn bis heute dort nicht aufzeigen, so können sie doch, in dem üppig wuchernden Gestrüpp abseits der wenigen modernen Strassenzüge verborgen, sich leicht den Augen der Forscher entzogen haben.

XVI.

SOME COINS OF SOUTHERN ASIA MINOR

by G. F. HILL

(See Pls. IX and X.)

THE coins described in the following notes are selected from specimens in the British Museum acquired (with the exception of the first) later than the publication of the catalogues of the districts concerned. They are for the most part unpublished, and all, I hope, may be of some interest in connexion with the occasion celebrated by the present volume.

Maussollus and Artemisia in Cos

1. *Obv.* Head of Heracles l., with short beard and thin long moustache, wearing lion's scalp.

Rev. ΚΩΙΟΝ above, ΠΡΑΞΙΑΝΑΞ below. Crab; below, club. The whole in dotted square. Traces of incuse square.

Silver, 25 mm. Wt. 14.30 gr. Head, B.M.C., *Caria*, etc., p. 195. Pl. IX, 1.

Another coin, with an obverse of similar character, but with the magistrate's name ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟΣ, is illustrated by Head on Pl. XXX, No. 7, of the same catalogue. Less marked, but certainly related to these two, is the head on a coin of ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ.¹

I do not think that attention has ever been called to the resemblance which the features of Heracles on these coins bear to those of Maussollus, as represented in the statue from the

¹ Hirsch, *Salé Catal.*, XXVI, 545 = XXXI, 471, Taf. XIII; *Amer. Journ. of Num.*, 48, Pl. IX, 28.

Maussolleum (Pl. X). The head is quite different from that which appears on other coins of the period ; the silky Oriental moustache, the treatment of the eye, the slight tinge of melancholy, all combine to recall the likeness of the satrap. The coins fall into a group which is assigned by Head to the period 366-300 B.C. Now, from the outbreak of the Social War in 357 until his death in 353, Maussollus controlled the fortunes of Cos, either as its dominant ally or, from 355 onwards, as its actual ruler. The Coan mint would therefore have had every reason for issuing coins with his portrait, had that been the fashion at the time. But, as is well known, portraits do not appear on coins of purely Hellenic cities in an open form until after the time of Alexander the Great.¹ When they do begin to appear it is in a more or less divinized form. These coins of Cos seem to afford the earliest recognizable instances of the portrait of a ruler disguised as a god.

Cos remained in the hands of the Carian ruling family as late as 346 B.C., perhaps even later, for it is not until 339 B.C. that we have certain evidence that the island was once more under democratic rule.² After the death of Maussollus, therefore, Artemisia, and after her death in 351, Hidrieus, might have enjoyed at the Coan mint honours similar to that bestowed on Maussollus. When, therefore, we find on the tetradrachms, didrachms, drachms and copper coins assigned to the period in question, a female head, obviously a portrait, with a veil at the back of the head, we can ill resist the inclination to accept the suggestion made by J. P. Six, some thirty years ago,³ that Artemisia is represented. Svoronos, it is true, has raised various objections to this identification.⁴ For him the head represents Berenice. He argues that the coins are later than the time of Maussollus ; that they range over a period of half a century ; that the rule of the dynasty was not so much beloved that the head of Artemisia would be perpetuated on the coins after her

¹ There are various examples from coins of semi-Oriental or wholly Oriental peoples. The apparent exceptions to the Greek rule, the portraits on electrum staters of Cyzicus of about 400 B.C., are explained by the fact that these are not city types, but symbols varying with the issues of an international or trade coinage.

² Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, p. xxix.

³ Quoted by H. Weber, *Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 206.

⁴ *Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, I, p. πδ'.

death ; finally, that the time of Maussollus is too early for the portrait of a mortal ruler. The last objection goes by the board as soon as we recognize that the lady is represented in the guise of a goddess (the head has been called Demeter). The range in time of the coins in question certainly seems to be rather wide, and this is the strongest argument against the identification. But it melts away when we realize that the coins with this veiled head fall into two groups. The earlier,¹ including the tetradrachms and most of the drachms, show the hair in short curls over the forehead, and the veil drawn in at the neck and tied on the breast. (Pl. IX, 2.) The later² show straight hair over the forehead and the veil falling straight, giving a stiff and curiously Egyptian look to the portrait. (Pl. IX, 3.) I have no objection to recognizing in these latter coins the portrait of Berenice. But that the tetradrachms should have been struck as late as the period of Ptolemaic rule³ seems to me in the highest degree unlikely. I am glad to have the support of other numismatists⁴ in my conviction that the tetradrachms at least date from quite early in the second half of the fourth century. Quite apart from the style, the very distinct traces of the incuse square on the reverse point to a comparatively early date.

Unfortunately, the head of the lady who stood beside Maussollus in his chariot is so badly mutilated that any comparison of her features with those of the head on the coins is out of the question. Her hair is done over the forehead in tight little curls, whereas on the coins the hair, though short and curly, is not artificially arranged. The difference is not adverse to the identification, since, assuming that on the coins the lady is disguised as a goddess, we cannot expect to find a passing fashion of hair-dressing represented.

Hydisus

2. *Obv.* AVTKMANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC Bust of Gordian III r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1892, Pl. XVI, 16 ; B.M.C., *Caria*, Pl. XXX, 11, 12.

² B.M.C., *Caria*, Pl. XXX, 10.

³ It is unlikely that the portrait of Berenice should have been placed on Coan coins before 309 B.C., when she wintered in Cos and Philadelphus was born.

⁴ Mr. E. T. Newell and Mr. Robinson.

Rev. Within a wreath, inscription ΜΑΥΕ|ΡΜΩΝΑ|ΕΚΜ
ΗΤΡ|ΟΦΑΝΗC|ΤΕΦΑΝΗΦ|ΟΡΟΙΥΔΙC|CΕΩΝ

Bronze, 20 mm. Purchased 1907. Evidently the very piece described by Imhoof-Blumer, "Zur griech. u. röm. Münzkunde," in *Rev. Suisse*, XIV, p. 232, where the ethnic is misread ΚΑΙCΑΡΕΩΝ.

The history of Hydisus or Hydissus in Caria is very fragmentary. It is mentioned in the Athenian quota lists for 449 and 447 B.C., as paying 100 talents (for there can be little doubt that the letters Υ in the former and ΥΔΙ in the latter represent this town). The texts of Ptolemy (V, 2, 20 : "Υδισσα"), Pliny (*N.H.*, V, 29, 109 : Hydissenses) and Stephanus (s.v. "Υδισσός") favour the spelling with σσ, like the coin here published ; but all the other known coins authorize the form "Υδισός", and so does the inscription from Lagina (*B.C.H.*, IX, p. 444), in which the town is mentioned.

The earlier, autonomous coins date from the 1st century B.C., and may be more or less contemporary with the inscription just mentioned, in which Hydisus is mentioned as one of the cities which recognized the inviolability of the sanctuary of Hecate at Lagina near Stratonicea. The Senatus-Consultum of which the text is given in the inscription was passed in 81 B.C. There exist also coins of Imperial date with the heads of Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Severus Alexander, and Gordian III (the last of which is described above).¹ The types are of some interest. ΖΕΥC ΑΡΕΙΟC is represented with helmet, spear and shield, or by his helmeted bearded bust. We also have a fighting goddess, usually described as Athena, and an unnamed goddess standing with her right hand raised, her left extended, more or less in the attitude of the huntress Artemis, but without her attributes. It is not impossible, though at present it cannot be proved, that if the fighting Zeus is here called Areios, Athena may be Areia, for whose worship as near as Ephesus there is evidence on coins. In what relation the Areiai (of whom below, under Isinda, No. 14) stood to Athena Areia I will not attempt

¹ On the coins see especially Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, pp. 134-135, and "Zur griech. und röm. Münzkunde," in *Rev. Suisse*, XIII, p. 90, with other references.

to discuss. Finally, there is a coin with Bellerophon on Pegasos, a type explained by reference to the legend in Stephanus, that the city took its name from Hydissus, son of Bellerophon.

On the coin of Severus Alexander the magistrate Epigonos describes himself as AP(χων): on the new coin of Gordian, M. Aur. Hermonax and Metrophanes call themselves stephanephoroi.

Ptolemy, Son of Lysimachus, Prince of Telmessus

3. *Obv.* Head of Alexander the Great r., with ram's horn, as on coins of Lysimachus.

Rev. Lion walking l., r. fore-leg raised; in exergue [T]ΕΛΕΜ-
ΗΣΣΕ[ΩΝ]; above, ΠΤ in monogram.

Bronze, 16 mm. Pl. IX, 4. *Num. Chron.*, 1912, p. 145. Purchased 1907 (from Louisides of Makri). Another specimen, acquired from Dimitri in 1862, was hitherto unidentified owing to bad preservation.

The monogram on the reverse of this insignificant-looking coin, coupled with the Lysimachean types of both obverse and reverse, leaves little doubt that it was struck by "Ptolemy, son of Lysimachus, or Ptolemaios Epigonos, who is mentioned in 240 B.C. in a decree of honour voted by the Telmessians, and who had been shortly before that date placed in the position of sovereign prince of Telmessus by the favour of Ptolemy III Euergetes."¹ There has been a good deal of discussion about the identity of the person honoured by the Telmessians. E. von Stern maintains that Ptolemy, son of Lysimachus and Arsinoe, was adopted by Philadelphus and associated in the empire, and that he was identical with the governor of Ephesus who revolted against Philadelphus and was murdered in 259. The Telmessian Ptolemy he identifies with a nephew of Ptolemy Euergetes, the son of his brother Lysimachus. Holleaux, who maintains the identification quoted at the outset, has discussed the whole question elaborately in the article cited above, and points out, among other objections to E. von Stern's view, that the very existence of a Ptolemy nephew of Euergetes is hypothetical. It

¹ Holleaux, "Ptolemaios Epigonos of Telmessus," in *J.H.S.*, 1921, pp. 183-198.

is unnecessary here to go into the details of his learned argument. Convincing as it is, yet to anyone acquainted with the nature of numismatic evidence it will, I think, seem clear that the most important count of all is hardly given its full value. It can hardly be disputed that the types used on the Telmessian coin are a manifesto of affiliation with Lysimachus, king of Thrace. The head of Alexander with the ram's horn, as represented on that king's coinage, occurs, so far as I know, only on the following other series: (a) the early imitations of his tetradrachms and drachms, made at Calchedon, evidently with the object of passing as real coins of Lysimachus;¹ (b) the later imitations of the Lysimachean money made chiefly at various Thracian cities down to the 1st century B.C., with the same commercial purpose; (c) on bronze coins with the name of Ptolemy (Soter) and his reverse type of eagle on thunderbolt;² (d) on late coins of Macedon under the Romans. This last group is too late to bear on the question. The rare bronze coins of Ptolemy Soter are thus the only exceptions to the rule that this type of the head of Alexander seems to connote an intimate connexion with King Lysimachus.³ On the association of the lion, in one form or another, with him, I need not insist.⁴ It would appear, then, that any ruler who used this particular portrait of Alexander at the time in question must have claimed close connexion either with Alexander or with King Lysimachus; and anyone who used it in association with the lion must have been understood as claiming connexion with the latter. Such a claim could not have been put forward by the hypothetical nephew of Euergetes.

Aspendus

4. *Obv.* AVTKAIΠOΛΓAΛΛIHNOCC (HN ligatured). Bust of Gallienus r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; in front, mark of value, I

¹ *Recueil général*, I, Pl. XLVI, 12, 13.

² Svoronos, Pl. VI, No. 16-17. The young head with the ram's horn on various other coins (Tenos, Cyrene, etc.) is, of course, not Alexander but either young Ammon or Apollo Karneios (Imhoof-Blumer, in *Rev. Suisse*, XXI, pp. 12 f.).

³ I need not say that if the old theory that this type represents Lysimachus himself could be accepted—and there is perhaps more to be said for it than has been said—the argument in the text would be strengthened.

⁴ See Müller, *Münzen des thrac. Königs Lysimachus*, p. 12. His view that the lion types of Lysimacheia were borrowed from Cardia does not seem very probable.

Rev. ΑΠ Ε Ν ΔΙΩΝ ΝΕΩ|ΚΟ|ΡΩΝ Conventional temple with two columns and pediment ; the first Ε is in the pediment, the word νεωκόρων in the space between the columns.

Bronze, 29 mm. Purchased 1921. From the Sir Hermann Weber Collection. Ten assarion piece.

The neokoria has already been recorded on a coin of Salonina (Paris Collection) ; but no coins of Valerian with the title have been published. It is to be presumed, therefore, until further information, that the neokoria dates from some year between 261 and 268. Aspendus must be added to the published lists of cities holding the neokoria.

Perga

5. *Obv.* ΑΥΤΚΑΙΠΟΛΙΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟCEB (*sic.*). Bust of Gallienus r., laureate, wearing paludamentum ; in front, mark of value, I (same die as B.M.C., No. 73).

Rev. ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Two military standards, each surmounted by an eagle ; between them, small shrine containing baetyl of the Pergaeian Artemis ; above it, Α

Bronze, 31 mm. Pl. IX, 5. Ten assarion piece. Purchased 1901.

One of the innumerable representations of the chief cultus-object of Perga, but interesting on account of the association therewith of the military standards. Two such standards are represented on other coins of the city, in company with a shrine containing the Roman eagle, or a figure of Sarapis.¹ Although on this coin the standards are not represented actually within the temple of Artemis, still I am inclined to think that their close association with it points to the fact that they were deposited in the building, doubtless in their special chapel, as we see them on a coin of Carrhae.² Α is, of course, for πρώτων.

6. *Obv.* ΑΥΤΚΑΙΠΟΛΙΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟCEB Bust of Gallienus r., laureate, wearing paludamentum ; in front, mark of value, I (same die as B.M.C., No. 76).

¹ B.M.C., Nos. 73, 79.

² *J.R.S.*, VI, 1916, pp. 153-154 ; B.M.C., *Arabia*, Pl. xii. 4.

Rev. ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑC ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟC Temple, with pediment and two columns, containing baetyl of Pergaeon Artemis; at sides of the baetyl, star and crescent above and two flaming torches below; in the pediment, A; on the architrave, ΑCΥΛΟV

Bronze, 30 mm. Purchased 1921. From the Hermann Weber Collection. Ten assarion piece.

The objects which flank the simulacrum of the Pergaeon Artemis are usually very difficult to make out; but there is no doubt, I think, that in this example they are torches; cp. the flaming torches which flank the figure of the war-god of Rabbathmoba (B.M.C., *Arabia*, etc., Pl. VII, 1, 2). The usual accompaniments of the goddess are sphinxes on tall bases, sometimes surrounded by lattice-work; but on one interesting coin¹ this lattice-work surrounds the bases of a pair of columns, which are possibly a pair of sacred twins, such as appear in other temples (Paphos, etc.).

Side

7. *Obv.* ΑΥΤ ΚΜΑΡΚ·ΙΟΥΛΑCΕ ΟΥΗΡΦ - - - Bust of Philip Junior r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; in front, mark of value, Ε

Rev. C ΙΔΗ ΤΩ Ν Athena, helmeted, with spear in l., standing l. pointing to olive-tree.

Bronze, 32 mm. Pl. IX, 6. Five assarion piece. Purchased 1907.

This version of the creation of the olive-tree varies from those which are known from Athenian coins;² in spite of the comparatively large scale of the coin, snake, owl, and shield are all lacking. It is likely, therefore, that the type is meant to reproduce not an Athenian monument, but rather a local one.

Imhoof³ has observed that the name *Severus* borne by

¹ Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, p. 333, Taf. XI, 9.

² Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, p. 131, Pl. Z, Nos. XVIII, XIX (where on No. XVIII the snake is wrongly described as being twined round the tree instead of advancing beside Athena). Cp. *Num. Chron.*, 1903, pp. 323-324, Pl. X, Nos. 10, 11.

³ *Griech. Münzen*, p. 696; cp. the earlier authorities referred to by Dessau, *Prosop.*, II, p. 205.

Philip, presumably after his mother Otacilia Severa, occurs only on Pamphylian and Pisidian coins. His list of mints where this name occurs may be increased as follows: Attaleia, Magydus, Perga, Side, Sillyum; Casae and Lyrbe (perhaps in Cilicia, but very close to the Pamphylian border), Etenna, Isinda, Pednelissus, Prostanna, Verbe. Some coins ascribed by him¹ to Philip Senior with the name Severus are doubtless of the son. The use of the name seems to have been irregular, as it is not found on military diplomas. As far as concerns the coins, the irregularity probably began in one of the Pamphylian cities and spread to the country behind.

8. *Obv.* AVTKAIΠOΛIKOY AΛEPIAN - - - Bust of Valerian r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. In front, in countermark, mark of value, €
Rev. IEPAΠYΘIA · EIEPOCMYCTIKOC and, in exergue, OIKOYME|NIKOI Two prize crowns, each containing a palm-branch, on a basis inscribed CIAHC|NEΩKOPOY
 Bronze, 32 mm. Five assarion piece. Purchased 1899.

The Pythian games are mentioned with acclamation (*ἰσ αἰῶνα τὰ Πύθια*) on a coin of Philip Junior,² and Apollo is represented with the epithet ΠYΘIOC (B.M.C., No. 99). A veiled bust of the city-goddess is also described as CIAHMVCTIC NEΩKOPOC (*ibid.*, No. 126). The two games are mentioned jointly on another coin of Valerian with the inscription slightly varied (CIAHTΩN NEΩKOPΩN) and differently arranged.³

What particular mysteries are referred to, I do not know. Possibly, as Mr. Buckler suggests to me, they were Dionysiac. He kindly allows me to publish his restoration of and commentary on an inscription from Side referring to the cult of Dionysus there.⁴

¹ *Monn. grecques*, p. 333, No. 57 (Perga); p. 336, No. 65 (Sillyum); cp. *Zeit. für Num.*, XII, p. 326 (Perga).

² *Invent. Waddington*, No. 3478. Cp. 3496: Πύθια πρῶτα Παμφύλων, and Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, p. 342, No. 29.

³ Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 343, No. 35. Mr. Buckler reminds me also of the agonistic inscription from Side mentioning the *ἱερὰ Πύθια*: *J.H.S.*, XXVIII, 1908, p. 190, No. 20.

⁴ Previously published by Paribeni and Romanelli, *Mon. Ant.*, XXIII, 1914, cols. 123-124.

Π]αρά ταῖς θεαῖς τ[ὼν προ|γ]όνων τοῦ Σεβασ[τοῦ δω|ρ-]
 5 εαῖς, τὴν ἱερὰν [σύν|κ]λητον ἢ λαμπρ[οτάτη|| β]ουλὴ καὶ
 ὁ εὐσταθ[ῆς δῆ|μ]ος καὶ ἡ σεμνοτάτ[η καὶ | φ]ιλοσέβαστος
 καὶ κρ[ατίστη | τ]ῆς λαμπροτάτης κ[αὶ ἐνδό|ξ]ου ἐξάκισ
 10 νεωκό[ρου Σιδη||τ]ῶν πόλεως ἱερὰ Κα[ισάρεια(?) | γε]ρουσία,
 νεωκορο[ῦσα θεῶ(?)| Πυθί]ω ἄσύλῳ καὶ νεω[ποιούσα |
 τ]ῶ Διονύσῳ τῶ ἐν τῶ ἱε[ρῶ] | αὐτῆς δειπνιστηρίῳ.

Ll. 2-3 : δωρ]εαῖς (Calder), meaning gift portraits or busts, seems quite adequate. But [γεν]εαῖς (Paribeni) in the sense of *stemmata* may be right after all.—l. 7 : κρ[ατίστη] ; Wilhelm.—ll. 8-9 : for λαμπ. κ. ἐνδόξου cp. *C.I.G.*, 4355. The inscription as a whole is the dedication of a statue of the personified Senate, to stand beside some records or monuments of the Imperial family. The Boule, Demos and Gerousia are the dedicators, and ll. 6-11 contain all the high-sounding titles of the last. The fact that it had a statue of Dionysus in its banqueting-hall suggests—though this does not necessarily follow—that there was a city-cult of that god.¹

Our coin, originally worth ten assaria, was halved in value by countermarking some time after its issue, probably in the time of Tacitus or his immediate successors.²

9. *Obv.* ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑ · ΚΑΛΩΝΙΝ Α Bust of Salonina r., with crescent in hair, bust draped ; in front, mark of value, I
Rev. ΚΙΔΗΤΩΝ Α ΝΕΩΚΟ and, in exergue, ΡΩΝ Prize crown, containing two palm-branches, standing between two purses on a table, between the legs of which is ΔΩ|ΡΕΑ

Bronze, 31 mm. Ten assarion piece. Purchased 1900.

The word δωρεά on coins usually occurs in connexion with an Imperial benefaction,³ as in δωρεὰ σείτου ἀπὸ Ἐγύ(πτου)

¹ *Invent. Wadd.* 3503 is a coin of Side with a possible figure of Dionysus ; but this god rarely, if ever, occurs on the coins of the city, as we should expect if there were a public cult of him.

² Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 347. He states that Side was the only city to issue these five-assarion pieces, with the exception of isolated examples at Isinda and Colybrassus. This is apparently true of Southern Asia Minor ; but Signorina Cesano records five-assarion pieces from Amastris and from several places in Thrace and Moesia : Callatis, Dionysopolis, Istrus, Marcianopolis, and Anchialus (*"Analecta Numism."* pp. 4, 5, in *Ann. Sc. Arch. di Atene*, 1921).

³ See Rostovtsev in *Numism. Chronicle*, 1900, pp. 96 ff.

Ταρσῶ. At Aegeae and Mopsuestia in Cilicia it is associated with a bridge over the river Pyramus. At the latter city the word ΔΩΡΕΑΙ occurs on a number of coins of Valerian and Gallienus, but the reference of the type is obscure.¹ Here we have the word in connexion with some games. Although there is but one crown, there are two branches and two purses, and we may perhaps assume that the reference is to the two games mentioned on No. 5. Whether we may go further and say that δωρεά implies that the Emperor or Empress supplied the money for the prizes, I do not pretend to decide, but it seems probable that the reference is to some such Imperial benefaction, rather than to a gift by a mere citizen of Side. There is the same doubt in regard to a similar benefaction recorded in a series of inscriptions of Aphrodisias (*C.I.G.*, 2761-5), in which the people of that city honours the peoples of Apollonia Salbace and various other cities for taking part (συνθύσαντα) ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομένῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος δ[ω]ρεᾶ, on which Boeckh remarks that we do not know to whom the gift was due; we may add that if it had been an Emperor the inscription would hardly have omitted to say so, but possibly we have not the one inscription of the series in which the statement was made.

Cavedoni,² who refers to the above-mentioned inscriptions, describes, after Sestini, another coin of Side with the same word δωρεά inscribed on an altar, on which a female figure, holding a palm-branch, places a wreath: evidently another agonistic type. See also below, under Cremna (No. 12).

Apollonia Mordiaenum

10. *Obv.* AV · KAI · M · AVP · ANTΩNEINO C Bust of Marcus Aurelius r., laureate, paludamentum showing over l. shoulder.

Rev. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤ ΩΝΑΥΚΙΩΝΘΡΑ and, in exergue, ΚΟΛΩΝΩΝ Temple with pediment and eight columns, containing figure of the Emperor, who wears cuirass,

¹ Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, p. 475, Nos. 11, 12; and *Rev. Suisse*, 1913, p. 102.

² *Spicilegio*, p. 208.

and stands l. resting on spear, uncertain object in his r. hand ; in pediment, eagle.

Bronze, 35 mm. Purchased 1914. Cp., the same type under Gallienus (B.M.C., Nos. 5, 6 ; Prowe Catal., Egger, XLVI, No. 2024).

Comama

II. *Obv.* PSEPT GETACAES Bust of Geta r., bare-headed, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev. COLAVGCO MAMENOR Goddess standing to front, resting on r. leg, l. leg drawn back ; she wears a long girdled chiton ; on her head a polos, from which a veil falls to her feet ; two long locks of hair falling to the shoulders ; with her l. hand she draws aside the veil, while her r. rests upon her hip, palm outwards, the elbow keeping back the veil on that side.

Bronze, 20 mm. Pl. IX, 7. Presented by the late Sir H. Weber, 1907. *Num. Chron.*, 1912, p. 146, No. 25, Pl. VII, 9. Imhoof-Blumer, in *Nomisma* VIII, 1913, p. 18, No. 53.

An unusually clear representation of the goddess of Comama. The figure is evidently not primitive, the position representing a scheme not earlier than the fifth century. J. von Schlosser¹ and others have noticed the correspondence of the figure with the type of Juno Pronuba. But Imhoof-Blumer, in his latest discussion of this type, maintains that the gesture of throwing aside the veil, and the wearing of a chiton so light that the forms of the body are visible beneath it, indicate Aphrodite rather than Hera. On one coin the goddess holds a phiale or wreath in her outstretched l. hand. Imhoof supports his view by the fact that Aphrodite was worshipped at the neighbouring Olbasa ; but there she is represented either in the nude Medici form, or, if draped and veiled, she is accompanied by Erotes. I do not see that the goddess of Comama has any affinity with that of Olbasa.

¹ *Numism. Zeitschr.*, XXIII, 1891, p. 7.

Cremna

12. *Obv.* IMP · C · S · L · DO · M · AVRELIANO Bust of Aurelian r., laureate, wearing paludamentum (same die as B.M.C., No. 16).

Rev. DONATIOC OL · CREMN Female figure standing to front, head l., her hands resting on two cylindrical cippi, with branches showing above them.

Bronze, 32 mm. Pl. IX, 8. Purchased 1901. Cp., B.M.C., *Lycia*, etc., p. ciii.

The point between O · M in the obverse inscription is of course an error.

Imhoof-Blumer has published other coins of Cremna referring to benefactions to the colony under Aurelian.¹ On one we have a temple-front with two twisted columns, a wreath in the pediment, and DON · SACR · CERT · inscribed between the columns. On another the inscription DONATIO COL · CREMNENS · accompanies an agonistic table with a prize crown between two purses. On a third is a prize crown inscribed IEROS and two palm-branches with F(elix ?) between them and the *Donatio* inscription again. These all refer to donations connected with *ἱερὸν ἀγῶνες*. The objects on which the female figure rests her hands can hardly be anything but cippi, although they look as if they were hollow, with branches placed in them, much as the branches are placed in a prize crown, or ears of corn in a modius. The modius, however, is of a different shape, tapering upwards and with feet to rest on. These objects also have each a small knob at the side. I cannot explain this feature, but that they are cippi is proved by certain coins of Synnada in Phrygia.² Here we find, in the first place, in a temple, a similar cylindrical object (but without the knobs); above it are five leaves of some kind,³ and on either side a palm-branch. (Pl. IX, 9.) In the second place, we have representa-

¹ *Kleinas. Münzen*, pp. 383-384, Nos. 14, 15; *Rev. Suisse*, XIV, 1908, p. 78.

² B.M.C., *Phrygia*, Pl. XLVII, 4, 5; Imhoof, *Kleinas. Münzen*, pp. 296-297, Nos. 27-29, Taf. IX, 19, 20. The coins are all of the time of Gallienus.

³ Head, who took the object for a "modius (?)," calls them ears of corn, but they are not that: I note, however, that the round cippus on the tombstone of a Thraex, illustrated by Stuart Jones (*Companion to Roman History*, Pl. LVII) from a drawing at Windsor, is decorated with ears of corn.

tions of an arena ; on one is a plain cylindrical cippus, round which are going on contests between gladiators and animals (Pl. IX, 10); on the other the cippus, between two palm-branches, stands at the top of the picture, and the contest is between a *secutor* and a *retiarius*.

Etenna

13. *Obv.* AV · K · M · IOVA · ΦΙ ΛΙΠΠΟCCΕΒ Bust of Philip Senior r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev. € TENNEΩN Rape of Persephone : Hades, holding Persephone, who throws out her hands, her veil flying out, in his car, drawn by four horses galloping l., and led by nude Hermes, with caduceus in his r. ; above horses' heads, a poppyhead and corn-ears ; below, in foreground, flaming torch and overturned kalathos.

Bronze, 36 mm. Pl. IX, 12. Purchased at the Prowe Sale (Egger Katal., XLVI, 1914, lot 2055).

Possibly the same coin as that described by Imhoof-Blumer, *Rev. Suisse*, XIX (1913), p. 88, No. 249, where he remarks that similar representations on contemporary coins of Casae indicate that Casae and Etenna were near each other. Like so many of the more interesting types of this part of the world, this has all the appearance of being copied from a painting.

Isinda

14. *Obv.* AV · K · M · IOV · CEOV · ΦΙΑΠΠΟC Bust of Philip Junior r., radiate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev. ICINΔEΩN EIONΩN Goddess standing r., her l. foot on a globe, holding in l. a shield on which is inscribed $\begin{smallmatrix} A \\ \text{PE} \end{smallmatrix}$ to which she points with r.

Bronze, 28 mm. Pl. IX, 11. Purchased 1900. Cp. Imhoof, *Griech. Münzen*, No. 494A ; B.M.C., p. 226, No. 17 ; Babelon, *Inventaire Waddington*, No. 3748.

This and the Waddington specimen give the full inscription on the shield. It is not a date, like those which occur on

earlier coins of the place ; the arrangement shows that it is not analogous to the APX · M on later coins. It may be suggested that it stands for (Ἀθηνᾶ) Ἀρεΐα, to whom there is a dedication by a citizen of Palaia Isaura at Trismaden.¹ The Areiai are also known (in connexion with Ares) from inscriptions at Savatra.² Prof. Calder suggests that these martial deities may throw light on the enigmatical Ἀμάζονες—possibly warrior-goddesses—of an inscription of Badinlar.³

On the name of Philip, see above, No. 7.

Olbasa

15. *Obv.* IMP[E] ANTONINVS Head of Pius r., laureate.
Rev. AVGVSTVS OLBASENOR[VM] Bare head of Augustus r.

Bronze, 26 mm. Purchased 1905.

Augustus (the features are unmistakable) is here represented as the founder of the colony. This coin is from the same dies as that in the Waddington Collection (3758), the head on the reverse of which is not Marcus Aurelius, as described in the *Inventaire*.

Laodicea Combusta

16. *Obv.* TITOKAIDOMITIANOCKAICAPEC Busts bare-headed and undraped of the two Cæsars confronted.
Rev. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΛΑΟ ΔΙΚΕΩΝ Kybele wearing polos, enthroned l., r. holding patera, l. resting on tympanum ; beside her seat, lion lying l.

Bronze, 23 mm. Purchased 1902. Wroth, *Num. Chron.*, 1903, p. 340, No. 35. Cp. Waddington, *Rev. Num.*, 1883, p. 53, No. 2 (with ΔΟΜΕΤΙΑΝΟC).

The coins of Laodicea Combusta are extremely rare. It seems worth while, therefore, to call attention to this second

¹ *C.I.G.*, 4393, confirmed by Prof. W. M. Calder, who recopied it in 1911.

² *J.H.S.*, xxii, 1902, p. 371: Φλαίου Μαρκέλλου ἀρχιερέος Σεβαστῶν κ[αὶ] ἱερέως θεῶν πατρ[ῶν] Ἀρεως καὶ Ἀρεϊῶν. Also Ἀρηι καὶ Ἀρεΐαις [θε]οῖς ἐπη[κόοις] (unpublished). I owe these references to Prof. W. M. Calder.

³ Ramsay, *C.B.*, p. 152, No. 49.

specimen of one of the three known types, although it has already been well published by Wroth. Waddington's error, based on misread coins of Pella, in supposing Laodicea to have become a colony in the third century, has already been pointed out elsewhere (B.M.C., *Lycaonia*, etc., p. xxii; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, p. 419). Ramsay has published inscriptions from Ladik recording the worship of the Mother of the Gods or Zizimene (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, p. 237, Nos. 8, 9. Cp. *Class. Rev.*, XIX, p. 367, and Calder in *Revue de Philologie*, XXXVI, p. 72).

Anazarbus

17. *Obv.* AVTKMAVP ANTΩNEINOC Bust of Elagabalus r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev. ANAZAPBEΩNNEΩKOPΩNETMC Female figure, wearing kalathos, and holding double-axe in l. over shoulder, standing l., laying r. arm on the back of an ox which stands l., turning its head to her; in exergue, CVNΘVCIA|OIKOVMENHC

Bronze, 36 mm. Bought 1903.

18. *Obv.* AVTKMAÇÇ AΛEΞANΔPO C Bust of Severus Alexander r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev. ANAZENΔOΞMHTPOΠETHMC (HM ligatured). Similar type to preceding; in field, above, ΓB; in exergue CVNΘVCIA|OIKOVM

Bronze, 33 mm. Pl. IX, 14. Purchased 1920.

From the Sir Hermann Weber Collection. Imhoof-Blumer, *Rev. Suisse*, XIV, 1908, p. 92 (the inscription in exergue not made out). Same dies as a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

This reverse type is known under Maximinus and Decius, in addition to the two Emperors here represented.¹ Our two coins

¹ Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, p. 433, No. 7. On the Paris coin (*Ann. de Num.*, VII, 1883, Pl. II, No. 8, the inscription in the exergue is CVNΘVCI|A not €ΘNOVC|A. Two other coins of Alexander at Paris, of which I owe casts to M. Dieudonné, doubtless had the same inscription in the exergue, though it is now obliterated.

for the first time provide the inscription *Συνθυσία Οικουμένης*.¹ The woman is perhaps the City-goddess, about to sacrifice the ox with the double-axe; or is she the personification of the Oikoumene?

The coin of Elagabalus (for it is he, I think, rather than Caracalla, who is represented; unfortunately, the piece is badly preserved and the date on the reverse all but obliterated) gives us the title *νεωκόρων*. The second neokoria of the city is mentioned on a milestone published by Ramsay,² and the title has already been read on the coin of an Empress—possibly Plautilla.³

Mopsuestia

19. *Obv.* AVTKCEAAE ΞΑΝΔΡΟC Bust of Severus Alexander r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev. ΑΔΡΑΔΕΞΑΝΔΡΟV · Π · ΜΟΨΕΑΤ ΩΝ Artemis and Mopsus; on l., Artemis huntress standing r., drawing arrow from quiver at shoulder with r.; in her l. she carries a dead animal by the hind-legs; on r. Mopsus, nude, standing l., leaning on column, branch in lowered r., legs crossed; above, between them,

CΠ
C

Bronze, 37 mm. Purchased, 1920, from the Sir Hermann Weber Collection; published by him in *Corolla Num.*, p. 300, Pl. XV, 9, and by Imhoof-Blumer in *Rev. Suisse*, XIV, 1908, p. 103.

The title 'Αλεξάνδρου πόλις was adopted also by Adana and Aegeae in the reign of this Emperor. The date is 296 = A.D. 228-9. Imhoof-Blumer has not noticed the Π for πόλεως or πολειτών in the reverse inscription, and describes Artemis as holding a bow in her lowered l. hand, and having a hound at her feet; but I think Sir Hermann Weber's description, which I have followed, is more accurate in this respect. It must be admitted, however, that the detail is very difficult to make out.

¹ Presumably in the natural sense of festival to which people from all other cities were admitted (cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 849, 11).

² *Journ. Phil.*, XI, p. 157.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1855, p. 101; B.M.C., *Lycaonia*, etc., p. civ.

Tarsus

20. *Obv.* AVTKAIMAVPANTΩNEINOC Bust of Elagabalus r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev. TAPCOVTHCMHTPOΠOΛE and, in exergue, AMK
On l., a large plain wreath on a circular wreathed altar ;
on r. a large wreath with ties, adorned with seven heads
and the letters ΓΒ

Bronze, 28 mm. Pl. IX, 13. Purchased 1901. Cp.
Imhoof-Blumer in *J.H.S.*, 1898, p. 180, No. 55,
Pl. XIII, No. 22.

This specimen, although in all but mint condition, does not enable us to identify the busts on the priest's crown¹ with any more certainty than before, but it is clear that the three upper busts are all three laureate, and of them the middle one is bearded, the other two beardless. Of the lower bare-headed busts, those on the left, described by Imhoof as two boys, seem to me to be a woman and a boy ; those on the right are I think both bearded. It seems clear that the head at the top is not Elagabalus, as Imhoof supposed.

¹ On these crowns with busts, see my note in *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, II, pp. 245 ff., and B.M.C., *Lycaonia*, etc., p. xcvi.

XVII.

THE HITTITE MONUMENTS OF SOUTHERN ASIA MINOR

by D. G. HOGARTH

It has long been recognized that the known Hittite monuments were made at divers dates, spread over several centuries. Not so generally has it been recognized that they were the work of divers peoples, most of whom can be identified. Geographically, they are distributed over a very large area, but irregularly, occurring with comparative frequency in three distinct circumscribed regions, namely, in north-western Cappadocia ; in the south of that province and of Lycaonia ; and in the northern half of Syria and the north-western fringe of Mesopotamia. In the spaces between these three regions either very sparse examples or none at all have been observed ; while in Asia Minor as a whole, outside the districts mentioned, they have not been found at all except in three small pockets which lie, at wide intervals, upon a single track running from the first-named region to the Ægean Sea. It is the purpose of the following Note to dissect the second or middle regional group by discrimination of the features of its component monuments. These argue differences of racial origin, of date, and of relation to components of the other two main groups.

The south Cappadocian field of Hittite monuments is a blunt-headed triangle, whose base lies along the northern foothills of the Taurus from the Euphrates near Malatia to the Beysheher Lake beyond Konia. The apex runs up to the southern bend of the Halys valley north of Kaisariyeh (including the farther bank of the river). The containing sides, beyond which no Hittite monuments have been observed, run roughly, the one south-east to the head of the Tokhma Su and

down its valley to the Euphrates ; the other south-west by west along the southern fringe of the Axylon plain to the southern bight of the Baysheher Lake. The main ridge of Anti-Taurus which runs from north to south, and a higher parallel ridge which outlines part of the valley of the Karmalas on the west, divide this triangle into three longitudinal sections, of which the central is a narrow corridor leading directly from the base towards the apex of the whole triangle ; while of the two angle-pieces, the western, which may be called the Lycaonian, is the more spacious. It is worth while to insist on these three geographical sub-areas, or sub-triangles, because not only do the known Hittite monuments vary in them, but also we have evidence (chiefly from records of Assyrian campaigns) that the longitudinal lines of their geographical division corresponded more or less to lines of political distinction during most of the Hittite age, whether in its Hattic or in its post-Hattic periods ("Hattic" connotes, throughout the following remarks, the race which ruled at Hattushash or Boghazkeui in the second millennium, B.C.).

I. The easternmost sub-area, the triangle which may be called the Cataonian, enclosed by the valley of the Tokhma Su, the Taurus, and the Anti-Taurus (Bimbogha Dag), is known to have contained in the Hittite age an independent kingdom, whose name in cuneiform has been read variously Khanigalbat, or Khanirabbat, or Khalirabbat, with a capital city, predecessor of Melitene-Malatia, called Milid or Miliddu by the Assyrians from, at latest, the 12th century. As early as the first quarter of the 14th century Khanigalbat is mentioned in two Amarna letters, written respectively by Ashurballit II of Assyria and Amenhotep IV of Egypt ; and the former refers to a king of a still earlier generation. It must, therefore, have been already a well-established state before Shubbiluliuma came south to create the historic Hattic empire ; and, indeed, we seem to have a reference to it as taking part in a war waged between a predecessor of his and the (Harrian?) power of Aleppo. This reference occurs in a copy of a treaty found at Boghazkeui, between the Hattic King, Murshil, and Aleppo. Khanigalbat is spoken of by Garstang (*Land of the Hittites*, p. 326) as a "great Hittite state" in Shubbiluliuma's time and an ally of the Hatti.

But, while no positive evidence supports either of these assertions (the reference in Murshil's treaty being too fragmentary to establish on which side it then fought), rebutting evidence may be deduced from records of Asshuruballit in the early 14th century, and of Shalmaneser I in the 13th century, who both seem to have sent armies as by right through the territory of Khanigalbat and to have claimed its allegiance; also from the non-appearance of the name of either the land or its capital in Hattushil's treaty with Ramses II.

Groups of Hittite monuments occur near Malatia itself; also in the valley of the Tokhma Su about Derendeh; and along a track leading from south to north in the west. The heart of the triangle, which is wild and mountainous, has not been adequately explored. The first-named group comes from a large mound known as Arslan Tepé (= Lion Mound a name which suggests that at some time a lion-portal has been revealed there), near the village Ordasu, about four miles east of Malatia. All its members are dado-blocks, which doubtless lined a main entrance way, as at Eyuk, Carchemish, etc. One fairly long text and also some brief legends in the relieved Hittite script appear on them, and the Hittite character of their art is obvious at a glance. When they were found (I saw one slab at Malatia in 1894 and the others appeared a little later), there was no available criterion by which to date them. Now we can compare certain reliefs at Carchemish. These leave little doubt that the Malatia monuments in question are of post-Hattic period. The analogy between the chariot-relief on one of them and a series of chariot-reliefs at Carchemish, which, on good grounds, are to be ascribed to the beginning of the first millennium, and also the representation of hair dressed in the same fashion as is shown on a group of Carchemish reliefs, which are probably of the 11th century, fix with reasonable certainty the upper limit of the Malatia group (there is no ground for regarding any of the sculptures in question as earlier than the rest). They show another feature, which recurs at Carchemish, and is of interest. The divine figures portrayed, both male and female, wear characteristic Hattic dress, while mortals, making offerings to them, wear long Semitic draperies. We shall meet again, in the western sub-area, this sartorial distinction, which was

probably due to the conservatism of religious cult. Gods kept to the end of the Hittite age the garbs associated with them from its beginning ; probably they would not have been considered valid gods unless so represented.

These sculptures belong, then, in my opinion, to a king, or kings, who ruled at Milid in the 11th or the early 10th century. Kings of this place are frequently mentioned in Neo-Assyrian records ; and to judge by their names, Lalli, Sulumal, Tarkhunazi, they were good Hittites, like the neighbour princes of Gamgum on the south, who were called by such names as Kalparuda, Mutallu, and Tarkhulara, and those of Kummukh on the east, one of whom was a Mutallu ; but we cannot be sure that they were of Hattic race. At the same time, it is not unlikely that Hattic princes established themselves in south-eastern districts after the fall of the Hattic Empire.

The other Hittite monuments of the Cataonian triangle occur in its western part. So far as their distribution is known, they mark the continuation of the track which leads from Marash through the Taurus by the Pyramus gorge. After Albistan this track passes over open down-country to the valley of the Tokhma Su at Derendeh and Gurun, near both of which places there are Hittite rock-monuments. On the way other monuments have been found—near Yarpuz (e.g. the four-sided stela seen by me in 1891 at Albistan), and in a pass of the low hills near Palanga, whence the track forks to Derendeh and to Gurun. Here two gateway-lions, lying on a low mound by the road, mark the Hittite site ; and a headless inscribed statue has been transported thence to the hamlet of Palanga. This last monument is the only one of the group which offers features which we can date. Its columnar form, which recalls the Hadad statue of Sinjerli, and also the highly conventionalized linear characters of its script, combine to mark it as of late period—the 9th or even the 8th century.

All members of this Cataonian group differ markedly from the North Syrian (Marash) group, which appears to be, in the main, of much earlier period—as early, in fact, as anything Hattic : and, perhaps, it witnesses to the Hittite culture of the Masri people, once dominant in North Syria as far as Carchemish, but under the Late Assyrian Empire withdrawn

towards the Taurus. Maras, which appears in cuneiform (e.g. in a Boghazkeui document) almost under its modern name, should be their capital. On the north, beyond the Tokhma Su valley, no Hittite monuments at all have been observed. I traversed the road from Gurun to the Halys, in 1891, without hearing of any on the road or off it; and no one since has had better luck. On the west, no Hittite monument meets the traveller till he has crossed the Anti-Taurus system to the head of the Kuru gap in its westernmost ridge, and has passed the frontier of the next sub-area. The Cataonian monuments, therefore, form just such an isolated group as might be expected to represent a post-Hattic principality, Hittite in culture, but not dependent politically on other Hittites. The indications point to its having adopted Hittite culture at a comparatively late date.

II. The next sub-area is the Central Corridor, formed by the twin-valleys of the Saros and Karmalas rivers, which unite before they break through the Taurus to the Cilician plain. The high ridge of Bimbogha Dagħ defines it on the east, and the still higher mass of Ala Dagħ on the west shuts off its southern end from all roads converging on the Cilician Gates. It is a wild, remote region, which has been but imperfectly explored by searchers for antiquities—for example, the passage of the Saros through the Taurus has not been followed—and it may well contain more Hittite sites than the three that have been visited. One of these is on the Kuru pass between the two head-waters of the Saros; the second lies in the Karmalas valley, near the village of Ferak ed-Din (locally pronounced Fraktin); and the third is on a tributary stream about six miles distant from the second. The two sites first-named show remarkable monuments, of which one, at any rate, the rock-relief at Ferak ed-Din, is Hattic, of the period of Cappadocian Empire. It is possible also that the Yarpuz stela mentioned above, for dating which we have no good criteria at present (the relieved Hittite script affords none in the actual state of Hittite science), may belong to this second sub-area, and not to the first, since it was found at the mouth of a natural passage between the two and on their mutual frontier, under the southern butt of Bimbogha Dagħ.

In the Ferak ed-Din relief, mortals (a king and a queen ?), Hattic in every respect of dress and hair-fashion, make offerings to gods, whose dress is of similar character. Brief script-legends accompanying the figures show very primitive forms of the relieved characters. The Kuru monument, at Arslan Tash on the Soghan Dagħ, is part of an inscribed altar or throne-base with lion-supports, whose massive character points rather to an earlier than to a later period of Hittite art. It bears, however, an incised inscription, which, if original, argues post-Hattic date for the whole monument. The third monument, a rock-relief at Tashji, has not been published in such a way that the features of its greatly damaged surface can be judged with any assurance. Its inscription seems to be linear. If, then, there is a Hattic monument in this Corridor, whereas all those in the sub-area on the east are post-Hattic, and those on the west (as will be argued presently) are so too (the last are equally distinct in style), how is its presence to be explained? Naturally, by supposing this sub-area to have been either a home of true Hatti at some period, or, at least, a passage through which they habitually moved. There is nothing in the records of the Hattic Empire to show how Cappadocian armies passed the Taurus into Syria, or by what routes the royal communications, which e.g. are implied in the Hattic correspondence with Egypt, were maintained for a couple of centuries. One easy pass, and one only, leads from Cappadocia immediately into Syria, namely, from Geuksun (Cocusus) to Marash. It is little used now-a-days owing to various causes—the insecurity both of the country about its northern access, since it has been settled by semi-nomadic Avshars and Kurds, and also of its passage through mountains long infested by Zeitunli Armenian and Kurdish robbers; lack of any made road; and the diversion of the caravan traffic of Kaisariyeh or Marash to *chaussées* or railways constructed in the last fifty years along other routes. But it is direct and reported much easier than the arduous pass down the Pyramus valley from Albistan, and much less round-about than the Malatia-Marash track. It ought to be examined carefully for indications of ancient traffic (so far as I know, no competent archaeological explorer has traversed it); for very probably it was a main Hattic artery of communications from

north to south. Other possible Tauric passes debouch into the Plain of Cilicia and leave the Amanus still to be crossed into Syria. They are unlikely routes of Hattic communications, since our records do not indicate that the Hattic Empire embraced Cilicia; nor has this country yet produced any Hittite monuments or other proof of having been within either a Hattic, or a post-Hattic, circle of political or cultural influence. Presumably Cilicia was strongly held in the 14th and 13th centuries and hostile to the Cappadocians; but this is a presumption only. Unless it were, as some think, indeed the Kefti country, we have no clear light on its state till Shalmaneser III crossed Amanus in the 9th century to find it so rich and well worth robbing that he repeated his arduous march several times in subsequent years.

The central sub-area was certainly at one time part, if not the whole, of the kingdom of Tabal, which from the 9th century onwards is stated by Assyrian records to have been invaded often by armies of the great kings. Shalmaneser III, Tiglath Pileser IV, and Sargon, as well as later kings, raided it, after passing through Milid. The last-named king enumerates it immediately before the Land Mushki, in a list which seems to follow geographical order from east to west. Its kings bore such names as Uassurmi and Ambaris, which have a Semitic rather than a Hattic sound.

On the other hand, where the Corridor runs northwards into more open country south of Mount Argæus, post-Hattic monuments occur in considerable numbers. The members of this group, which are distributed at short radius round the mountain's base, would have been as readily accessible from the third sub-area, to be described presently; and therefore they shall be neglected for the moment, except for a certain bearing that they have on the problem under consideration—why is there a Hattic monument in the Central Corridor? If the Mazaka group is post-Hattic, and north of it again there is a considerable geographical gap devoid of observed Hittite monuments at all, the monument at Ferak ed-Din can hardly be the result of Hattic traffic through the Corridor. Why indeed should armies and couriers leave such a record of mere passage? We must look about for another explanation.

One can be suggested if the country (or a part of it), which in the Late Assyrian Age was Tabal, had been previously, in the Hattic Age, Kizwadna or Kissuwadna, which contained the holy Hattic city of Arinna or Aruna, often mentioned as the seat of a Sun cult so intimately connected with the Hattic dynasty that its goddess is said in a Boghazkeui document to "confer kingship and queenship in Hatti." Sayce, W. Max Müller, and others have placed this city in south Cappadocia, and Garstang agreed; Eduard Meyer and German "Hattists" generally have pronounced for quite another location—the Pontic region. Both Sayce and Meyer, however, agree that Arinna was an earlier seat of the Hatti than any place in north-west Cappadocia, and this seems a reasonable deduction from various items of evidence available. If so, to fix its position is to go far towards determining the quarter from which the Hatti reached their historic seat.

The principal—practically the sole—argument for placing Kissuwadna in Pontus is deduced from a reference to it in a letter from King Hattushil to Ramses II as being a land where iron was stored (not necessarily, it will be observed, where the metal was produced). To identify it on such slender ground with the Chalybian country would be permissible only if there were no reasons for placing it anywhere else. But, in fact, there are. Firstly, we have the very probable identification of Arinna with "Araina" reached by a Tauric expedition of Thothmes III, and with "Aruna" which was attacked more than once by Assyrian columns operating from Milid or Cilicia in the Taurus. It was not far from Kumani, by which certainly the Cappadocian, not the Pontic, Comana was meant in the Assyrian records in question. Secondly, a treaty (preserved among the Boghazkeui archives)¹ between the Hattic king, Murshil (?), and Shunashshura, king of Kissuwadna leaves practically no doubt that Kissuwadna was either conterminous with or very near neighbour to the Harri country on the one hand and the realm of Arzawa on the other. Now the first-named of these districts unquestionably lay south of the Taurus, and the other in some part of the same

¹ See translation by D. D. Luckenbill in *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Studies*, April, 1922. Compare also article by S. Smith in *Journ. of Egypt. Archaeology*, April, 1922, which appeared after the first draft of my views was written.

range (see later). The actual boundaries of Kissuwadna are stated in that document: but until the town names mentioned can be identified more surely than is possible at present, the statement does not enable us to say more than that the country in question was, beyond doubt, situated in the Tauric region.

This being so, Kissuwadna may be located in the Karmalas basin, and, unless Kumani was an independent state, also in the basin of the upper Saros. It included, in fact, all our Central Corridor, commanding the passage from the Halys to Syria by way of the Geuksun Pass. As for Arinna, since Shahr on the Saros was certainly Comana, its site is probably to be sought in the other twin-valley, perhaps at Ferak ed-Din itself, where surface remains indicate the existence of a considerable unexcavated settlement.

To sum up, I propound the view that Kissuwadna, with Arinna and Kumani for its chief towns, was a seat of the Hatti in Asia Minor during all the Hattic Age, and probably was their earlier home; and that the Ferak ed-Din monument was the work of its Hattic residents. Boghazkeui must have been seized by a northward migration *per saltum*, which passed through without settling the stretch of intervening country immediately south and north of the Halys. Further, if this position for Kissuwadna and a so early date for its settlement be accepted, I suggest that the Hatti entered Asia Minor from Northern Syria, and that the Marash group of primitive grave-stelæ represents earlier Hittite art-work than exists in Cappadocia, even at Eyuk; but work of the Masri branch of the Hatti. Considerations of space forbid more than mention of these possibilities here or a detailed examination of the Marash monuments. It may be noted, however, that Eduard Meyer in his *Reich der Chetiter* agrees to regard them as among the most ancient of Hattic things.

III. (a) The third sub-area, the remaining western angle-piece, embraces the Tyanitis of Cappadocia and southern Lycaonia—to use later topographical terms. This is a comparatively open region of plains and downs from which rise isolated hill-masses. Whether the Mazaka district on the north-east, which lies beyond a line of very low hills, is to be added to it or to the Central Corridor, will be considered presently.

Here we find numerous Hittite monuments, widely distributed over the area. Out of five which belong to the east of the area, and are all to be related to the city of Tyana, four show an unusually elaborate art, which, in certain features, resembles no other Hittite work in the other areas of Asia Minor, but does resemble closely the art of certain Syrian monuments. Other monuments of the same style (allowance being made for provincialisms) are found in the hill-masses on the western edge of the Tyanitis. But west of these again, in the Konia district, occur, at Emir Ghazi, Fassiler, Iflatun-Bunar and Ilghin, monuments of more primitive appearance.

The Bor, the Andaval, and the two Ivriz reliefs, portray human figures of markedly non-Hattic type. Facial profiles are Armenoid or Semitic; hair is dressed in the elaborate "chignon" which appears at Carchemish on monuments of the Late Assyrian Age; the dress of mortals (kings?) is the long, fringed, and elaborately decorated robe of Mesopotamian civilization. Texts inscribed on two out of these four, and also on the fifth monument, which is not far away at Bulgar Maden, are in a linear reduction of the Hittite script; and while the texts on the two Ivriz monuments are in the relieved script, they show characters cramped and crowded as on many Syrian Hittite stones of late period. The god at Ivriz wears the old Hattic dress like the Malatia gods (doubtless for the same reason), but he is bearded.

If the Carchemish reliefs, upon and near the "King's Gate," which belong to the 9th century, and monuments of parallel style at Sakjegözü and Sinjerli (where are some dated with precision), are brought into comparison, there cannot be a doubt about the post-Hattic character of the Tyana group. All its members must be ascribed to the Late Assyrian age—the 10th or the 9th century onwards. To the same period should belong also the central hill-monuments, on which the representation of the divine and the human figure and the inscriptions are similar.

In connexion with these Tyana monuments the question of the Mazaka group, left on one side in our consideration of the Central Corridor, must be noticed. Out of about a dozen monuments, which have been found round about the base of

Argæus, from Everek on to the south of the mountain to Karaburun just north of the Halys, none is demonstrably of Hattic period. The eagle at Yamula is the most primitive in appearance, but of a provincial type that might belong to any Hittite age. The rest are almost all incised linear inscriptions, to which there is no reason to ascribe a period earlier than that of the Tyanean inscriptions. I suggest, therefore, that the Mazaka group be classed in the western sub-area with the Tyanean; and that it illustrates an extension of the power or influence of Tyana to the north, in the post-Hattic Age.

To ask who were the authors of this late group—perhaps the double group—of Hittite monuments is to ask what people was dominant in Tyana and the Tyanitis during the 9th and following centuries. As is well known, an inscription in “Phrygian” script, which contains the name Mita, has been found built into a Roman structure at Tyana. It directs our thoughts to the Midas kings of Phrygia, on the one hand, and to the Mita kings of the Mushki on the other—if, indeed, these were not one and the same. Two Mita kings are mentioned in Late Assyrian annals as ruling, in the 8th and 7th centuries, the people or land of Mushki, which, on the data supplied by these annals, is to be sought north of the Taurus, west of Tabal, at no great distance from the Assyrian province of Plain Cilicia, and near enough to north Syria for a junction to be practicable between the forces of Mita of Mushki and those of Pisisiris of Carchemish, in a common revolt against Sargon. The Tyanitis satisfies not only these conditions, but also a further probability—that these Mushki held a rich and comparatively spacious area: for the Assyrian governors of Cilicia were never able to subdue them, and we have evidence of the continuance of their flourishing independence far into the 7th century. For their participation in the anti-Assyrian movement of 718 B.C., for which Pisisiris paid by the loss of independence, they seem to have gone scot-free. It is as nearly certain as anything in this obscure period of ancient history that Tyana was the capital of the Mita kings of Mushki during the period to which the group of Hittite monuments in question belongs, and that, therefore, those monuments are Mushkian work. The Phrygian alphabet must have

come into local Tyanean use in a later period—perhaps the 7th century, when Hittite survivals were fading even from Syria.

How comes it about, however, that these Mushkians possessed a culture fundamentally Hittite, contaminated by Semitism? Their name appears first in history in the 12th century, thanks to a retrospective reference made by Tiglath Pileser I to an incursion made by them, more than a generation before his time, into central Mesopotamia. He drove them, he asserts, into the northern foothills of the Mesopotamian Taurus, among the people of Kummukh; and in that region (the Diarbekr district?) they would often be in contact with Assyrian forces during the next three centuries. It is obvious that there and then they were in as favourable a position, as e.g. the Vannic people, to acquire Semitic culture; but their habitat will not account so obviously for a culture fundamentally Hittite. One is driven to ask where they had been before they clashed with Assyria at all; but the question remains unanswered. Their name does not appear among those peoples of the north who swept down from Cappadocia into Syria and Palestine about 1198 B.C.; nor have we any reason to derive them at any period from Asia Minor. Nor again from Syria, though it is possible that Tiglath Pileser drove some of them across the Euphrates in his advance to Mt. Bisri, even as successors of his would press the rest of them ultimately westward over the river more to the north. The only possible clue (a dubious one) is a connexion, which has not escaped philologists, between the royal name Mita (evidently with the Mushki, as with their possible congeners in Phrygia, this name was a dynastic title) and the people of Mitani (= Mita's men). Were the Mushki of the 12th century, then, pupils, or perhaps a remnant, of the once important Mitani, who, up to the opening of the 14th century, dominated northern Mesopotamia, and are mentioned, during about another century, by the Boghazkeui archives as clients of the Hattic Empire? This race, to judge by Oppenheim's discoveries at Tell Halaf, in the heart of the Mitani country, had possessed an art of early Hattic character. It is known also that, at some period before the 14th century, it received into itself a foreign Indo-European element which supplied thenceforward its ruling caste. Was this element Mushkian? If it were, one difficulty about the proposed iden-

tification of Phrygian Midas with South Cappadocian Mita would disappear.

It is worth remembering that this aggressive apparition of the Mushki early in the 12th century coincides with a disturbance of Mesopotamia known to have been caused, at about the same epoch, by a north-westward advance of Aramæan tribes. This advance no doubt broke up the Mitanian state for good and all, and may have converted an element of its population for a while into a homeless raiding horde operating in the north.

On the supposition that the Mushkians hailed from North Mesopotamia we must build a further one—that, with their Semitized Hattism, they were pushed westward by Assyria into the Tyanitis some generations after the fall of the Hattic Empire. Although the name of Tyana appears in Hattic records, there is no reason to include the place within the Hattic Empire; and, as has been said already, its district has no Hattic, though it has many Hittite, monuments to show. An alternative possibility, that the Mushkians were already in Tyana and derived their Hattism from the north, during the Hattic Age, seems, therefore, to be excluded. Finally one other suggestion may be broached: Would philologists consider it legitimate to derive Mazaka and Mushki from the same stem? The former name does not occur in any published Boghazkeui document; and indeed an Assyrian, or Cappadoco-Assyrian settlement—possibly Kanēs or Ganes—whose prolific remains exist at Kara Eyuk, seems to have dominated the Argæus district in the Hattic period. Was Mazaka, then, a post-Hattic foundation of the Mushki of Tyana?

(b) There remains one more group of Hittite monuments to be considered, the West Lycaonian, whose members are scattered round Konia from Ilghin in the north to the Taurus, and from near the Beysheher Lake in the west to Emir Ghazi and the hills which shut off the Tyanitis on the east. They are all, as has been said, of grosser appearance than the Tyana group; and where Hittite legends are inscribed upon them, they are in relieved characters of a laborious sort. This West Lycaonian group is evidently the work of a society very different from that which produced the Tyanean group, and

(one is inclined to suggest) of older "Hattism." Probably these monuments are of the Hattic Imperial Age, although of provincial and not Cappadocian work.

Is there any state or people of the Hattic Age, which is both known to have been in relations with the Cappadocian Hatti, and also, on any grounds, might be placed in the extreme south-west of the latter's sphere of cultural or political influence? There is the much debated Arzawa. This old state, whose king corresponded with Amenhotep III of Egypt, fell later under Hattic power—for some of its archives have been found at Boghazkeui itself; but not quite securely—for it is mentioned as still a possible danger in Murshil's treaty with the king of Kissuwadna. It lay apparently not far from Kissuwadna; therefore in the Tauric belt; but since it is not mentioned at any time as an object of Assyrian attack from Cilicia or elsewhere, while it was sufficiently in touch with Egypt to have expectations from Pharaoh, its situation should be looked for well away to the westward. One thinks of the part of Rough Cilicia, which so long remained the rich preserve of the Priest Kings of Olba and has access by the easiest of the Tauric passes to the Konia plain. Somewhere in that depressed section of the range the city, Arzawa, may well have stood, with territorial realm stretching north beyond Konia and south to the Calycadnus river and the sea. If so, the Arzawans can be credited with the west Lycaonian group of Hittite monuments, made after their country had been brought, in the 14th century B.C., to the heel of the Hattic power beyond the Axylon.

The general conclusion of the whole matter, therefore, is that, in great proportion, the known Hittite monuments of southern Asia Minor are post-Hattic in date, and the work of non-Hattic peoples, of whom, in most instances, the identity and the period can be fixed with reasonable probability.

XVIII.

DIE KULTE LYDIENS

von J. KEIL

WÄHREND sich dem flüchtigen Betrachter der Landkarte die Halbinsel Kleinasien leicht als eine verhältnismässig scharf abgegrenzte in sich geschlossene Einheit darstellt, lässt tieferes Eindringen in ihre geographischen und geschichtlichen Gegebenheiten das gerade Gegenteil von Einheitlichkeit immer klarer erkennen. Wenn schon im Norden hohe Gebirge den Aufschluss der Landschaft gegen die Küste verhindern und daher die dort auf schmalen Küstenebenen angelegten Ansiedelungen ohne innigen Zusammenhang mit dem Binnenlande bleiben, so blickt im Süden die durch die gewaltige Tauruskette vom Stamm der Halbinsel abgeschnürte kilikische Ebene weg von Kleinasien gegen Syrien und Ägypten. Aber auch in ost-westlicher Richtung bricht die Landschaft auseinander. Während der Westen sich in breiten Flusstälern weit gegen die Ägäis öffnet und mit deren Inselwelt und Westküste eine untrennbare Einheit bildet, im Nordosten aber die Verklammerung mit Europa durch das Aneinanderstossen der beiden Gebiete an den Dardanellen und am Bosporus unmittelbar gegeben ist, leitet im Osten das jeder einheitlichen Gruppierung entbehrende armenische Gebirgsland ohne deutliche Scheidelinie nach Grossasien und dessen Kulturgebieten hinüber. Eine weite Kulturbene im Zentrum hätte trotz dieser zentrifugal wirkenden geographischen Verhältnisse Kleinasien dennoch zu einer Einheit zusammenschweissen können: so aber bildet das Herz der Halbinsel eine unfruchtbare Steppe und, wo etwa der Platz für die Hauptstadt wäre, stagnieren die Wasser des grossen Salzsees.

Diese geographische Zerfahrenheit hat es mit sich gebracht, dass Kleinasien niemals einen selbständigen Staat für sich gebildet

und eine politische Einheit nur dann gefunden hat, wenn es mit den benachbarten Ländern Europas und Vorderasiens, oder wenigstens des letzteren allein, in einem Staatengebilde zusammengeschlossen war.

Die eigenartige, einer grossen Brücke zwischen Orient und Okzident vergleichbare Lage hat dann weiter bewirkt, dass immer wieder, von Europa oder Asien her, ganze Völkerschaften in Anatolien eingedrungen sind und dort vorübergehende oder dauernde Wohnsitze gefunden haben. Auch von den vielen Soldaten, Beamten, Kaufleuten und sonstigen Personen, die im Gefolge fremder Machthaber oder sonstwie im Zusammenhange mit auswärtiger Beherrschung der Landschaft nach Kleinasien kamen, sind gar manche in offizieller Mission, z. B. als Militärkolonisten oder aber als Privatleute, dauernd im Lande verblieben. Alle diese fremden Ansiedler haben natürlich die Sitten der alten in die neue Heimat mitgebracht und so ist mit der vielfachen Überschichtung und Vermischung der Bewohner notwendiger Weise auch eine weitgehende Überschichtung und Mischung der Kulturen Hand in Hand gegangen. Aber auch unabhängig von neuen Einwanderern hat sich, namentlich in friedlichen Zeiten, auf dem Boden Anatoliens ein unaufhörlicher Austausch der hier zusammenstossenden Kulturen des Ostens und Westens vollzogen und seinerseits ebenfalls Mischungsverhältnisse erzeugt, die sich mit den durch die Bevölkerungsverschiebungen hervorgerufenen in der mannigfachsten Weise durchkreuzen und verbinden.

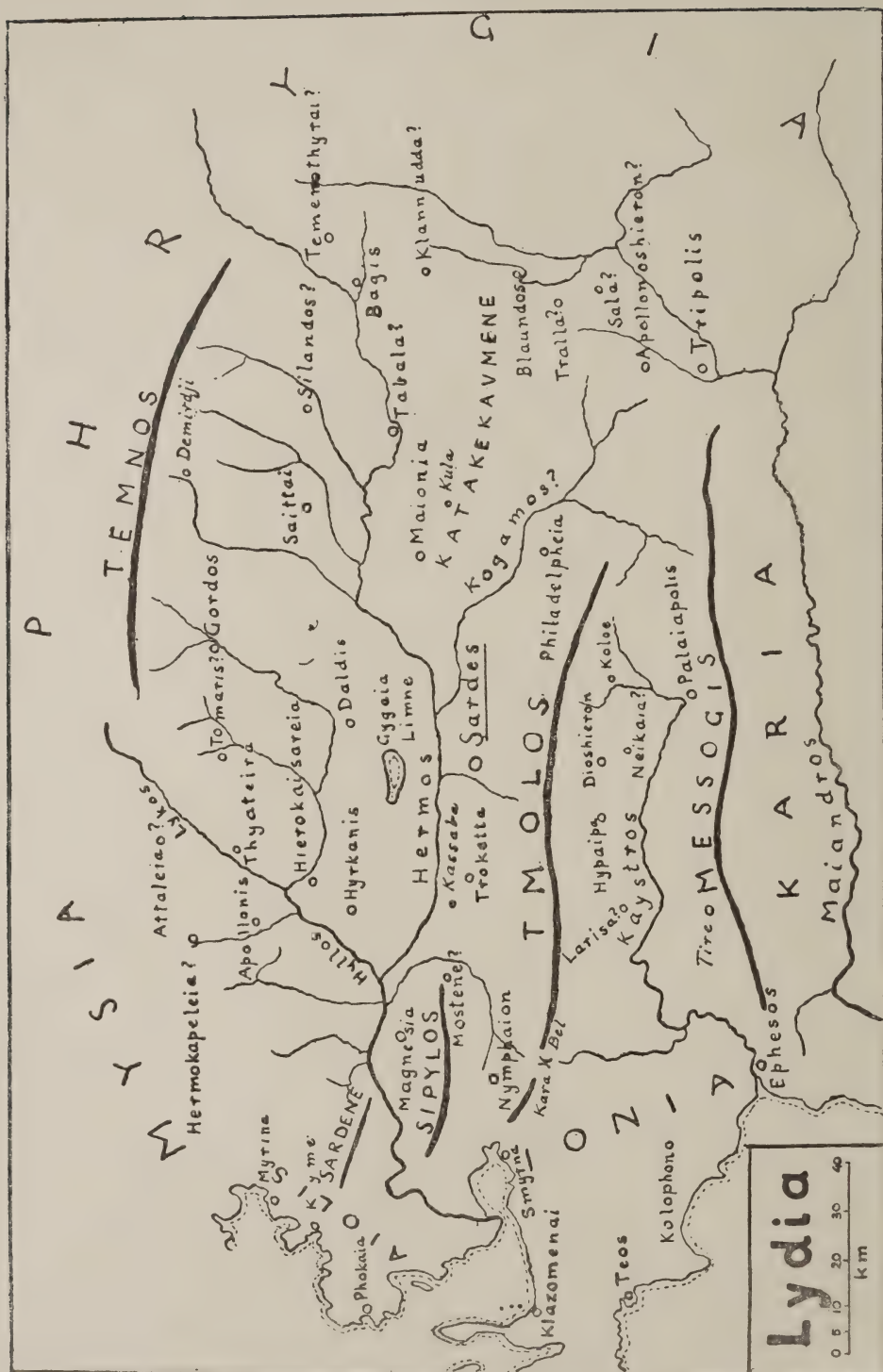
Diesen grossen Mischungsprozess in alle seine einzelnen Phasen zurückzuverfolgen und das Zusammengesetzte wieder in seine einzelnen Bestandteile zu zerlegen, ist die Aufgabe der historischen Erforschung Kleinasiens. Nach dem Vorhergesagten ist klar, dass es sich hiebei vor allem um die Auseinanderlegung der europäischen und asiatischen Elemente handeln wird. Dennoch wäre es völlig verfehlt, die kleinasiatische Kultur in östliche und westliche Elemente sozusagen restlos aufteilen zu wollen. Die im Ganzen gebirgige, den Verkehr ungemein erschwerende, nicht besonders fruchtbare Natur der Halbinsel hat vielmehr bewirkt, dass sich nicht nur in einzelnen vom Durchzugsverkehr weniger berührten Landschaften eigentümliche Sonderkulturen gebildet haben, sondern dass uns fast überall,

namentlich aber in den entlegeneren Gebirgsgegenden, ein spezifisch kleinasiatisches Kulturelement entgegentritt, das, selbst in ungemessenen Entwicklungszeiträumen allmählich geworden, vorübergehender fremder Beeinflussung zu trotzen scheint, und so in dem grossen Wechsel und Austausch nicht nur selbst wie eine Konstante unverändert bleibt, sondern auch auf die Gestaltung der Gesamtkultur einen sehr bedeutenden konservierenden und uniformierenden Einfluss ausübt: es ist das, was Ramsay das Anatolische nennt und dessen Wesen und Wirkung er mit genialem Scharfblick von den ältesten Zeiten bis in die Gegenwart verfolgt. Der Historiker wird keinen Augenblick zweifeln, dass auch dies scheinbar mit grosser Einheitlichkeit auftretende Anatolische schliesslich doch wieder ein Differenziertes und Zusammengesetztes ist, aber er weiss auch, dass jeder menschlichen Forschung Grenzen gesetzt sind, über die hinaus ein Auflösen und Zergliedern nicht mehr möglich ist.

Auf keinem Gebiete lässt sich die auf kleinasiatischem Boden erfolgte Vermischung von Bevölkerungs- und Kulturschichten, das zähe Weiterleben uralter Vorstellungen und Gebräuche und das unaufhörliche Eindringen neuer besser verfolgen als auf dem der Religion und der Kulte. Sorgfältiger Forschung wird es hier ähnlich wie bei einer mit peinlichster Genauigkeit durchgeführten Grabung gelingen, die übereinander gelagerten Schichten eine nach der andern zu erkennen und behutsam abzutragen und so von den gegenwärtigen bis zu den ältesten noch erreichbaren anatolischen Zuständen vorzudringen. Wie ich mir eine solche Forschung denke, soll im Folgenden an dem Beispiele der antiken Kulte Lydiens gezeigt werden. Ich hoffe später auch die übrigen Landschaften in ähnlicher Weise behandeln zu können, um dann das durch Zusammenarbeit dieser Einzelforschungen gewonnene Gesamtergebnis dem Altmeister kleinasiatischer Forschung zur Beurteilung vorzulegen.

Die im Norden und Osten von mysisch-phrygischem, im Süden von karischem Gebiet umschlossene Landschaft *Lydien*¹

¹ Die Grenzen Lydiens sind natürlich im einzelnen nicht ohne Willkür festzusetzen. Die mir nach sorgfältiger Erwägung aller Gründe als die richtigste erscheinende Abgrenzung, welche auch diesem Aufsätze überall zugrunde liegt, ist folgende: Vom Nordufer des Hermosdéfilés westlich von Magnesia bis zum Hermosdurchbruch zwischen Temnos- und Dindymosgebirge die Wasserscheide des Flussgebietes des Hermos und seiner Nebenflüsse; von letzterem Durchbruch an eine ziemlich genau südlich an den



steht im Westen über den schmalen ionisch-äolischen Küstensaum in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit dem grossen Kulturgebiete des ägäischen Meeres und war daher den von dort kommenden Einflüssen immer ganz besonders stark ausgesetzt. Von einem der wichtigsten Strassenzüge nach dem Osten durchzogen erscheint sie von Natur aus aber auch dazu bestimmt, bei der Vermittlung des Austauschverkehrs zwischen Orient und Okzident eine hervorragende Rolle zu spielen. Weite Ebenen und Flusstäler mit ausgezeichnetem Ackerboden ermöglichen und begünstigen die Entwicklung rasch fortschreitender städtischer Kultur; unmittelbar daneben aber liegen ausgedehnte Gebiete wenig fruchtbaren, unwegsamen Gebirgslandes, in das neue Strömungen nur schwer und langsam Eingang finden, während sich alte Gewohnheiten und Vorstellungen dort durch Jahrtausende hindurch fast unverändert zu erhalten vermögen. Über die nichtindogermanische älteste Bevölkerung dieser Landschaft haben sich von Norden her indogermanische (phrygische) Stämme geschoben, ohne dass es ihnen jedoch gelungen wäre, die erstere zu absorbieren. In dem Reiche von Sardes ist diese vielmehr zu neuer Macht gelangt und hat, damals bereits von griechisch-ionischem Einfluss berührt, die ganze Halbinsel sich untertan zu machen versucht. Da schlug der Orient zurück und durch mehr als zwei Jahrhunderte war Lydien in das persische Grossreich eingeschlossen. Damals wurde Sardes die Hauptstadt der wichtigsten westlichen Satrapie und, unterstützt durch Zuwanderung und Kolonisation, zog orientalischer Einfluss in die Landschaft ein. Die Zertrümmerung Persiens durch Alexander und seine makedonisch-griechischen Heere gab jedoch dem niemals völlig unterbrochenen griechischen Kultureinfluss rasch den Sieg und als die Römer Kleinasien ihrem Reiche einfügten, war ihre Hellenisierung wenigstens äusserlich vollendet. Roms Herrschaft hat nur in Einzelheiten

Hippurios bei Blaundos verlaufende Linie; der Flusslauf des Hippurios und der des Mäander bis Tripolis; die Kammlinie der Messogis bis etwa 10 km. westlich von Tire; von da eine Linie, die in nordwestlicher Richtung zum Passe Karabel, dann zur Wasserscheide zwischen Nymphaion und Smyrna und schliesslich von da über den Sipylos zu dem zuerst genannten Hermodéfilé westlich von Magnesia verläuft. Von den Münzorten, welche die Numismatiker Lydien zuzuweisen pflegen, fallen dabei die dem Kaikosgebiet angehörenden Nakrasa, Germe, Stratoneikeia und Akrasos, ferner die am Südabhange der Messogis gelegenen Briula, Aninetos, Mastaura, Nysa und Tralleis ausserhalb Lydiens.

direkt auf die kulturellen Verhältnisse in Lydien gewirkt, aber sie hat Anatolien die grosse Friedensperiode gebracht, in welcher die vorher doch vorwiegend auf die leicht zugänglichen Gebiete beschränkte Kultur des Hellenismus bis in die entlegensten Winkel der Gebirge drang und jene weitgehende Einheitlichkeit in der ganzen Lebensweise erzeugte, welche nicht nur der Ausbreitung des Christentums die Wege ebnete, sondern vor allem den beispiellos hartnäckigen Widerstand erklärt, den Kleinasien dem Vordringen des Islam durch Jahrhunderte entgegengesetzt hat.¹

Was die Träger des *Islam* an religiösem Gut ins Land gebracht haben, sondert sich von selbst von dem vorher Vorhandenen ab und nur ganz vereinzelt einmal wird die Frage auftauchen, inwieweit in der Verehrung eines lokalen türkischen Heiligen vorislamitische Traditionen erhalten sind.

Viel enger und fester ist die Schicht des *Christentums* mit den religiösen Zuständen der älteren Zeiten verklammert. Denn wenn die offizielle Kirche in ihrem grossen Kampfe gegen das namentlich in den Gebirgsgegenden sich zäh erhaltende "Heidentum" von dessen Vorstellungen und Bräuchen auch nur verhältnismässig wenig aufgenommen hat, so sind doch, wie es bei dem Gleichbleiben der Bevölkerung gar nicht anders möglich war, in das praktisch geübte anatolische Christentum gar viele Elemente früherer Religionsübung eingedrungen, sodass es z. B. manchmal nicht möglich ist, einen christlichen Inschrift- oder Bildstein von einem nichtchristlichen mit Sicherheit zu unterscheiden. Im Ganzen genommen ist das Christentum jedoch eine in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung wie in ihren Einzeläusserungen durchaus klar zu verfolgende Erscheinung, sodass es keine Schwierigkeit macht, die christliche Schicht aus der Religionsentwicklung Kleinasiens und Lydiens im Besonderen abzuheben. Was dann übrig bleibt, gehört, während das Christentum dort nur seinen Anfang nimmt, durchwegs dem Altertum an und ist daher der eigentliche Gegenstand unserer Untersuchung.

Mit ähnlicher Klarheit wie die christliche lässt sich hier zunächst eine jüngste Schicht religiöser Kulte aussondern, die

¹ Ramsay, *Stud. E.R.P.*, 279 ff.

wir als die *römische* oder die des Kaiserkultes bezeichnen können, wenngleich Rom und Römer nicht die Träger, sondern die Objekte dieses Kultus sind, der in letzter Linie in einer auch orientalischem Wesen nicht fremden griechischen Vorstellung von der Göttlichkeit hervorragender Menschen wurzelt und unmittelbar an die hellenistischen Herrscherkulte anknüpft. Dass diese letzteren auch in Lydien Verbreitung gefunden hatten, dürfen wir nach Analogie der übrigen westkleinasiatischen Landschaften unbedenklich annehmen, wenn wir es bisher auch nur für Sardes nachweisen können, wo zum Dank für die Errettung aus der Galatergefahr um 166 v. Chr. das Fest der *Παναθήναια καὶ Εὐμένηα* eingerichtet worden ist.¹

Der Kult der Göttin *Roma*, der in Smyrna bereits im Jahre 195 v. Chr. Eingang gefunden hatte, ist uns für Sardes zuerst zu Beginn des ersten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bezeugt;² der *ἱερεὺς Ῥώμης* ist damals und vermutlich bis zum Anfang der Kaiserzeit der eponyme Beamte der Stadt und begegnet—auch sonst gelegentlich erwähnt³—als solcher auf einer ganzen Anzahl von Inschriften.⁴ Aber auch für die später Hierokaisareia, damals vielleicht Hierakome benannte Stadt ist Romakult schon in voraugusteischer Zeit nachweisbar.⁵ Ein der Göttin *Roma* gemeinsam mit Kaiser Augustus in derselben Stadt geweihter Altar⁶ zeigt, was dann in einer Inschrift aus Hypaipa für Sardes ganz klar angegeben ist,⁷ dass der Romakult in der Folge vielfach mit dem der Kaiser vereinigt bzw. dieser an den bereits vorher bestehenden Romakult angeschlossen wurde. Wenn schon die vielen lydischen Stadtmünzen mit dem Bilde der *Roma* keinen Beweis dafür abgeben, dass in jeder einzelnen der betreffenden Städte tatsächlich ein Kult der Göttin bestanden

¹ Buckler-Robinson, *Am. J. Arch.*, II. ser. XVII, 43; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 305; die Inschrift *Μουσείον*, 1876-1878, 25 n. σκδ', Z. 16, lehrt uns nur, dass es in Sardes ein nach einer Arsinoe benanntes Bauwerk gegeben habe, aber nicht, dass dieses ein Heiligtum für sie gewesen wäre. Die Basis (?) für *Βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος*, *J.H.S.*, XXXVII, 110, 23 beweist natürlich nichts für einen Kult dieses Herrschers.

² Buckler-Robinson, a. a. O., 44.

³ Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 437, Z. 90 f.

⁴ Buckler-Robinson, a. a. O., XVIII, 46 ff., n. 14, 15, 16, 18; *Μουσείον*, 1876-1878, 62, 146; ebda 1878-1880, 182, τοα'; *J.H.S.*, XXIX, 155, 4.

⁵ *B.C.H.*, XI, 94, 14.

⁶ K.Pr. (= Keil-v. Premerstein, *Lydische Reiseberichte*), I, 113.

⁷ Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 470, Z. 12 f., wo sich die Oberpriesterwürde des Pardalas auf Sardes bezieht.

haben muss, so verdient doch hervorgehoben zu werden, dass die auf Exemplaren von Bagis, Julia Gordos, Hermokapeleia, Mostene, Sardes, Silandos, Thyateira, und Tripolis dem Bilde oft beigefügte Legende von der weiten Verbreitung des wenn auch mehr offiziellen Glaubens an die Göttlichkeit der eponymen Vertreterin des Römerreiches in Lydien doch bedeutsam Zeugnis ablegt.¹

Wie, entsprechend dem ausdrücklichen Wunsche des *Augustus*,² sein Kult auch in Lydien zunächst an den der Roma angeschlossen wurde, haben wir bereits an dem Beispiel von Sardes, wo ein *ναός* des Augustus noch besonders erwähnt wird,³ und von Hierokaisareia, das seinen neuen Namen zu Ehren des ersten Kaisers annahm,⁴ gesehen. Weitere Zeugnisse sind eine Münze von Magnesia,⁵ die unter Augustus einen *ἱερεὺς Σεβαστοῦ* verzeichnet, sowie Inschriften und Münzen von Thyateira, welche uns von dem *ἐπὶ θεῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἀγόμενος ἀγών* der *Αὐγούστεια Πύθια* Kunde geben.⁶ Bei dem nach dem Tode des Augustus einsetzenden Wettstreit der Städte von Asia um den Besitz des provinzialen Tempels des zweiten Kaisers musste, nachdem Hypaipa mit anderen kleineren Städten ausgeschaltet war, zuletzt in der engeren Wahl Sardes gegen Smyrna zurücktreten.⁷ Zum Dank für die Wiederherstellung nach dem furchtbaren Erdbeben des Jahres 17 n. Chr. hat die lydische Hauptstadt jedoch dem *Tiberius* einen städtischen Kult mit einem *ἱερεὺς* eingerichtet und zugleich wie Bagis und Mostene den Namen *Καيسάρεια* angenommen.⁸ Unter *Caligula*, der nach einem angeblich aus der Gegend von Kula stammenden Weihrelief selbst irgendwo in Lydien ein Temenos besass,⁹ hat

¹ Hier ist auch der Legende *Θεὸς Σύνκλητος* auf Münzen von Apollonis, Daldis, Hermokapeleia, Magnesia, Sala, Sardes und Thyateira oder *Θεὰ Σύνκλητος* auf solchen von Magnesia und Thyateira, ferner der inschriftlich erhaltenen Weihungen an Kaiser Nerva, *Σύνκλητος* und *Ῥωμαίων Ἡγεμονία* aus Thyateira (*B.C.H.*, X, 402, 6), sowie an die *Θεοὶ Σεβαστοὶ*, *ἱερεὶς Σύνκλητος* und *Δῆμος Ῥωμαίων* aus Dere-Kjõi (*B.C.H.*, IX, 397) als weiterer Zeugnisse für die Vergöttlichung politischer Gewalten Roms zu gedenken.

² Sueton, *Augustus*, 52.

³ Buckler-Robinson, a.a.O., XVIII, 323, Z. 14.

⁴ Vielleicht ist auch das den Artemisspielen der Stadt beigelegte Epitheton *μεγάλα Σεβαστά* (K.Pr., I, zu 113, vgl. 114) auf den ersten Sebastos zu beziehen.

⁵ B.M.C., *Lydia*, 144, 44.

⁶ Belege bei K.Pr., II, S. 36, zu 64.

⁷ Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 55 f.

⁸ *C.I.G.*, 3461, Z. 5 f.

⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 18.

der Vater des Kaisers *Germanicus* vielleicht im Verein mit der Mutter *Agrippina d. Ae.* in Philadelpheia einen Kult erhalten.¹ An *Claudius* gemeinsam mit Apollo ist eine Weihung in Nymphaion gerichtet,² seine Gattin *Agrippina d. J.* und seine mit Nero verheiratete Tochter Octavia werden auf Münzen von Mostene und Sardes³ ausdrücklich als *θεαί* bezeichnet. Für spätere Kaiser sind (natürlich abgesehen von den zahlreichen Ehreninschriften) folgende Belege göttlicher Verehrung aus Lydien bekannt geworden. *Hadrian*: Ein Altar, der ihm mit *Ζεὺς Σωτήρ Ὀλύμπιος* in Larisa im Kaystrostale,⁴ mehrere Altäre, die ihm als *Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος Σωτήρ* in Thyateira⁵ und eine Weihung, die ihm im Verein mit seiner Gattin *Sabina* als *νέα Ἥρα Σεβαστή* in der *Τατεικωμητῶν κατοικία* bei Kassaba errichtet wurde;⁶ *Antoninus Pius*: eine Weihung an die *θεοὶ πατριοὶ* und den Kaiser aus der *Σελινδηνῶν κατοικία* bei Parsa⁷ und eine Ehreninschrift aus Sardes, in welcher der Kaiser auffallender Weise als Heros bezeichnet wird;⁸ *Lucius Verus*: auf einer Statuenbasis in Maionia *νέος Διόνυσος* genannt;⁹ *Marc Aurel und Commodus*: nach den *θεοὶ πατριοὶ* in zwei Dedikationsinschriften von Julia Gordos angeführt,¹⁰ des ersteren Gattin *Faustina* als *Σεβαστή θεά* in einer Weihung aus Sardes;¹¹ *Elagabal*: von seiner *θεία τύχη* spricht eine Inschrift aus Thyateira;¹² *Alexander Severus* zu Ehren ist in der gleichen Stadt der *Σεουήρειος ἀγών* eingerichtet worden.¹³ Zu diesen Zeugnissen für die göttliche Verehrung einzelner Kaiser kommen dann die vielen Inschriften, in welchen die *θεοὶ Σεβαστοί* im Allgemeinen genannt oder den Kaisern dargebrachte Opfer, ihnen eingerichtete Agone oder Feste, für sie bestellte Priester erwähnt werden. Bedenkt man, dass neben den lokalen Kulturen sicher noch zwei provinziale in Sardes und ein solcher in Philadelpheia bestanden¹⁴ und dass die uns zufällig durch Zeugnisse belegten nur

¹ B.M.C., *Lydia*, 194, 51 und 52 mit der Legende *Μέλανος ἱερεὺς Γερμανικοῦ*, letztere Münze anscheinend die Porträts des Germanikus und der älteren Agrippina zeigend.

² K.Pr., III, 1.

³ B.M.C., *Lydia*, 254, 125 und 162 F.

⁴ K.Pr., III, S. 84, Anm. 1.

⁵ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, I, 1.

⁶ K.Pr., I, 20.

⁷ K.Pr., II, 165.

⁸ *C.I.G.*, 3457.

⁹ *B.C.H.*, VIII, 389, 8, und K.Pr., I, 145.

¹⁰ *Μουσείον* 1884-1885, 58, νμδ'.

¹¹ K.Pr., II, 64.

¹² Belege bei K.Pr., zu II, 67.

¹³ Chapot, *Province d'Asie*, 451 f.

¹⁴

ein kleiner Teil der wirklich vorhandenen gewesen sind, so wird klar, dass die Kaiserreligion eine sehr bedeutende Schicht in der religiösen Entwicklung Lydiens ausmacht, die in den Städten ihre grösste Mächtigkeit erreicht, aber, wie Inschriften aus der *Χωριανῶν κατοικία* bei Selendi,¹ der *Δαρειουκωμητῶν κατοικία* östlich von Magnesia,² der *Σελινδηνῶν κατοικία* bei Parsa,³ der *Τατεικωμητῶν κατοικία* bei Kassaba,⁴ die Verehrung der *κρατοῦντες θεοὶ Σεβαστοί* in der Katoikie auf dem Assar Tepe bei Urganly,⁵ der Verein der *Καισαριασταί* in Gjök Kaja,⁶ die Vereinigung der den Commodus verehrenden *Ἐρωτες* bei Mendechora⁷ und nicht zuletzt das *Καισαρήιον* in dem entlegenen Dorfe bei Jussuf Deressi in Kaystrostale⁸ lehren, auch in der Chora weit verbreitet war. Die Frage, inwieweit der innere religiöse Gehalt des Kaiserkultes seiner äusseren Verbreitung entsprach, lässt eine objektive Beantwortung nicht zu. Immerhin wird man eine Meinung, welche in ihm eine *lediglich* von serviler Schmeichelei oder schlauer Berechnung getragene Erscheinung sehen wollte, abzulehnen und eher daran zu erinnern haben, dass die nach den schrecklichen vorausgehenden Zeiten durch Augustus gebrachte lange Friedensperiode der Kaiserzeit bei den Kleinasiaten sehr wohl auch ein Gefühl dankbarer Verpflichtung und Verehrung gegenüber den mächtigen Herrschern Roms hervorrufen und eine Art von religiös gerichtetem Reichspatriotismus erzeugen konnte, der in dem Roma- und Kaiserkult seinen Ausdruck fand.

Vor der Kaiserreligion liegt, in diese mit ihren Ausläufern vielfach hineinreichend, die entsprechend der weitgehenden Hellenisierung der Landschaft mächtigste *Schicht der hellenischen oder hellenisch beeinflussten Kulte*. Von den ältesten Zeiten äolisch-ionischer Kolonisation bis zum Ausgange des Altertums hat sich, allerdings in wechselnder Intensität und Reinheit und zeitweise von anderen Einflüssen zurückgedrängt und durchkreuzt, in breitem Strome griechische Kultur in die Landschaft ergossen, um sie, wenigstens äusserlich, sich schliesslich ganz zu eigen zu machen. Der Versuch, das hellenische

¹ *B.C.H.*, X, 419, 28.

² *K.Pr.*, I, 20.

³ *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 501.

⁴ *K.Pr.*, III, 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, 397.

⁶ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, I, 1.

⁷ Buresch, *a.a.O.*, 6, 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 107.

Element in den lydischen Kulturen reinlich herauszuheben, begegnet jedoch deshalb Schwierigkeiten, weil die hellenische Religion selbst, namentlich seit der hellenistischen Zeit, von fremden Einflüssen stark durchsetzt worden ist, und daher in jedem Einzelfalle erst untersucht werden muss, ob tatsächlich ein hellenischer, oder aber ein nur hellenischen Namen oder aufgepropfte hellenische Züge tragender einheimischer bzw. anderswoher importierter Kult vorliegt. Es erscheint daher notwendig, die weitere Untersuchung in der Weise zu führen, dass zunächst *alle* Kulte festgestellt werden, welche nach Abzug der islamischen, christlichen und der den Roma- und Kaiserkult betreffenden Schicht übrig bleiben, und dass dann der Versuch gemacht wird, ihre Verteilung auf die hellenischen und die übrigen in Frage kommenden Bevölkerungs- und Kulturschichten vorzunehmen. Von den fünf Quellen, welche für die Ermittlung dieser Kulte vor allem in Betracht kommen, den literarischen Nachrichten (1), den inschriftlichen Zeugnissen (2), den in der Landschaft gefundenen Bildwerken (3), den Münzdarstellungen und Münzlegenden (4),¹ und den theophoren Namen (5)² werde ich bei meiner jetzigen Untersuchung mit wohlüberlegter Beschränkung die inschriftlichen allein zugrunde legen und die übrigen nur aushilfsweise heranziehen. Selbstverständlich leidet bei einem solchen Verfahren die Vollständigkeit; aber wichtiger als eine doch immer nur eingebildete Vollständigkeit war mir der Vorteil, dass die auf diese Weise gewonnenen Ergebnisse auf grösstenteils zuverlässigen und eindeutigen Zeugnissen beruhen und dass gerade die Beschränkung auf eine einzige Quellengruppe statistische Feststellungen begünstigt, welche für die Beurteilung der Verbreitung und Intensität der einzelnen Kulte von grösster Wichtigkeit sind.

In die nun folgende Liste sind, mit Ausnahme der dem Islam, dem Christentum und dem Kaiserkult angehörigen, alle göttlichen Mächte aufgenommen, für welche aus inschriftlichen

¹ So wenig bezweifelt werden kann, dass die Münzbilder eine ausserordentlich wichtige Quelle für die Kulte ihrer Städte sind, so schwierig, ja unmöglich ist es, im einzelnen Falle Sicherheit darüber zu gewinnen, ob dem Münzbilde einer Gottheit, namentlich wenn es vereinzelt oder selten vorkommt, tatsächlich auch kultliche Verehrung dieser Gottheit entsprochen hat. Bei der Gesamtstatistik aller kleinasiatischen Kulte werden auch die Münzbilder entsprechende Berücksichtigung zu finden haben.

² Vgl. E. Sittig, *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris*, Diss. Hal, XX, 1.

Zeugnissen göttliche Verehrung in Lydien nachgewiesen oder wahrscheinlich gemacht werden kann. Die jeweils in Klammern beigesetzten Ziffern geben die Zahl der Bezeugungen an.

I. AGATHOS DAIMON (1) in Philadelphiea.¹

II. AGGDISTIS (1) in Philadelphiea.¹

III. ANAITIS (PERSIKE THEA, ARTEMIS PERSIKE) (44).

Hierokaisareia (12) als Persike Thea² oder Artemis P.;³

Agon: τὰ μεγάλα Ἀρτεμείσια oder τὰ μεγάλα Σεβαστὰ Ἀρτεμείσια.⁴ Ueber das Asylrecht des angeblich von Kyros gestifteten Heiligtums vgl. Tacitus, ann. III, 62; der eigenartige Feuerkult auf Münzen dargestellt; Hypaipa (8) als A. Artemis oder Artemis. Priester,⁵ Agon: τὰ μεγάλα Ἀρτεμείσια mit Zählung nach Artemisiaden.⁶ Über die Eigenart des Kultes, dessen Feueraltar auf Münzen wiederholt dargestellt ist, vgl. Pausanias V, 27, 5; Philadelphiea (9) als Artemis A. oder Meter A., Agon: τὰ μεγάλα Σεβαστὰ Ἀναίτεια;⁷ Katakekaumene (2) als Artemis oder Meter A.;⁸ Kula (3) als Thea A. mit Men Tiamu,⁹ Artemis A. mit Men Tiamu¹⁰ oder als Meter A.;¹¹ Sandal bei Kula (1) als Artemis A. mit Zeus Sabazios;¹² Ajas Ören bei Kula (3) als Thea oder Meter A., stets verbunden mit Men (bzw. Mis) Tiamu;¹³ Aiwadlar bei Kula (5) als A., Thea A., Artemis A. oder Meter A. Aziottene,¹⁴ einmal mit Men Tiamu;¹⁵ Silandos

¹ K.Pr., III, 18; vgl. über diese wichtige Inschrift die Monographie von O. Weinreich, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Heidelberg*, 1919.

² B.C.H., XI, 81, 2, aus Sarytscham (jetzt in Magnesia), ohne Zweifel jedoch aus Hierokaisareia verschleppt.

³ *Ibid.*, 95, 17; die analoge Weihung aus Mermere, ebda 448, 5 dürfte gleichfalls Hierokaisareia zuzuweisen sein.

⁴ Acht Belege bei K.Pr., I, 104; dazu J.H.S., XXXVII, 109, 22.

⁵ Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 470; vgl. *Μουσείον* 1873-1875, 114, 1 (ἀρχιμάγος).

⁶ Drei Belege *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, X Beibl. 35; K.Pr., III, 92-94; dazu eine unveröffentlichte Inschrift.

⁷ Belege bei K.Pr., I, 33.

⁸ Ἀρμονία (Smyrna), 31. Mai, 1900, n. 3 und 6.

⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 254, 19.

¹⁰ B.C.H., IV, 128.

¹¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 255, 20.

¹² *Μουσείον*, 1878-1880, 164, τλβ'.

¹³ Ἀρμονία (Smyrna) 30. und 31. Mai, 1900, n. 2, 4, 5.

¹⁴ *Mnemosyne*, n.s., XV, 253, n. 1, 2, 6 und 7.

¹⁵ *Μουσείον*, 1884-1885, 54, υλγ'.

(1) als A. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὕδατος;¹ vgl. auch Meter Anatidos.

IV. APHRODITE (5).

Apollonis oder Hierokaisareia (1);² Arpaly-Tyanollos bei Hierokaisareia (1) mit Herakles?;³ Tateikome bei Kassaba (1);⁴ erwähnt in Assar Tepe bei Urganly (1)⁵ und als Kypris in Grabgedicht in Philadelpheia (1).⁶

V. APOLLO (16).

1. Ohne weiteren Beinamen (2) erscheint A. in Inschriften von Ajas Ören bei Kula und Nymphaion,⁷ sonst stets mit Beinamen, nach denen die Aufzählung zu erfolgen hat.
2. A. Paian in Hierokaisareia (1).⁸
3. A. Soter in Troketta (1).⁹
4. A. Pingeanos in Jaja Kjöi (Gebiet von Hermokapeleia? (1)).¹⁰
5. A. Pityaenos in Suleimanly bei Thyateira (1).¹¹
6. A. Spad . . . in Jaikyne bei Kassaba (1).¹² Der unter den folgenden drei Beinamen verehrte A. führt als Attribut das Doppelbeil:
7. A. Theos Bozenos, angeblich aus Kula (1).¹³
8. A. Nisyreites (4) aus Ajas Ören bei Kula (2)¹⁴ einmal mit Asklepios;¹⁵ Saryschlar bei Kula (1);¹⁶ Duras bei Kula (1).¹⁷
9. A. Tarsios oder Tarseus aus Kula und Umgebung (3), zweimal allein,¹⁸ einmal mit Meter Tarsene.¹⁹
10. A. Chresterios in Dscham Pascha n. von Magnesia (1)²⁰

¹ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 117, 56.

² *B.C.H.*, X, 521, 22.

³ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 37, 23.

⁴ Ebda 1, 1.

⁵ *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 501.

⁶ *B.C.H.*, VII, 503, 4.

⁷ Μουσείον, 1886, φξη'; K.Pr., III, 1 (wo der Beiname aber nur weggebrochen ist); die Inschrift aus Aga Bey Kjöi, K.Pr., III, 56, lasse ich als unsicher unberücksichtigt.

⁸ *B.C.H.*, XI, 94, 14.

⁹ K.Pr., I, 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, S. 161.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹² Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 5, 4.

¹³ *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXVIII, 37.

¹⁴ K.Pr., II, 202.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 203.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 199.

¹⁷ *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 198, 1.

¹⁸ K.Pr., I, 175, und *J.H.S.*, X, 226, 19.

¹⁹ *Musée Belge*, XI, 133.

²⁰ K.Pr., I, 91.

Der Kult und vielleicht auch der Stein gehören der äolischen Stadt Aigai an.

VI. ARETE (1) in Philadelpheia,¹

VII. ARTEMIS (21).

1. Ohne besonderen Beinamen in Thyateira (2), Priesterin und Mysterien; ² Jaja Kjöi (Gebiet von Hermokapeleia ?) (1) als Thea A.; ³ Sardes (6), einmal *Σαρδιανὴ Ἀρτεμις* ⁴ genannt, Heiligtum mit Zeus Polieus, ⁵ Priesterin, ⁶ Alter und Bedeutung des Kultes ⁷ wird jetzt auch durch eine Anzahl von Zeugnissen in lydischer Sprache erwiesen, ⁸ vgl. auch das Fest der A. Koloene am gygäischen See, Strabo XIII, 626; Philadelpheia (2); ⁹ Katakekaumene (1), Relief, A. auf von Löwen getragenen Thron mit Mondsichel neben Demeter und Nike; ¹⁰ Kula (1); ¹¹ Gjölde bei Kula (1); ¹² Gjüre = Bagis (1); ¹³ Furunlu im Kaysrostal (1); ¹⁴ Tire (1) Tempel der A. und der Sebastoi (ob der ephesische ?); ¹⁵ Jeni Kjöi bei Tire (1).¹⁶
2. A. Boreitene in Thyateira (1).¹⁷
3. Opis A. ? bei Salihly (1).¹⁸
4. *Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς κούρη βασιλῆς κόσμου* Votivgedicht aus der Katakekaumene (1).¹⁹

Artemis Anaitis s. unter Anaitis.

VIII. ASKLEPIOS (12).

Thyateira (5) A. Soter allein,²⁰ mit Hygieia,²¹ Agon: *τὰ μεγάληα Ἀσκληπίεια*; ²² Jaja Kjöi (3) Agon *μεγάλα*

¹ K.Pr., III, 18.

³ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 228.

⁵ *Am. J. Arch.*, XVIII, 321 ff., 29, Z. 133.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XVII, 355 ff., 4-7.

⁸ Nach frdl. Mitteilung W. H. Bucklers.

⁹ Le Bas-W., 646 und 648; vielleicht ist aber hier Anaitis gemeint.

¹⁰ Buresch, *Aus. Lyd.*, 69.

¹² *Μουσείον*, 1878-1880, 168, τμ'.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 138.

¹⁶ Unpubliziert.

¹⁸ *J.H.S.*, XXXVII, 102, 15.

¹⁹ *Ἀρμονία* (Smyrna), 20. Mai, 1900, n. 1.

²⁰ K.Pr., II, 21.

²² *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 505; XXIV, 231; *Rev. Ét. gr.*, IV, 74, 1.

² *C.I.G.*, 3507 und 3508.

⁴ *C.I.G.*, 3459.

⁷ Buckler und Robinson, ebda 368.

¹¹ Le Bas-W., 1671.

¹³ K.Pr., II, 230.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁷ *C.I.G.*, 3477.

²¹ *B.C.H.*, XI, 403, 32.

'Ασκληπίεια, die Inschriften¹ beziehen sich jedoch vielleicht auf Thyateira; Attaleia (1);² Ajas Ören bei Kula (1) mit Apollo Nisyreites;³ Köres bei Kula (1);⁴ Ariandos (Gebiet von Saittai) mit Hygieia im Tempel des Zeus Agoraios verehrt.⁵

IX. ATARKNATEIS (1)

in einer Inschrift unsicherer Herkunft mit einer männlichen Gottheit als Rächlerin des Grabfrevels angerufen.⁶

X. ATHENE (2).

Sardes (2), ein φόρος 'Αθηνᾶς⁷ und ein Agon Παναθήναια.⁸

XI. ATTIS (1)

Sardes, im Zusammenhange mit Mysterien;⁹ vgl. die Reliefdarstellung in Thermai Theseos bei Tabala.¹⁰

XII. CHARITES (1) in Philadelpheia.¹¹

XIII. DEMETER (4).

Dareiukome ö. von Magnesia (1) als D. Karpophoros;¹² Arably ö. von Salihly (1) in Gedicht erwähnt;¹³ Katakekaumene (1) auf Relief mit Artemis und Nike;¹⁴ Darmara = Φρυγῶν Αλμουρηνῶν κατοικία im Kaystrostal, Priesterstellung und Mysterien.¹⁵

XIV. DIONYSOS (15).¹⁶

Thyateira (2) als D. Kathegemon, Priester;¹⁷ Belendi bei Hierokaisareia (1) als D. Erikepaios;¹⁸ Troketta (1),

¹ Μουσείον, 1886, 59, φμ᾽; *B.C.H.*, X, 415, 23 und 24.

² *B.C.H.*, XI, 476, 51.

³ K.Pr., II, 203.

⁴ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 106, 47.

⁵ *Class. Rev.*, XIV, 370, 5.

⁶ Μουσείον, 1886, 77, φξ᾽, vgl. Buresch., a.a.O., 117.

⁷ *C.I.G.*, 3459.

⁸ *Am. J. Arch.*, XVII, 31; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 305.

⁹ Μουσείον, 1876-1878, 25, σκδ'.

¹⁰ K.Pr., II, S. 122 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III, 18.

¹² *B.C.H.*, IX, 397.

¹³ Le Bas-W., 640.

¹⁴ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 69.

¹⁵ *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 241.

¹⁶ Vgl. die vorzügliche Materialsammlung von G. Quandt, *De Baccho in Asia*

Minore . . . culto, Diss. Hal., XXI, 2.

¹⁷ *B.C.H.*, XI, 101, 24; K.Pr., II, 54.

¹⁸ K.Pr., I, 112.

Bromioskult in Gedicht erwähnt;¹ Sardes (2), anscheinend Priester in lydischer Inschrift erwähnt,² Fest: Διονύσια;³ Tepe Kjöi ö. Salihly (1) als D. Kathegemon, Kultverein;⁴ Philadelphiea (3) als D. oder D. Kathegemon, Mysterien im Kult des letzteren;⁵ Gjölde bei Kula (1), Statue des D. von den καταλουστικοὶ Μητρὸς . . . καὶ Μηνὸς Τιάμου καὶ Μηνὸς Πετραεῖτου geweiht;⁶ Darmara im Kaystrostal (1), Heiligtum;⁷ Tire (1), Traian als θιασώτης Διονύσου bezeichnet;⁸ Kjömürdschi zwischen Attaleia und Gordos (2), die Bezeichnung ναρθηκοφόρος wohl dem Dionysoskult zuzuweisen.⁹

XV. EUDAIMONIA (1) in Philadelphiea.¹⁰

XVI. HADES in Grabgedichten (3).

Kjömürdschi zwischen Attaleia und Gordos (1);¹¹ Kurtotan bei Daldis (1) mit Persephone;¹² Maionia (1) mit Persephone.¹³

XVII. HELIOS (6).

Thyateira (1), vielleicht = Tyrimnos;¹⁴ Philadelphiea (5), Agon: Ἀλεια (Φιλαδέλφεια) oder Δεῖα Ἀλεια Φιλαδέλφεια.¹⁵

XVIII. HERAKLES (5).

Thyateira (3) als Gott der Gymnasien der νεανίσκοι,¹⁶ Standbilder von ihm,¹⁷ Vereinigung der Heraklesten in Mernuphyta;¹⁸ Arpaly Tyanollos (1) H. ? mit Aphrodite;¹⁹ bei Salihly (1) mit Opis Artemis ?²⁰

¹ K.Pr., I, 16 B.

² Nach frdl. Mitteilung W. H. Bucklers.

³ Unveröffentlichte Inschrift aus der Zeit um 150 v. Chr. (nach frdl. Mitteilung W. H. Bucklers).

⁴ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 12, 8.

⁵ K.Pr., I, 36 und 42; *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 273.

⁶ K.Pr., II, 183.

⁷ *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 504.

⁸ Μουσείον, 1875-1876, 118, 5.

⁹ K.Pr., II, 152 und 158.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 18.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 155.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 140.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 170.

¹⁴ *B.C.H.*, XI, 463, 27.

¹⁵ *C.I.G.*, 3428; Le Bas-W., 645 und 653; *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 243; *J.H.S.*, XXXVII, 88, 1.

¹⁶ K.Pr., zu II, 69; ich zähle den häufigen Titel οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τῶν πρώτων γυμνασίων νεανίσκοι nur als ein Kultzeugnis.

¹⁷ K.Pr., II, 40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁹ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 37, 23.

²⁰ *J.H.S.*, XXXVII, 102, 13.

XIX. HERMES (1).

Eine einzige, zudem unsichere Erwähnung aus Nymphaion,¹
sonst mehrere bildliche Darstellungen.

XX. HESTIA (1) in Philadelpheia.²

XXI. HOSIOS DIKAIOS (7).

Kula (1) ;³ Gjölde bei Kula (5) ;⁴ Emre bei Kula (1).⁵

XXII. HYGIEIA (2), s. Asklepios.

XXIII. THEOS HYPYSTOS (12).

Sarytscham n. von Magnesia (1), Altar und *λυχναφίαι* ;⁶
Thyateira (3) ;⁷ Hierokaisareia (1) ;⁸ Philadelpheia (2) ;⁹
Kula (1) ;¹⁰ Silandos (1) ;¹¹ Tschatal Tepe (Gebiet von
Bagis ?) (1) ;¹² Ak Tasch (Temenothyrai ?) (1) ;¹³ Fata
im Kaystrostal (1).¹⁴

XXIV. THEA HYPYSISTE (1) in Gjölde bei Kula.¹⁵

XXV. LETO (3).

Kula (1) als *δυνατή θεός* ;¹⁶ Ajas Ören bei Kula (1) als
Meter L ;¹⁷ ausserdem als Mutter der Artemis in einem
Votivgedicht der Katakekaumene.¹⁸

XXVI. MA *ἀνείκητος* (1) in Ali Beyli bei Hyrkanis.¹⁹

XXVII. MEN (39).

1. Ohne Beinamen (5) : Sipylos (1), Statuette mit
Weihung an Meter Plastene ;²⁰ Assar Tepe n. ö. von
Kassaba (1) mit Zeus ;²¹ Sardes (1), Heiligtum ;²²

¹ C.I.G., 3799.

² K.Pr., III, 18.

³ Le Bas-W., 1670.

⁴ Belege bei K.Pr., II, 186, dazu noch eine unpublizierte.

⁵ K.Pr., II, 180.

⁶ B.C.H., XI, 84, 4.

⁷ K.Pr., II, 28 und 29 ; F. Cumont, *Musée du cinquanteaire*, 67, 54.

⁸ B.C.H., XI, 95, 16.

⁹ K.Pr., I, 39, und J.H.S., XXXVII, 94, 6.

¹⁰ Μουσείον, 1878-1880, 161, 18δ.

¹¹ Le Bas-W., 708.

¹² Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 119, 57.

¹³ K.Pr., II, 237.

¹⁴ Μουσείον, 1876-1878, 32, σλς.

¹⁵ K.Pr., II, 189.

¹⁶ Μουσείον, 1878-1880, 162, 18ζ.

¹⁷ Ebda, 1886, 78, φξή.

¹⁸ Ἀρμονία (Smyrna), 20. Mai, 1900, n. 1.

¹⁹ K.Pr., I, 122.

²⁰ *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 253, 67.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XX, 501.

²² Μουσείον, 1876-1878, 25, σκδ.

Philadelphiea (1), Votivinschrift mit Relief, anscheinend Men und Meter darstellend; ¹ Darmara = Φρυγῶν Αλμουρηγῶν κατοικία im Kaystrostal (1) als προκαθήμενος τῆς κώμης.²

2. M. Artemidoru (2): Ajas Ören bei Kula (1) als Mis A. mit Mis Labanas und Meter Tazene; ³ Gjölde bei Kula (1) als M. A. Axiottenos.⁴
3. M. Axiottenos (5): Sardes (1); ⁵ Kula (1); ⁶ Gjölde bei Kula (3); ⁷ einmal mit M. Uranios,⁸ s. auch M. Artemidoru A.; Ajas Ören bei Kula (2), einmal als Axitenos.⁹
4. M. Axiottenos ex Epikratu (3) in Gjölde bei Kula.¹⁰
5. M. Kamareites (?) (1) in Gürneit bei Kula.¹¹
6. M. Labanas (2): Ajas Ören (1) als Mis L. mit Mis Artemidoru und Meter; ¹² Kastollupedion bei Kula (1) mit M. Petraeites.¹³
7. M. Motyleites (1) in Ajas Ören bei Kula.¹⁴
8. M. Petraeites (3): Gjölde (1) mit Men Tiamu und Meter; ¹⁵ Kastollupedion mit M. Labanas; ¹⁶ Kawakly bei Kula mit Meter Tazene.¹⁷
9. M. Tiamu (12): Philadelphiea (1); ¹⁸ Kula (2) mit Anaitis; ¹⁹ Gjölde bei Kula (2) mit M. Petraeites und Meter . . . ,²⁰ mit Meter Atimis; ²¹ Ajas Ören (4) mit Anaitis²² und Meter Atimis; ²³ Aiwadlar bei Kula (1) mit Anaitis; ²⁴ Maionia (2) mit Zeus Masphalatenos²⁵ bzw. diesem und M. Tyrannos.²⁶

¹ K.Pr., I, 35.

³ K.Pr., II, 204.

⁵ K.Pr., I, 25.

⁷ K.Pr., II, 185, dazu eine von Ramsay abgeschriebene unveröffentlichte.

⁸ Μουσείον 1878-1880, 167, τλθ'.

⁹ Ebda, 1886, 84, φος', und K.Pr., II, 205.

¹⁰ K.Pr., II, 184; Μουσείον, 1878-1880, 167, τλζ'; dazu eine unveröffentlichte von Ramsay abgeschriebene.

¹¹ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 85, 41.

¹³ *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 273, 23.

¹⁵ K.Pr., II, 183.

¹⁷ K.Pr., II, zu 204, S. 105.

¹⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 254, 19; *B.C.H.*, IV, 128.

²⁰ K.Pr., II, 183.

²² Ἀρμονία (Smyrna), 20. und 31. Mai, 1900, n. 2, 4, 5.

²³ Ebda, 82 φοδ'.

²⁵ Le Bas-W., 667.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 241.

⁴ Le Bas-W., 680.

⁶ *C.I.G.*, 3442.

¹² K.Pr., II, 204.

¹⁴ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 79, 39.

¹⁶ *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 273, 23.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 38.

²¹ Μουσείον 1886, 84, φοζ'.

²⁴ Μουσείον 1884-1885, 54 νλγ'.

²⁶ Ebda, 668 (*Mon. fig.* 136, 2).

10. M. Tyrannos (3) : Kula (1) mit Zeus Ogmenos und Götterkreis ;¹ Gjölde (1) ;² Maionia (1) mit Zeus Masphalattenos und M. Tiamu.³
 11. M. Uranios (2) ; Gjölde bei Kula (1) mit M. Axiottenos ;⁴ Saittai (1).⁵
 [12. M. Hosios in Maionia⁶ ist ganz unsicher.]

XXVIII. METER (34).

1. Ohne Beinamen bzw. Meter Theon (9) ; Thyateira (3) Priesterin, Hymnoden ;⁷ Sardes (1) ;⁸ Philadelphiea (2) ;⁹ Katakekaumene (1) ;¹⁰ Kula (1) als *ιατρική ἐνάντητος* ;¹¹ Maionia (1) Metroon.¹²
 2. M. Adiasspulu in Kula (1).¹³
 3. M. Anatidos in Gürneit bei Kula (1),¹⁴ vielleicht = Anaitis.
 4. M. Atimis mit Men Tiamu (2) ; Gjölde (1)¹⁵ und Ajas Ören bei Kula (1).¹⁶
 5. M. Hipta (3) : Kula (1) mit Zeus Sabazios ;¹⁷ Gjölde (1) mit Zeus Sabazios ;¹⁸ Maionia (1).¹⁹
 6. M. Oreia in Kula (1).²⁰
 7. M. Phileis (3) : Philadelphiea (1) ;²¹ Kula (2).²²
 8. M. Plastene (3), Heiligtum am Sipylos²³ (vgl. Pausanias, V, 13, 7).
 9. M. Silindene (1) : Subaschy bei Inegjöl (Gebiet von Philadelphiea).²⁴
 10. M. Sipyrene (3) in Magnesia.²⁵
 11. M. Tarsene (1) mit Apollo Tarsios in Köres bei Kula.²⁶

¹ Μουσείον, 1878-1880, 162 τκς'.² Le Bas-W., 685.³ Ebda. 668 (*Mon. fig.* 136, 2).⁴ Μουσείον, 1878-1880, 167, τλθ'.⁵ K.Pr., II, 211.⁶ Le Bas-W., 675.⁷ C.I.G., 3508 ; B.C.H., X, 410, 14 ; K.Pr., II, 49.⁸ B.C.H., VII, 504 ; K.Pr., I, 35.⁹ Le Bas-W., 1653.¹⁰ Ἀρμονία (Smyrna), 20. Mai, 1900, n. 1.¹¹ K.Pr., I, 179.¹² *Ibid.*, II, 167.¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 176.¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 178.¹⁵ Μουσείον, 1886, 84, φoζ'.¹⁶ Ebda 82, φoδ'.¹⁷ A.B.S.A., XXI, 169.¹⁸ K.Pr., II, 188.¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 169.²⁰ Le Bas-W., 699.²¹ K.Pr., I, 34.²² Μουσείον, 1878-1880, 165, τλδ' ; K.Pr., I, 177.²³ *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 252, 16 und 17 ; 271.²⁴ K.Pr., III, 45.²⁵ C.I.G., 3411 ; B.C.H., XVIII, 542 ; Fröhner, *Inscr. du Louvre*, 163.²⁶ *Musée Belge*, XI, 133.

12. M. Tasene oder Tazene, bzw. Thea T. (6) : Gjölde (3),¹ einmal mit Men Tiamu und Men Petraeites ;² Ajas Ören bei Kula (1) mit Mis Labanas und Mis Artemidoru ;³ Kawakly bei Kula (2),⁴ einmal mit Men Petraeites.⁵

XXIX. MNEME ? (1) in Philadelphiea.⁶

XXX. MOIRA in Grabgedichten (2).

Kula (1) ;⁷ Kale (Gebiet von Temenothyrai) (1).⁸

XXXI. NENENE in Kula (1).⁹

XXXII. NIKE (2).

Philadelphiea (1) ;¹⁰ Katakekaumene (1) auf Relief mit Demeter und Artemis.¹¹

XXXIII. NYMPHAI (2).

Philadelphiea (1) mit Horen in Gedicht ;¹² Saryschlar bei Kula (1) als N. Karpodoteirai mit Zeus Seleukios.¹³

XXXIV. PERSEPHONE in Grabgedichten (2).

Kurtotan bei Daldis (1) mit Hades ;¹⁴ Maionia (1) mit Hades.¹⁵

XXXV. PLUTOS (1) in Philadelphiea.¹⁶

XXXVI. POTAMOS (1) in Attaleia.¹⁷

XXXVII. SABATHIKOS (2).

Gjölde (1)¹⁸ und Bebekli bei Kula (1).¹⁹

XXXVIII. SABAZIOS (ZEUS SABAZIOS) (10).

Philadelphiea (1) als Zeus S. Neauleites mit Zeus Koryphaios ;²⁰ Kula (1) mit Meter Hipta ;²¹ Gjölde (2),²² einmal

¹ Le Bas-W., 688 ; Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 83, 40.

² K.Pr., II, 183.

⁴ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III., 18.

⁸ Körte, *Inscr. Bureschianae*, 50, 53.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III., 18.

¹² Le Bas-W., 642.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 140.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 18.

¹⁸ *Μουσείοι*, 1878-1880, 167, τλγ'.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, S. 84, 2.

²² Unveröffentlichtes, von Ramsay abgeschrieben Fragment.

³ *Ibid.*, 204.

⁵ K.Pr., II, zu 204, S. 105.

⁷ *Μουσείοι*, 1876-1878, 41, σνς'.

⁹ K.Pr., I, 178.

¹¹ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 69.

¹³ K.Pr., II, 200.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 170.

¹⁷ *Izvestija*, IX, 237, 2.

¹⁹ K.Pr., II, 224.

²¹ *A.B.S.A.*, XXI, 169.

mit Meter Hipta ;¹ Sandal bei Kula (3),² einmal mit Artemis Anaitis ;³ Koloenon Katoikia in der Katakekaumene (1), Einführung des Kultes im Jahre 100-101 n. Chr. ;⁴ Maionia (1) ;⁵ Üschümüsch bei Saittai (1).⁶

XXXIX. SOTEIRA (THEA S.) (2).

Manawly bei Philadelpheia (1) ;⁷ Gebiet von Hypaipa (1).⁸

XL. TYCHE (6).

Thyateira (5) als T., T. Poleos oder Agathe T. mit eigener Priesterin verehrt ;⁹ Philadelpheia (1) als T. Agathe.¹⁰

XLI. TYRIMNOS (19).

Lokalgott der Stadt Thyateira, dort als προπάτωρ θεός durch einen eigenen Priester verehrt,¹¹ Heiligtum vor der Stadt ;¹² Agon : Τυρίμνεια oder Σεβαστὰ Τυρίμνεια ;¹³ öfters dem Apollo als Ἀπόλλων Τύριμνος¹⁴ oder dem Helios-Apollo als Ἡλῖος Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων Τυριμναῖος¹⁵ geglichen, Symbol : Doppelheil.

XLII. ZEUS (40).

1. Ohne Beinamen (6) : Hormoita bei Magnesia (1) ;¹⁶ Thyateira (1) in Grabgedicht ;¹⁷ Troketta (1) in Gedicht als Kronion ;¹⁸ Assar Tepe bei Urganly (1) mit Men ;¹⁹ Hajarly s. von Maionia (1), Priesterstelle ;²⁰ Kula (1) als Vater der Artemis in Votivgedicht.²¹

¹ K.Pr., II, 188.

² Μουσείον, 1878-1880, 164, τλγ' und 171, τμζ'.

³ Μουσείον, 1878-1880, 164, τλβ'.

⁴ Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, IV, 244, Abb. 3 (nach meiner Aufnahme).

⁵ K.Pr., II, 168.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 218.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 17.

⁸ *Ath. Mitt.*, III, 57, 3.

⁹ K.Pr., II, 25, 26, 27 und 48 ; Paris, *Quatenus feminae rem publicam attigerint*,

72, 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 18.

¹¹ *C.I.G.*, 3497, 3484 ; K.Pr., II, 61.

¹² *C.I.G.*, 3493 ; K.Pr., II, 40.

¹³ *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 535 ; XXIV, 237, 82 ; *B.C.H.*, XI, 105, 26 ; K.Pr., II, 62 und 63.

¹⁴ *B.C.H.*, XI, 453, 14 und 464, 29 ; K.Pr., II, 20 ; *J.H.S.*, XXXVII, 108, 21.

¹⁵ *C.I.G.*, 3500 ; *B.C.H.*, XI, 101, 24, und 476, 49 ; *Class. Rev.*, III, 137, 14 ; K.Pr., II, 115.

¹⁶ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 138.

¹⁷ *C.I.G.*, 3511.

¹⁸ K.Pr., I, 16.

¹⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 501.

²⁰ K.Pr., III, 37.

²¹ Ἀρμονία (Smyrna), 20. Mai, 1900, n. 1.

2. Z. Aerios (1) in Topalar (Gebiet von Maionia).¹
3. Z. Agoraios (1) in Ariandos (Gebiet von Saittai).²
4. Z. Autheites (1) in Jijenli im Kaystrothal.³
5. Z. Dareddenos (1) in Elbi im obern Kaystrosgebiet.⁴
6. Z. Digindenos (1) in Kajadschik ebendort.⁵
7. Z. Eumenes (Soter) (1) in Philadelpheia.⁶
8. Z. Galaktios (1) in Kale (Gebiet von Temenothyrai).⁷
9. Z. Glauka ? (1) in Ekiskuju bei Borlu.⁸
10. Z. Keraunios (5) : Thyateira (2) ;⁹ Jagyrdy swischen Thyateira und Gordos (1) ;¹⁰ Oraklar (Gebiet von Maionia ?) (1) ;¹¹ Gjölde bei Kula (1).¹²
11. Z. Koryphaios mit Z. Sabazios (1) in Philadelpheia.¹³
12. Z. Ktesios (1) in Kula.¹⁴
13. Z. Mamuzenos (1) bei Troketta.¹⁵
14. Z. Masphalattenos (2) in Maionia mit Men Tyrannos und Men Tiamu¹⁶ oder letzterem allein.¹⁷
15. Z. Megistos (1) in Gjölde bei Kula.¹⁸
16. Z. Misnyenos (1) in Sejid Owassy bei Apollonis.¹⁹
17. Z. Ogmenos (1) in Kula mit Men Tyrannos.²⁰
18. Z. Patrios (1) in Attaleia, Priesterstelle.²¹
19. Z. Petarenos (1) in Sardes.²²
20. Z. Phratrios (1) in Belen (Gebiet von Hierokaisareia).²³
21. Z. Polieus (4) in Sardes, Heiligtum mit Artemis,²⁴ Priester,²⁵ Agon : Διάσια.²⁶
22. Z. Seleukios (1) in Saryschlar bei Kula mit Nymphai Karpodoteirai.²⁷
23. Z. Soter (1) in Taitan Kjöi bei Salihly,²⁸ vgl. Z. Eumenes.

¹ K.Pr., III, 11.² *Rev. Ét. gr.*, XII, 384, 6.³ Buresch, *Aus Syd.*, 125, 63.⁴ Körte, *Inscr. Bureschianae*, 29, 52.⁵ *B.C.H.*, X, 401, 4 ; K.Pr., II, 24.⁶ K.Pr., III, 13.⁷ K.Pr., II, S. 84, 2.⁸ K.Pr., I, 21.⁹ Le Bas-W., 667.¹⁰ Buresch, *Aus Syd.*, 28, 15.¹¹ *B.C.H.*, XI, 400.¹² K.Pr., II, 8.¹³ *Am. J. Arch.*, XVIII, 321, 29 ; Μουσείον, 1876-1878, 25, σκδ'.¹⁴ *C.I.G.*, 3461, Z. 4.¹⁵ K.Pr., II, 200.¹⁶ *Class. Rev.*, XIV, 370, 5.¹⁷ K.Pr., III, 77.¹⁸ K.Pr., III, 18.¹⁹ K.Pr., III, 8.²⁰ *Ibid.*, XI, 470, 36.²¹ Le Bas-W., 1674.²² Μουσείον, 1878-1880, 160, τκα'.²³ Ebda 668 (*Mon. fig.* 136, 2).²⁴ *J.H.S.*, XXXVII, 101, 12.²⁵ Μουσείον, 1878-1880, 162, τκς'.²⁶ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 156, 15.²⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

24. Z. Soter Olympios (1) in Larisa im Kaystrostal.¹
25. Z. Tarigyenos (Targyenos) (2) in Ideli bei Philadelphiea.²
26. Z. Termaios (1) in Maionia.³

XLIII. THEOS, THEA oder THEOI mit Beinamen (20).

1. Theos ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν (1) in Emre bei Kula.⁴
2. Theos Basileus (1) in Saittai.⁵
3. Theos Ἐπήκοος (1) in Ajas Ören bei Kula.⁶
4. Theos κρείνων τοὺς ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς (1) in Thyateira.⁷
5. Thea Aliane (1) in Kula, das Relief Dionysos und Satyr zeigend.⁸
6. Thea Βρυζία ἀγνὴ ὀδυτηνὴ (2) in Maionia und Gjölde.⁹
7. Thea Kornene (1) in Tschitschekli Jeni Kjöi (Gebiet von Philadelphiea).¹⁰
8. Thea Matylene (1) in Philadelphiea.¹¹
9. Thea Urania (1) in der Katakekaumene.¹²
10. Theoi Ἐπήκοοι (1), Gjödschek zw. Thyateira und Gordos.¹³
11. Theoi Ἐπουράνιοι καὶ Καταχθόνιοι (1) in Thyateira.¹⁴
12. Theoi Καταχθόνιοι (3), Thyateira (1) mit Theoi Ἐπουράνιοι; Kenes bei Thyateira (1);¹⁵ Gordos (1).¹⁶
13. Theoi Patrioi (4), Selindenon Katoikia bei Parsa (1);¹⁷ Gordos (2);¹⁸ Kirseli = Kleimakenon Katoikia im Kaystrostal (1).¹⁹
14. Theoi Soteres (1) in Philadelphiea.²⁰

XLIV. THEION (2).

Die göttliche Macht ohne besonderen Namen verehrt in Tutludscha bei Gordos (1);²¹ Saryserli s. von Philadelphiea (1).²²

¹ K.Pr., III, S. 84, Anm. 1.

³ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 73, 35.

⁵ Μουσείον, 1886, 77, φξξ'.

⁷ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 237.

⁹ Unveröffentlichte, von Ramsay abgeschriebene Inschriften.

¹⁰ K.Pr., III, 54.

¹² Ἀρμονία (Smyrna), 31. Mai, 1900, n. 7.

¹³ *B.C.H.*, XI, 472, 43.

¹⁵ *B.C.H.*, XI, 454, 16.

¹⁷ K.Pr., I, 20.

¹⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 94.

²¹ Buresch, *Aus Lyd.*, 139 f.

² *Ibid.*, I, 37, und III, 78.

⁴ Ebda 76, 37.

⁶ Ebda 80, φσ'.

⁸ Le Bas-W., 699 a.

¹¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 256, 22.

¹⁴ K.Pr., II, 91.

¹⁶ K.Pr., I, 156.

¹⁸ *B.C.H.*, VIII, 389, 8; K.Pr., I, 145.

²⁰ K.Pr., III, 18.

²² K.Pr., III, 30.

Überblicken wir die vorhergehende Liste, so können von den 44 darin enthaltenen Gottheiten 21, nämlich Aphrodite, Asklepios, Athene, Demeter, Dionysos, Hades, Herakles, Hermes, Hygieia, Moira, Nike, Nymphai, Persephone, Tyche, Agathos Daimon, Arete, Charites, Eudaimonia, Hestia, Mneme und Plutos, von denen die sieben letztgenannten nur je einmal in dem Privatheiligtum von Philadelpheia vorkommen, als griechisch in Anspruch genommen werden, während 15, nämlich Aggdistis, Anaitis, Artemis,¹ Atarknateis, Attis, Hosios Dikaiois, Hypsistos, Hypsiste, Ma, Men, Meter, Nenene, Sabathikos, Sabazios, Tyrimnos als ungrisch zu erkennen sind. Bei den 8 übrig bleibenden, nämlich Apollo, Helios, Leto, Potamos?, Soteira, Zeus, den unter Theos (Thea, Theoi) und unter Theion zusammengefasst ist entweder die Bedeutung unsicher oder aber die Zuweisung an die eine oder die andere Gruppe nicht ohne Weiteres möglich, weil sich hier unter dem Namen und der äusseren Erscheinung griechischer Götter in vielen Fällen nichtgriechische Gottheiten verbergen bzw. hellenische und nichthellenische in Eins zusammengefloßen sind. Wenn Apollo, der als Chresteros, Soter, Paian der griechische Gott ist, als Theos Bozenos, als Nisyreites und Tarsios das Doppelbeil als Attribut führt und wenn er ebenso wie Helios mit dem einheimischen Gotte von Thyateira, Tyrimnos, assimiliert wird, wenn Leto einerseits, der griechischen Sage entsprechend, als Mutter des Apollo und der Artemis aufgefasst, andererseits als Meter Leto und *δυνατὴ θεός* der kleinasiatischen Muttergottheit angeglichen wird, wenn der oberste griechische Himmels-gott Zeus mit allerhand lokalem Kult entspringenden

¹ Den Versuch, Artemis ihrem Namen und Ursprung nach zu einer griechischen Gottheit zu machen, halte ich für verfehlt und unter anderem schon dadurch widerlegt, dass der altlydische Kult von Sardes (wie der von Ephesos) unmöglich von den Griechen eingeführt bzw. übernommen sein kann. Für mich ist Artemis eine individuell ausgebildete Variante der kleinasiatischen Muttergöttin, die sich bereits in vorgriechischer Zeit über das Kulturgebiet des ägäischen Meeres (so auch über Griechenland) verbreitet hat und von den griechischen Einwanderern übernommen und weiter ausgestaltet worden ist. Nun ist es ja möglich, dass in einem oder in dem anderen lydischen Kulte nicht eigentlich die einheimische, sondern die in griechischer Umbildung sozusagen rückengeführte Göttin vorliegt; für die Statistik sind diese Fälle von geringer Bedeutung. Ob z. B. auch Aphrodite eine ursprünglich griechische oder nichtgriechische Gottheit ist, ist dagegen hier gleichgültig, da Lydien als Heimat ihres Kultes nicht in Frage kommt, dieser vielmehr dort zweifellos als griechischer Import anzusehen ist. Ähnliches gilt, mit den später gemachten Einschränkungen, für Apollo.

Beinamen versehen erscheint, so liegt in allen diesen Fällen griechisch-kleinasiatischer Synkretismus klar zutage. Für die Statistik habe ich es hier also so gehalten, dass ich in jedem einzelnen Falle unter sorgfältiger Abwägung der für die eine oder die andere Zuteilung sprechenden Gründe dirimiert habe. Einzelne Fehlgriffe sind dabei unvermeidlich, aber das Gesamtbild wird durch sie gewiss nicht verschoben.

Auf diesen Grundlagen aufgebaut ergibt die Statistik nunmehr für die 21 griechischen Gottheiten 70, für die 15 nichtgriechischen 194 inschriftliche Bezeugungen. Von den 8 unsicheren oder synkretistischen Gottheiten mit zusammen 90 Belegen kommen dann zu ersteren noch 47, zu letzteren noch 43 hinzu. Zusammengenommen stehen demnach 117 epigraphischen Zeugnissen für griechische Kulte 237 solche für nichtgriechische gegenüber, d. h. zwei Daten, die mit der eindringlichen Sprache der Zahlen erkennen lassen, wie weit Lydien in Wahrheit von einer völligen Hellenisierung entfernt geblieben ist.

Die zuletzt angestellten Erörterungen dürften gezeigt haben, dass sich ähnlich wie die islamische, die christliche, die römische so auch die griechische Religionsschicht in Lydien ohne allzugrosse Schwierigkeiten aussondern und abheben lässt. Versuchen wir nunmehr, ob uns unsere Schichtengrabung auch bei den noch übrig bleibenden nichtgriechischen Kulturen nicht im Stiche lässt.

Schürer und F. Cumont haben wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass der Kult des Theos Hypsistos die in Kleinasien sehr zahlreich angesiedelten und in mehr oder weniger paganisierten Vereinen organisierten Diasporajuden und ihre Proselyten zu seinen hauptsächlichsten Trägern hatte und dass sich unter dem Namen des "Höchsten" eigentlich der Gott Israels verbirgt.¹ Die aus den verschiedensten Teilen Lydiens bisher bekannt gewordenen Inschriften dieses Gottes, der bezeichnender Weise nie mit andern Göttern, namentlich niemals mit einer weiblichen Gottheit gepaart erscheint, sind ein Beweis für die Stärke dieser Diaspora und ihres Kultureinflusses auch in dieser Landschaft. Derselben *jüdischen oder jüdisch beeinflussten Schicht* glaube ich aus bereits an anderer Stelle dargelegten Gründen² auch den von Sabazios

¹ F. Cumont, *Musée du cinquantenaire*, 67, zu n. 54.

² K.Pr., II, 224.

scharf zu trennenden Sabathikos zuweisen und weiterhin annehmen zu sollen, dass der Name—aber auch nur dieser—der Thea Hypsiste, in der wohl eine Meter zu erkennen ist, von dem Namen des Hypsistos beeinflusst ist.

Für die Ausstrahlung *syrischer Kulte* nach Lydien liegt ein freilich nicht völlig sicheres Zeugnis in dem Namen der Göttin Atarknateis vor, die man wohl mit Recht der Atargatis gleichgesetzt hat.¹

Dass auch die mehr als zwei Jahrhunderte währende *Perserherrschaft*, während welcher nicht nur persische Satrapen und ihr Gefolge, sondern auch persische Truppen im Lande standen und, wie der Name der hyrkanischen Ebene und wohl auch der von Dareiukome in Erinnerung gehalten haben, auch persische Kolonisten angesiedelt wurden, in den lydischen Kulturen irgendwelche Spuren hinterlassen habe, müsste aus allgemeinen Erwägungen heraus angenommen werden, auch wenn greifbare Beweise dafür fehlten. Dass dabei jedoch weniger an die hohe Ahuramazda-Religion des Dareios als an volkstümlichere Kulte zu denken wäre und dass vor allem die den einheimischen lydischen verwandten Gottheiten grösste Aussicht auf Verbreitung hatten, ist ebenfalls einleuchtend. In der Tat hat die der Göttermutter (und Artemis) nahestehende Anahita unter dem Namen Anaitis nicht nur in der hyrkanischen Ebene in dem späteren Hierokaisareia und in der Kaystroseebene in Hypaipa zwei grosse offizielle Heiligtümer mit national persischem Kult erhalten, sondern auch sonst vielfach Verehrung gefunden, namentlich in der Katakekaumene, wo, vielleicht in der Nähe von Kastollos, ein persischer Militärposten oder eine Militärkolonie bestanden haben dürfte. Dass ausser Anaitis auch noch der Gott oder die Götter Hosios Dikaïos persischen Ursprungs wären, wie Puchstein meinte, wird man mit F. Cumont wohl doch ablehnen müssen, weil mit diesem Namen sicher auch Men und wahrscheinlich auch ein einheimischer kleinasiatischer Gott bezeichnet wurde. Nur das scheint möglich, dass in dem Namen und der diesem Namen zugrundeliegenden ethischen Konzeption des Gottesbegriffes

¹ Die Einwirkung syrischer, von der babylonischen Astralreligion beeinflusster Religionsvorstellungen glaube ich ferner in dem Beinamen βασιλῆς κόσμου der Artemis sowie im Namen der Thea Urania zu erkennen.

persischer Religionseinfluss vorliegt, der natürlich ebenso gut unpersische Gottheiten erfassen konnte, wie z. B. griechische Religionsvorstellungen einheimische Kulte in vielen Fällen nachweislich beeinflusst haben.

Mit grosser Mächtigkeit tritt weiterhin die *phrygische Religionsschicht* in ganz Lydien auf, namentlich aber in dem nordlydischen Berglande, wo sich ein breiter Strom thrakophrygischer Einwanderer über eine nichtindogermanische Bevölkerung ergossen haben muss. Die Verehrung des indogermanischen männlichen Hauptgottes, der in zahlreichen lokalen, aber schwerlich griechischen Zeuskulten über Lydien verbreitet ist,¹ die des mit ihm vielfach konkurrierenden Fruchtbarkeitsgottes Sabazios, der im Laufe der Entwicklung allerdings viele fremde Elemente aufgenommen hat, vor allem aber der Kult des phrygischen Gottes Manes-Men, der, wie Ramsay gesehen hat,² mit dem Monde ursprünglich nichts zu tun hat, sind mit ihrer hohen Zahl von 64 epigraphischen Zeugnissen eindrucksvolle Beweise für die Bedeutung der Phryger für Lydiens Religionsgeschichte.

Haben wir auch diese phrygische Schicht durchstossen, so treffen wir auf eine letzte, für uns älteste Schicht, welche wir nach der sie beherrschenden Hauptgottheit als die der Meterreligion oder als die *anatolische* benennen können. Aber die grosse Mutter, die in der reichen Fülle ihrer Namen, mag sie als Aggdistis, Leto, Ma, Nenene, als Thea mit irgend einem lokalen Beinamen oder, in individueller Ausgestaltung, als Artemis auftreten, immer völlig klar erkennbar bleibt, ist in dieser Schicht nicht allein. Neben ihr steht vielmehr die Gestalt eines jugendlichen Gottes, bald Attis, bald Apollo, bald Helios, vielleicht auch Hosios Dikaïos, bald Tyrimnos benannt und doch immer derselbe, ein jugendlicher Begleiter und ursprünglich wohl auch Sohn der grossen Mutter. Es ist ungemein wichtig, dass als charakteristisches Attribut dieses Gottes auch in einer ganzen Reihe lydischer Kulte das Doppelbeil erscheint, d. h. die

¹ Wie weiter unten ausgeführt, dürfte sich jedoch der Kult des indogermanischen männlichen Hauptgottes nicht erst durch die Phryger, sondern bereits durch die vor ihnen nach Kleinasien und vielleicht auch nach Lydien eingedrungenen Indogermanen in Anatolien verbreitet haben. Eine Scheidung dieser älteren indogermanischen von der phrygischen Religionsschicht ist jedoch nicht möglich.

² Ramsay, *J.H.S.*, IV, 31; vgl. Sittig, *De Graecorum nom. theophoris*, 154.

Waffe, welche auf dem ältesten Denkmal kleinasiatischer Religion, der grossen Götterprozession von Boghasköi, der einzige göttliche Begleiter der grossen Mutter führt. Ein übergeordneter oder auch nur ein gleichgeordneter Vatergott neben der Muttergöttin hat in dieser Religionsschicht keinen Platz, und wenn in der erwähnten Götterprozession ein solcher Vatergott mit seinem Gefolge der Göttermutter mit ihrem Begleiter entgegenkommt, so ist hier entweder das eindringen von Gottheiten aus Vorderasien anzunehmen oder aber auf religiösem Gebiete genau dasselbe zu beobachten, was uns das Studium der Boghasköi-Inschriften auf sprachlichem Gebiete immer deutlicher erkennen lässt: dass bereits in der Hethiterzeit eine, vielleicht die erste, indogermanische Welle vom Westen nach Kleinasien gedrungen ist und sich dort mit der einheimischen anatolischen Schicht gemischt hat, so den Beginn einer Entwicklung bezeichnend, die durch späteres Nachströmen neuer indogermanischer Bevölkerungselemente wie durch friedliche Kulturdurchdringung zu immer tieferer Wirkung gelangt ist.¹

Zum Schlusse möchte ich noch einmal Ziffern sprechen lassen. Im Ganzen liegen uns für die vorchristliche Religion Lydiens mit Ausnahme des Roma- und Kaiserkultes 354 inschriftliche Zeugnisse vor. Davon entfallen auf die griechische Schicht 117, auf die jüdisch beeinflusste 14, auf die syrische 3, auf die persische 44, auf die phrygische 64, und auf die älteste anatolische Schicht 112 Zeugnisse. So stark hat noch in der römischen Kaiserzeit, der die Inschriften ja zum ganz überwiegenden Teile angehören, das Altanatolische in den Kulturen Lydiens fortgewirkt! Kann es einen besseren Beweis dafür geben, dass Ramsay mit seinem Suchen nach diesem Altanatolischen keinem Irrlicht nachgegangen ist?

¹ Vgl. auch die *Jahreshefte*, XVIII, 66 ff., zusammengestellten Reliefs, welche die anatolische Mutter mit dem Vater und dem Sohne vereint zeigen.

XIX.

SKEPSIS IN THE TROAD

by W. LEAF

I. THE SITE

THE site of Skepsis was for a long time the main unsolved problem of the topography of the Troad. For this Strabo, or rather our text of Strabo, was mainly to blame; for the data therein provided are in fact inconsistent and irreconcilable. We learn from him that Old Skepsis was some way down the *αὐλών* or upper valley of the Aisepos (§§ 44-55),¹ and that the later Skepsis was only 60 stades from it. Therefore both towns must have been in the Aisepos valley. This conclusion was accepted by H. Kiepert, and is embodied in his *Formæ Orbis Antiqui*. Yet we find that the territories of Skepsis and Kebren were separated by the Scamander (§ 33); so that Skepsis must have lain in the Scamander valley.

The earlier explorers of the Troad did not trouble much about texts, but allowed themselves to be guided by wholly fallacious resemblances of modern Turkish names; and finding on the slopes of Mt. Chigri, near Alexandria, a Turkish village called Üsküb, they at once decided that this was Skepsis, and that the neighbouring town of Ine—more properly Ezine—was the village of Ainea which, according to Strabo, lay near Skepsis. This site is separated from the Aisepos valley by nearly 50 miles, 500 stades—more than half the breadth of the Troad. It was left to L. Schmitz, in Smith's *Dictionary of Geography*, to combine the two in the naive statement that Skepsis lay "on the river Aesepus, 150 stadia to the S.E. of Alexandria Troas!"

Meanwhile an important site, about half-way between the

¹ All references to Strabo are to the §§ of XIII, i.

Aisepos valley and Mt. Chigri, was awaiting identification. The ruins of a very considerable Greek town were known to exist on the Kurshunlu-tepe near Bairamich. Leake (*Tour in Asia Minor*, 274) had taken them to be the remains of Kebren, while H. Kiepert (*F.O.A.*, IX, 3) gave the spot the name of Scamandri, a town which, if it existed at all, is too insignificant to have passed into history. Barker Webb, and Schliemann after him, took it to be Palaiskepsis, though it is a considerable distance from the Aisepos valley in which Palaiskepsis certainly lay; Skepsis itself they placed at Bairamich. It was the English architect Pullan who first identified the Kurshunlu-tepe with Skepsis, basing his theory on the very good ground that coins of Skepsis predominated among those offered for sale at Bairamich; I may add that this was equally true when Mr. Hasluck and I visited Bairamich in 1911. Calvert, having discovered Kebren elsewhere, agreed with Pullan, and Thacher Clarke took the same view. They were finally proved to be right by Judeich, who was fortunate enough to find on the Kurshunlu-tepe a fragment apparently of a proxeny decree by the town of Skepsis (Kiepert-Festschrift, 1898, 225 ff.).¹ The situation of Skepsis is therefore a known datum, and the text of Strabo must, if possible, be brought into harmony with the facts.

The Scamander valley consists of three divisions separated by defiles. The middle valley leads from the precipitous gorge of the Bally-dagh eastwards to the town of Bairamich. A little above this begins the narrow ravine which separates the middle valley from the upper, that in which stand to-day the villages of Kara-kiöi and Chirpilar. This defile is not steep or impassable like that of the Bally-dagh; the hills are of softer rock, and

¹ The stone contains only pieces of a few lines, of which the restoration is uncertain; the significant part is as follows:—

αν καὶ ἐπὶ φυλὴν προσεγγ-
ραφῆ]ναι ἦν ἂν θέλ[ηι καὶ εἰσαγ-
ωγῆν] εἰς Σκῆψιν καὶ [ἐξαγωγῆν
πάντ]ων ἐμ πολέμωι [καὶ ἐν εἰρή-
νῃ α]συλεῖ καὶ [ἀσπονδεῖ καὶ π-
ρόσο]δον ἐπὶ βο[υλήν.

As Judeich remarks, such honorific decrees were only set up by the town which granted them, so there can be no doubt that the inscription was at Skepsis. With this fragment was found another so imperfect that nothing can be made of it.

slope at an angle which permits the path to follow the river bed never very far from the water. At the point where the path leaves the defile and crosses by a bridge into the more open upper plain stands the steep conical hill of the Kurshunlu-tepe, rising to a height of 1070 feet, about 500 feet above the river. The position is undoubtedly the dominating point of the central Troad; not only does it completely command the roads to the east and south-east—to the dale of Avunia and over the shoulder of Ida to Edremid—but it also lies on the flank of the still more important road leading from Bairamich to the upper basin of the Granikos. The summit commands a wide view all around; whatever may have been the case with Old Skepsis, the new city was certainly *περίσκεπτος*, though it need hardly be added that Strabo's etymology (see § 42, translated below) has nothing in its favour except the hesitation with which he propounds it. It is, however, perhaps a shade less ridiculous than that given by Steph. Byz., *ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκήψασθαι τὴν Ῥέαν ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδὸς λίθον τεκεῖν*.

With one exception this site fulfils all the conditions for the locality of Skepsis to be deduced from Strabo. In particular it is just the 120 stades from Kotylos which he names. Kotylos is a fixed point, for it is defined as the mountain from which flow the Scamander, the Granikos and the Aisepos; and Hajji-Öldüren, the orographic centre of the Troad, is just 120 stades from the Kurshunlu-tepe. Moreover, the site is separated from Kebren by the Scamander (§ 32), and it lies "between the territory of Aineias and Lyrnessos" (§ 53), for it is right on the road from the plain of the Scamander, the territory of Aineias, to the plain of Thebe (Edremid) where Strabo, following Demetrios, placed Lyrnessos.

There remains, however, the one important discrepancy which has been the root of all the trouble. Our text of Strabo says that Skepsis lay 60 stades from Old Skepsis. Now Old Skepsis can, from the data of §§ 44-45, be fixed within narrow limits to the neighbourhood of the village of Koyun-eli in Avunia (see *A.B.S.A.*, XXI, 16 ff.); and this village is not 60, but just about 260 stades from the Kurshunlu-tepe.

The testimony of even better MSS. than those on which we have to depend for Strabo is notoriously untrustworthy where

numerals are concerned ; in this case there can be little doubt that the original reading was σταδίοισσξ' (260) instead of σταδίοισξ'. Nothing is commoner than the dropping of a repeated letter ; and in this case the supposition puts an end to all trouble.

II. THE REMAINS

Kurshunlu-tepe is now bare and uninhabited, except for a poor Yuruk hamlet on the eastern side. Here and there a small ridge marks the presence of the foundations of a wall ; but nothing is left above ground, and the builders of Bairamich are now reduced to searching underground for squared stones. It was very different in the middle of the 18th century. At that time the ruins of Skepsis must have been as imposing as those of Assos. But the plain of Bairamich was for a long time under the rule of a semi-independent feudal family (dere-beys) called Hademzade. The chief in the latter part of the century was one Osman, a man who was seized with the spirit of progress, and set about making roads, bridges and mosques with destructive eagerness. His name is recorded in inscriptions in the forecourt of the mosque of Bairamich with the date of A.H. 1207 (A.D. 1792-1793) and on the bridge with the date 1210 (A.D. 1795-1796). Fortunately the English traveller Dr. E. D. Clarke arrived on the spot in 1801, just in time to record something of what Skepsis had been. The following are extracts from his account (*Travels*, ed. 4, III, 163-168, 185) :—

“The principal site of the antiquities upon Kushunlu (*sic*) Tepe is about half way up the side of the immense cone which bears this name ; but very remarkable ruins may be traced thence all the way to the summit. . . . The first that we noticed was an area, 92 yards long and 54 wide, covered with fragments of terra-cotta, and also with pieces of ancient glass. . . . On the north side, part of a wall remained by which the area had been originally enclosed, about 14 feet in height. The work seemed to be of the age of the Romans, from the baked tiles, four inches thick, and the cement used in its construction. On the western extremity of the area were considerable remains of baths, whose stuccoed walls and terra-cotta conduits were still entire in several places. An excavation had

been made by the Turks, on the south side, for the stones of the foundation, to the depth of 22 feet. By the appearance of the foundations, the walls, on this side at least, had been double, and admitted of a passage between them. Above this area, perhaps that of a temple, towards the north, were tombs. We entered an arched vault, 13 yards long and 5 wide, and saw near to it the remains of a bath, wanting only the roof. Here lay some columns 16 inches in diameter, among pieces of broken amphoræ, fragments of marble, granite, basalt, blue chalcedony and jasper. . . .

"We presently came to the cornice of a Doric temple, of such prodigious size that our artist, Mons. Preaux, said he had seen nothing like it in Athens. There were other Doric remains ; and the shaft of one Corinthian column, 22 inches in diameter. . . . Higher upon the hill we found the remains of another temple ; the area of this measured 140 yards long and 44 wide. Here the workmen had taken up about a hundred blocks of stone and marble ; every one of which measured 5 feet 11 inches in length, and 18 inches in thickness. We afterwards found one of the angular corners of this temple ; a bath, whose roof was yet entire, and another fragment of the Doric entablature before mentioned. . . .

"A spacious winding road, 16 yards in breadth, leads from the remains of these temples to the top of the Kushunlu. All the way up may be noticed the remains of former works ; but upon the summit there is a small oblong area, six yards in length, and two in breadth, exhibiting vestiges of the highest antiquity. The stones forming the enclosure are as rude as those of Tirynthus in Argolis ; and the whole is encircled by a grove of venerable oaks, covering the top of the cone. The entrance to this area is from the south ; upon the east and west, on the outside of the trees, are stones, ranged like what we, in England, call Druidical circles."

The description makes one's mouth water ! But when Barker Webb visited the place a few years later, in 1819, the destruction seemed to him complete (*Topog. de la Troade*, p. 79). He, as we have seen, took the site to be Old Skepsis and placed Skepsis itself at the modern Bairamich ; in this he was followed by Schliemann, who, in 1881, still found "the ruin of the great

wall, which is 2·80 m. thick, and of the same kind of masonry as the walls of Assos," and on the summit "the foundations of a chamber 3 m. long by 1·80 m. broad, the walls being ·60 m. thick; but outside of it are large rudely formed blocks. . . . The position of the blocks seems to indicate that the building had an oval form, and it may probably therefore have been a tower." (*Troja*, Eng. Trans., p. 271.) He also describes some other remains; but superficial excavation led to no result; and it seems unlikely that any addition to our knowledge of ancient Skepsis from remains in situ is to be hoped for. It is a serious loss. I may add that Mr. Hasluck and I searched in vain for the slightest trace of the small sanctuary on the summit seen by both Clarke and Schliemann. Nothing remains above ground, nothing either on the summit or, so far as we could see or hear, anywhere else.

A word may be added about the modern town of Bairamich. Whether or no this stands on an ancient site it is now impossible to say; it is full of ancient stones, but, as we have seen, until the contrary is proved it must be assumed that these have been brought hither from Kurshunlu-tepe. But I have elsewhere (*A.B.S.A.*, XVII, 273-274) shown reasons for thinking that the ancient Berytis or Birytis may have stood on the site; in any case it cannot have been far away. It is known only from coins with the legend BIPY, and from its appearance in the Attic tribute lists, where the Βερύσιοι οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ pay the modest sum of ten minæ; and from Stephanos, Βέρυτις, Τρωϊκὴ πόλις (cf. Βήριθρος, πόλις Τρωϊκή. Compare also Wroth in *B.M.C., Troas*, p. xlv.) But whether it be Berytis or no, it is the likeliest place where one can hope to learn something more of Skepsis.

III. HISTORY

Our chief direct authority for the history of Skepsis is in Strabo, XIII, i, §52. This is quoted from Demetrios, a learned antiquary and a native of the town, and may be regarded as first-hand authority for the local legend in the 2nd century B.C. Strabo follows it up with three sections of his own, which add nothing of importance for earlier days. Of these the first, §53, is devoted to an excursus on the wanderings of Aineias; Strabo

points out that the foundation legend as stated by Demetrios is inconsistent with the tradition prevalent in his day. It is noteworthy that he takes no notice of the official Roman version, and ignores Virgil, though the *Aeneid* was already published when he wrote. The next section, §54, contains the long and interesting account of the preservation of the library of Aristotle at Skepsis by Neleus, the legatee of Theophrastus, and its ultimate rescue, in a sadly decayed state, by the bibliophile Apellikon, the contemporary of Sulla. The story, the truth or at least the completeness of which is open to serious question, belongs rather to the history of the Aristotelian literature than to that of the town, and must be left out of sight here. The fourth section, §55, is devoted to a brief mention of the two most famous natives of Skepsis, Demetrios himself and the rhetorician and statesman Metrodoros, the intimate friend of Mithradates, and contributes nothing further to the history of the town. It will be enough therefore if we confine ourselves to §52, of which I give the following translation:—

“Old Skepsis (Παλαίσκηψις) lies inland of Kebren in the highest district of Ida, near Polichna. It was once called Skepsis, possibly from the fact that it is visible all round (εἴτ’ ἄλλως εἴτ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ περισκεπτον εἶναι τὸν τόπον), if we are justified in deriving from Greek words the names then used by barbarians. The inhabitants were later moved <two hundred and> sixty stades nearer the sea to the modern Skepsis by Skamandrios son of Hector and Askanios son of Aineias. These two families are said to have held the kingship of Skepsis for a long period. The constitution was afterwards turned into an oligarchy; then Milesians joined the community, and democratic government came about. The heirs of the blood royal (οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους) continued nevertheless to be called kings, and retained certain privileges. Then Antigonos incorporated the Skepsians with Alexandria; finally Lysimachos discharged them, and they returned to their old homes.”

It must be confessed that this is a sadly meagre excerpt from the mass of information which Demetrios must have given, in his thirty volumes, about the history of the city of which he

was so proud. One would have given a good deal to have the local traditions of such a town more fully set out. But such details were beneath the ideals of history on the "colossal" scale at which Strabo aimed.

The foundation of Skepsis by the sons of Hector and Aineias is a legend which does not merely contradict the popular stories of the flight of Askanios with his father to the west, as Strabo himself points out in the next section; it is further weakened by the fact that in Stephanos we find the same two founders claimed by Arisbe on the Hellespont (*Ἀρίσβη πόλις τῆς Τρωάδος, Μιτυληναίων ἀποικία· ἧς οἰκιστὰὶ Σκαμάνδριος καὶ Ἀσκάνιος υἱὸς Αἰνείου*). It may however justify two conclusions: first, that Skepsis was not established till after the Trojan war, and secondly that it was formed of a combination of Trojans and Dardanians under the leadership of members of the royal houses of the two clans, which in Homer are always represented as distinct, though intimately allied. It is likely enough that the fall of Troy and the dispersal of fugitives in the surrounding country led to more than one of such joint settlements. There may well have been such a settlement at Old Skepsis in the sequestered dale of Avunia, twenty-five miles to the east of the later town, across the main ridge of Ida.

But when we hear that it was the sons of Hector and Aineias who led the inhabitants of this town westwards to the foundation of a new city on the Kurshunlu-tepe, we may suspect some confusion of dates and circumstances. As I have elsewhere suggested, it seems far more probable that such a westward shifting was due to the thrust of the Thracian invasion, Bithynians and others, which, at some period considerably later than the Trojan war, broke up the unity of the Phrygian nation, and scattered them in a way which made it proverbially impossible to define their boundaries (*A.B.S.A.*, XVII, 279 f.). "It appears that the inhabitants of Skepsis swarmed over the pass which is now called Hajji öldüren into the upper basin of the Scamander, and pushed down it till they had seized the hill of Kurshunlu-tepe, which effectually commands the Scamander valley at a point where it is narrowed to a defile by foot-hills from the north and south. Here they established a fortress which, after the fashion of emigrants, they called by the name of their old

home Skepsis. The situation was so strong that they not only held effectually the upper valley in their rear, but were enabled to rob Kebrene of all the northern portion of its territory in the middle basin, the river itself offering a certain obstacle to hostilities, and so establishing itself as a boundary between the two towns, though never effective in putting an end to the traditional enmity arising from the successful spoliation" (*A.B.S.A.*, XVII, 280).

But when we leave these regions of guess-work we might reasonably look for a little more explicit information from Strabo. He says that the ancient kingship of the two clans, Trojan and Dardanian, became an oligarchy, *εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν μετέστησαν*. Does this mean that the town was Hellenized? And, in particular, did it become, like all its neighbours, an Æolian colony? Or did it remain Dardano-Trojan till the Milesians came? And one would have looked for some explanation of the circumstances which brought a Milesian colony to such an unlikely spot. The Milesian colonies followed regular lines, all of them, with hardly an exception, lying on the sea-coast, with a special view to the Euxine and north Ægean trade. A Milesian colony lying inland, with the Æolian Assos for its nearest port, is, I believe, absolutely unique. How is it to be accounted for? Of this Strabo has nothing to say.

Fortunately there is one small piece of evidence—it is only a single letter—which enables us to answer the first question definitely, and gives us a guide to the second.

The coinage of Skepsis begins in the 5th century with a series dated by Head (*H.N.*,² p. 548), "circ. B.C. 460-400." Of these a few have the legend ΣΚΑΨΙΟΝ, others have ΣΚΗΨΙΟΝ. This is, I believe, sufficient proof that Skepsis was at the beginning of the century Æolian, and in the course of it became Ionic. The vowel of the Æolian neighbour of Skepsis, Assos, never changed throughout its history, though we know from the Athenian tribute-lists that the Ionians called it Ἰσσοῖς or Ἰσσοῖς. It must, therefore, have been in the course of the century that the Ionic newcomers got the upper hand and established their democracy.

But in the 5th century there was no question of Milesian colonization in the proper sense. In 500 B.C., Abydos,

Lampsakos, and other colonies along the Hellespont and Euxine had been sacked and burnt, and in 494 the metropolis itself shared the same fate. All Greece was horrified to hear that the great city had not only been taken, but destroyed, its inhabitants being deported by Darius to Ampe (Herod., VI, 20). The only colonization possible at that time was by fugitives; and there can be little doubt, I fancy, that such fugitives are meant by Strabo's expression *εἶτα Μιλήσιοι*¹ *συνεπολιτεύθησαν αὐτοῖς*. It may well be that colonists fleeing from the sack of Abydos and Lampsakos had already found a haven there, and invited the exiles from the mother city to join them at a spot so unlike a Milesian colony that the Persian power might overlook them or at least regard them as harmless—which in fact they were. After Mycale things were changed; and apparently the Ionian exiles managed to master the hospitable town and make it Ionian, just as the Colophonian exiles had once dealt with Smyrna.

In fact, they were very harmless. The citizens of Skepsis seem to have borne a character which combined the easy-going and rather sluggish character of the Æolians with the intellectual and philosophical interest of the Ionians; and the history of Skepsis is that of a somewhat sleepy University town, where the higher studies were cultivated in unbroken succession through some three hundred years or more, but which did not trouble itself with politics except when its repose was for a time disturbed by the occasional wars of neighbouring tyrants or condottieri.

The titular retention of the kingship with "certain rights," the nature of which we are not told, seems here to be neither Æolic nor Ionic in its origin; but it was known to both. The clearest instance is Ionic, at Ephesus; but there is a trace of it at the Æolic Kyme (see *Homer and History*, pp. 292-296). It will be seen that the Greeks of all sorts adopted at Skepsis the pre-Hellenic royal families just as in Ionia they had adopted Lykian dynasties.

The fact of the survival is attested by one of the three inscriptions which have survived the destruction of Skepsis. It

¹ The MSS. have *Μιλησίους*, but there can be no doubt of the correctness of Gröskurd's emendation.

was discovered by Calvert at Kurshunlu-tepe, and was first published by Schliemann (*Troja*, 235); it was reprinted by Judeich in the Kiepert-festschrift, and has been again edited by Wilhelm (*Oesterr. Jahresh.*, III, 54). According to Wilhelm it is certainly not later than the 3rd century B.C., and may belong to the 4th. The psephisma which it records deals with the establishment of a festival in honour of Dionysos, and the necessary repairs to his temple. These do not add anything to the history of the town, but the list of officials is worth quoting : ἐπρυτάνεον Σκαμάνδριος Ἡρακλείδου, Διονύσιος Βάκχου, Μιλήσιος Ἀνδρηράτου, Ἡρακλείδης Ἀπελλικῶντος · ἐπεστάται Λεύκιος Μιλησίου · ἐγραμμάτευε Σιμίας Σιμίου; ἐβασίλευε Μητρόδωρος Μίμαντος · Ἡρακλείδης Ἄβαντος εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ. We notice at once the survival of the titular βασιλεύς. The old royal families would seem to have been completely Æolized, for the father of King Metrodoros bears the good old legendary name of Mimas; and Mimas was son of Aiolos (Diod., IV, 67). On the other hand, we see that the Dardan name Skamandrios was still in use, doubtless in the old families, while Milesios has become a proper name among the Ionian element.

Skepsis, like the neighbouring inland town of Kebren, was a member of the Delian league; it appears in the tribute-lists of 454-451 and 446-440. It paid the respectable sum of one talent, the same as its better known, and as one would have supposed far wealthier, neighbour Assos.

It was captured, like Gergis and Kebren, by Derkyllidas in his lightning raid on the Troad in 399. The Troad at that time had been governed, under Pharnabazos, by the satrapess Mania; she had just been murdered by her son-in-law Meidias, who had seized her treasure and made Skepsis, her chief fortress, his capital. Here he was awaiting with considerable anxiety the coming of Pharnabazos, who was expected on a visit of inquiry. Derkyllidas seized the opportunity to land on the west coast of the Troad; he received the submission of the coast towns, and marched inland against Skepsis, occupying Kebren on the way. Xenophon, who writes as though he was an eye-witness, gives the following account (*Hell.*, III, i, 20). After the capture of Kebren Meidias offered a conference if Derkyllidas would give hostages for his safety. This Derkyllidas did, and

the two met. Derkyllidas demanded the freedom and independence of the Greek towns, and at the same time advanced against Skepsis. Meidias, seeing himself helpless, did not resist the entry; and Derkyllidas, after sacrificing to Athene, expelled Meidias' garrison, and handed the town over to the citizens. According to Polyainos (II, 6) he had threatened at the conference to kill Meidias unless the gates were opened, and when this was done said, "I send you back safe, as I swore; but I am going to enter too with my army." The town was again occupied by the Athenian free-lance Charidemos in 360 or 359, in the course of a campaign which he evidently modelled on that of Derkyllidas (Demosthenes, *Aristocr.*, 23, 154). But it is noteworthy that we hear nothing of any tyrant of Skepsis, even in the first half of the 4th century when most of the Greek towns of the Troad fell under the dominion of individuals in the decay of the central power of Persia. Skepsis seems to have clung faithfully to its democracy.

Mr. J. A. R. Munro, on a passing visit to the Kurshunlutepe in 1899, had the good fortune to discover and copy two long inscriptions, which, so far as I know, complete, with Calvert's and Judeich's, the whole epigraphical remains of Skepsis. He published them in *J.H.S.*, XIX, 330.¹ The first is a copy of a letter sent by Antigonos to Skepsis—and presumably to the other Greek towns within his "sphere of influence"—giving a long account of the negotiations which led to the peace of 311 between himself, Lysimachos and Ptolemy, Cassander not being mentioned. "Writing to a Greek city Antigonos dwells exclusively on the freedom he has won for the Greeks, and the trouble and sacrifices which it has cost him. So evident is his anxiety to justify himself that it almost suggests that he had promised a great deal more than he found it possible or convenient to perform. His own guarantees for the maintenance of Greek autonomy are cautiously hypothetical, and as a matter of history his violation of it was a main pretext for the renewal of the war" (p. 337).

The second inscription is a corollary to the first; the town of Skepsis welcomes Antigonos as a benefactor and congratulates

¹ See also Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, No. 6; Michel, *Rev. Ét. gr.*, XXXII, 380 ff.

him on the negotiations, dedicates a temenos, an altar and a statue to him, with yearly celebrations, votes him a golden crown of 100 staters, and decrees that the letter and treaties shall be inscribed on a stele, to be set up in the temple of Athene, the same in which Derkyllidas had sacrificed nearly 90 years before.

The best commentary on Antigonos' promises, so cordially received by those who were to benefit by them, is found in his actions. Within a very few years he had forcibly transplanted the inhabitants of all the free towns of Western Troas, including Skepsis, to his new city of Antigoneia. Here they remained till after the battle of Ipsos (301), when Lysimachos, succeeding to the territories of Antigonos, restored the Skepsians to their old home. The decision was plainly wise, and was justified by the result. The central plain could well support, and indeed needed, a considerable civic centre; though the close neighbourhood of two such, Skepsis and Kebren, in the past had led to continual fighting and had plainly been a public nuisance. The position of Skepsis on all the important lines of communication, as we have seen, marked it out for preference. The restored Skepsis continued to thrive, in its quiet way, as a centre of culture; and existed for many centuries. Pliny, however, mentions it only for its cattle breeding (*H.N.*, XI, 204). But the forests of Ida must always have constituted a main source of its wealth; and it is in reference to these that the constant type of its coinage is a pine tree.

The coinage, which is fairly abundant, continues to the reign of Maximinus (A.D. 235). In Imperial times the town like many others reverted to antiquarian memories, and the usual inscription is ΣΚΗΨΙΩΝ ΔΑΡΔΑΝΙΩΝ. No explanation, so far as I know, has ever been given of the favourite obverse type of the forepart of a winged horse (Pegasos?); this, especially in later times, often ends in a sort of horn, and has been interpreted as a rhyton in the form of a sea-horse (B.M.C., *Troas*, p. xxiv).

For the end of all I cannot do better than quote the words of the distinguished man to whom this volume is dedicated. In Christian times "Skepsis took the name of St. Cornelius the Centurion, who settled at Skepsis and converted the population and Demetrios the Prefect. (*Act. Sanct.*, Feb. 8.) His grave

was discovered in the beginning of the 5th century, when Silvanus was bishop of Troas. Apparently it was at this time that the church which gave name to the city was dedicated. Another church was erected to Demetrios. On the death of Silvanus, Athanasius (who was bishop of Skepsis at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431) succeeded him at Troas, and Philostorgius was made bishop of Skepsis. It would appear therefore that the bishopric of Troas was a more desirable dignity than that of Skepsis" (Ramsay, *H.G.A.M.*, 161-166, cf. *ibid.* 152-153).

THE INTELLECTUAL TRADITION

It remains to mention briefly the succession of thinkers, the stream of philosophy declining into "rhetoric," which distinguished Skepsis among the cities of the Troad. The line begins with Erastos and Koriskos, pupils of Plato. Little enough is known about them, nor do they seem to have contributed anything to original thought. But there is extant a letter of Plato addressed to them, a letter whose genuineness seems to be confirmed by the comparative insignificance of the recipients. It is couched in most affectionate terms, and contains an appeal to them to keep in touch with Hermias of Assos, the pupil of Aristotle, whose friendship will be of the greatest value to them. He is a philosopher, but also a man of the world, banker, politician, administrator; the philosophers of the study need such contact to help them to face the wicked world.

The son of Koriskos was Neleus, who continued the tradition. He was a pupil of Aristotle and afterwards of Theophrastos, with whom he was on such terms of intimacy as to be appointed executor of his will, and to be made legatee of the library of Aristotle, with consequences which have already been alluded to and need not be further discussed. The later part of the 3rd century seems to have been a period of stagnation in the intellectual life of Skepsis; for some half century we hear nothing of any distinguished citizen, only of the neglect from which the precious library suffered. But early in the 2nd century there arose a new and original scholar, Demetrios, a wealthy man and passionate student of geography, and particularly of his native land. He appears, from what Strabo quotes, to have

returned to the Academic school from the Peripatetic, and quotes Plato with veneration. It is to him, unfortunately only at second-hand, that we owe practically all that is known of the Troad in ancient days.

He handed on the tradition to Metrodoros, the famous rhetorician and statesman. Metrodoros was many years younger, but we have the explicit statement of Diogenes Laertius that he obtained his start in life from Demetrios, and it is quite possible that he may have done so. Metrodoros was the typical "rhetor" and is recorded by Cicero as having been a friend of L. Crassus, the orator. He became the confidential adviser of Mithradates Eupator in his struggle with the Romans, and died, apparently at an advanced age, about 70 B.C. (*A.B.S.A.*, XXII, 23).

With him the intellectual history of Skepsis comes to an end. But it had continued, with a gap of half a century from about 250 to 200 B.C., for well-nigh 300 years. No other town in the Troad can show any man of equal importance at all, with the exception of Assos, where Hermias was a passing meteor, and Lampsakos, when for a time Epicurus settled there and established a school of devoted pupils.

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XX.

THE ASSYRIANS IN ASIA MINOR

by A. T. OLMSTEAD

IN writing the pre-Hellenic history of Asia Minor, we are no longer entirely dependent on the late conjectures of Greek and Roman scholars, nor on the few reminiscences of early fact which may be gleaned from their works. For the third pre-Christian millennium, we have the "Cappadocian tablets," which testify to Babylonian influences during the days of the Ur dynasty (2481-2361 B.C.). For the second, we have the extensive Hittite archives. These two sources, however, still require much investigation in detail before they can be used with entire confidence by non-Assyriologists. The case is different for the Assyrian records, our chief repertory of information as to the earlier half of the first pre-Christian millennium, a period concerning which much additional material is not likely to be discovered; so well have these records been studied that a connected story may now be presented for the use of students of the later history of Asia Minor.¹

The Assyrians were late in breaking through the ring of small states which shut them off from Asia Minor, and there is but one event in the second millennium which may be referred to that area. At the end of his fourth campaign, that against the Nairi, or the people along the southern boundary of Armenia, Tiglath Pileser I received hostages and a yearly tribute of magnesite from the rebel city of Milidia in the land of Hani Galbat, but did not capture the city itself (1106 B.C.). In all probability this is to be identified with Melitene-Malatia,

¹ This article is a preliminary study for my *History of Assyria*, N.Y., 1923.
(283)

the only objection being that we have no other evidence for so northerly an extension of Hani Galbat.¹

With this single exception, we have no certain references to Asia Minor until the reign of Shalmaneser III (860-825 B.C.),² and from this time until the end of the Assyrian period conditions remain essentially the same. We speak of Asia Minor, but it is doubtful if contemporaries were aware that a frontier had been passed when they entered the Anti-Taurus or the Cilician plain. The kings of these portions of Asia Minor always considered them integral parts of North Syria, regularly entered the alliances formed against Assyrian invasion, and in the Assyrian records are mixed indiscriminately with the chiefs of North Syria. Four distinct divisions are now recognized, and with slight modifications and changes of name we shall find them in use in all the Assyrian annals.

Well up the Euphrates was Milidia or Melitene, already made tributary by Tiglath Pileser I, and now ruled by Lale. In the Anti-Taurus to the west was Tabal, whence came the name of the classical Tibareni,³ generally ruled by independent chiefs, one to each of the mountain valleys. In the open plains, later called Lycaonia, was Hilakku, which was to give its name to Cilicia, after the Hilakkai had descended through the Cilician Gates into the plain, which during the whole of Assyrian history was called Que.⁴ The two Cilicias were allied with the North Syrian princes against Shalmaneser in 859;⁵ Milidia paid tribute to him in much the same company in 854;⁶ five hundred men from Que fought in the epoch-making battle of Qarqara in the same year.⁷ The Assyrians waited fourteen years before they attempted to chastise this presumption (839), and it was not until two years later that they enjoyed any success. Then they

¹ *Annals*, V, 33 ff.; Budge-King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, I, 71 ff.; cf. Olmstead, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVII, 176.

² The best edition of the inscriptions is that of N. Rasmussen, *Salmanasser den II's Indskriften*, 1907; the edition by Winckler-Peiser, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, I, 128 ff., may still be used. A complete history of the reign, Olmstead, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLI, 375 ff.

³ Herod., III, 94.

⁴ For Milidia-Meliddu, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 91; for Hilakku, *ibid.*, 90; for Que, *ibid.*, 83.

⁵ Monolith, I, 53 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 83.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 92, here called Guai.

marched through Nairi to Tunni, a mountain of silver and of various stones, took cut stone from the quarries, and left in return a stele. They ended with Tabal, where twenty-four kings handed over their quotas, and with Que, where the lands of Qate were ravaged (837). The next year, Uetash, the fort of Lale of Milidia, was assaulted, and the kings of the Tabal again presented their tribute. Que was entered through the Amanus Gates in 834 and Timur was taken from Qate, who was shortly after deposed by Tulli. The new ruler surrendered when he saw his fort Tanakun in Assyrian possession, and was supplanted by Kirri, brother of the former king. The inhabitants of Lamena found refuge in the hills.¹ The year closed with the capture of Tarzi or Tarsus, which was at this time taking the place of Mallus as the central point of the Cilician plain, as the terminus of the great route which led through the Cilician Gates to the plateau of Asia Minor, and as the outlet of the famous Hittite silver mines to the north of the mountains, whose wealth was to make the name of Tarshish world-famous.² There is a curious echo of these Assyrian records in the inscription of the Aramæan Zakar, king of Hamath, about 800 B.C. Bar Hadad III, of Biblical fame, raised an alliance against him, and among the familiar names from North Syria we have the king of Quweh (Que) and the king of Meliz (Melitene).³ In this connexion, too, we should place the Biblical passage where Solomon is said to have brought horses from Quweh.⁴

There is a long break in the narrative, due to the decline in the Assyrian fortunes, and it is not until the time of the third Tiglath Pileser (746-728 B.C.), the usurper who restored the empire, that we have new references.⁵ We find the same states, but with notable additions. In his third year, 744 B.C.,

¹ Identification with the Lamas Su and Lamus is easy, but Lamena is reached before Tarsus, that is, it lay east, while there is no proof that the Assyrians marched west of Tarsus.

² Obelisk, 100 ff.

³ Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, II, No. 86; cf. Torrey, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXV, 353 ff.

⁴ 1 Kings, x, 28; for reading, cf. Winckler, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, 173.

⁵ The best edition at present is that of P. Rost, *Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III*; a history of the reign, by A. S. Anspacher, *Tiglath Pileser III*, 1912. A new edition by the present writer is in preparation for the Yale series.

he fought with Sardurish, King of Haldia or Armenia, and among the allies of the Armenian king is Sulumal of Meliddu or Melitene.¹ Later, we find Uriakki of Que paying tribute and this country receiving thirty thousand of the deported inhabitants of North Syria.² The final summary of the kings who brought tribute includes, beside the usual North Syrian kings, Uriakki of Que, Sulumal of Meliddu, Dadilu of Kasku (Cissesus), Uassarne of Tabal, Ushhitti of Tuna (Tyana),³ Urballa of Tuhana, Tuhamme of Ishtunda (Aspendus), Urimme of Huri-knu (Characene).⁴ Still later, about 730 B.C., Uassarne revolted, and Tiglath Pileser sent his general who placed on the throne of Tabal a certain Hulli, the son of a nobody, who presented tribute of gold, silver, and horses.⁵

The reign of Sargon is of the greatest importance for the history of Asia Minor, but it has been treated in detail elsewhere, and brief mention is all that is here demanded.⁶ In 718, Shihuhtu revolted under Kiakki and was handed over to Matti of Atun. Atun is Tyana and Shihuhtu is probably the long low mound just north of the entrance to the Gates.⁷ The next year, Mita of Mushki appears as the one who incited Pisiris of Carchemish to revolt. Mita is without doubt Midas the Phrygian, whose inscription has actually been found at Tyana.⁸ Mushki is well known to Assyriologists, for it occurs in the records of the first Tiglath Pileser,⁹ but at that time they were in North-West Mesopotamia; here they are clearly to be connected with Mazaka, the later Caesarea. In 716, certain cities of Que named Harrua, Ushnanish, and another whose name is entirely uncertain, were recovered from Mita.¹⁰ In 714, Tabal was invaded. On the death of that Hulli who was appointed

¹ *Annals*, 61.

² *Ibid.*, 87.

³ Cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 83.

⁴ *Annals*, 150 ff.; Clay Tablet, rev. 7 ff. For Hu-*shim*-na-a-a read Hu-*rik*-na-a-a.

⁵ Clay Tablet, rev. 14 f.

⁶ The best edition of the text is that of H. Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, 1889; a new edition by the present writer is in preparation. Detailed history of the reign, Olmstead, *Western Asia in the reign of Sargon of Assyria*, 1908, 81 ff.

⁷ *Annals*, 42 ff.

⁸ Garstang, *Empire of Hittites*, Pl. XXV. Although I pointed out in 1908, *Sargon*, 81, that the identification was not due to H. Winckler, but to H. Rawlinson (cf. G. Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, II, 151, n. 7), it still seems the custom to ascribe it to the German scholar.

⁹ *Annals*, I, 62 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 91 ff.; 99 f.

by Tiglath Pileser IV, Sargon recognized his son Ambaris, married him to his own daughter, Ahat-abisha, and with her gave him Bit Burutash and Hilakku, the later strategeia of Cilicia, north of the Cilician Gates.¹ When he went over to Midas, he was carried off, his land was made an Assyrian province, and captives taken elsewhere were settled in it.² At the same time, Matti of Atuna (Tyana) went over to Midas, with disastrous results³

The next year saw an attack on Kammanu, the country which took its name from the sacred city of Comana,⁴ and whose capital was Meliddu (Melitene). Gunzinanu had been deposed in favour of Tarhunazi, but now the new ruler revolted. When Meliddu was taken by the Assyrians, he fled to Tul Garimmu (Derende) where he was made captive and his land was turned into a province. Various forts were built, Luhsu, Burdir, An-murru, Ki . . . , Anduarsalia on the Armenian side, Usi, Usian, and Uargin against Midas, Ellibir and Shindarara on the third side.⁵ Finally in 711-709 B.C., Que was pacified in three expeditions led by its governor against territory belonging to Midas, and many captives were deported and others settled therein.⁶ It may even be that some arrangement was made with Midas, for Sargon claims tribute from him, the regular Assyrian method of admitting officially friendship with an equal.⁷

About 709 B.C. the Assyrian letters first show the Cimmerians in Asia Minor. These Iranian barbarians, who were later to do so much damage to the country, were at this time settled in Cappadocia. The first attempt to bring them by force under civilizing influences was made by Argishtish, the Haldian king. He first secured Guriana, a region between Urartu

¹ For Hilakku, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 90.

² *Annals*, 168 ff.

³ Prism B.

⁴ The Qumani tribe of the early Assyrian records, cf. Olmstead, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVII, 179, is doubtless to be connected in name with the Comanas, as the Mushki with Mazaka, but at this early time they were in the foothills north-east of Diarbekir.

⁵ *Annals*, 178 ff.; the location and identification of these sites seem to me far less certain than when I wrote note 42, *Sargon*, 92 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 372 ff.; a list of 976 captives of various classes brought from Que probably belongs here: Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, No. 1099; cf. No. 743. By 685 B.C. we have a governor of Que regularly cited: *ibid.*, II., 137.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 379 ff.

(Ararat, Armenia) and the Cimmerian land.¹ Since Guriana is the modern Gürün, the Haldians must have marched up the valley of the Tokhma Su, past Meliddu and Tul Garimmu, which meant that the whole of Tabal was lost to Assyria. Not long after, the Haldians were utterly routed by the Cimmerians, as various Assyrian officials reported to the Crown prince, Sennacherib. Argishtish fled to Uasaun (? Usian), and then to the mountains, where he hid alone; his chief minister was made prisoner, and his nine governors perished. In 706 Sargon fought again in Tabal.²

The reign of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) meant little for Asia Minor. In 696,³ Kirua, chief of Illubru, induced a revolt of the Assyrian troops stationed in Hilakku, the Cilicia which was still north of the Gates. The inhabitants of Ingira⁴ and Tarzi (Tarsus) seized "the road of Que" which passed through the Cilician Gates, and closed it to traffic. The emergency was too serious for dependence on the provincial levies alone, and so the royal army was ordered out. The sculptures depict a broad river, surrounded by forests and mountains. Up the valley and frequently recrossing its windings are the marching Assyrians; here and there they must dismount and drag the chariots over the rocks. In that difficult country, they defeated the rebels, pillaged Ingira and Tarsus, and shut up Kirua in Illubru. Passing through vineyards irrigated by the smaller streams, the Assyrians cut down the trees to construct the "great flies of the wall" to take the city. Illubru lay on both sides of the river and was guarded by long low walls with equidistant towers, ornamented with cornices and angular battlements. The houses were large and square, the windows, high up under the roof, were adorned with Ionic pillars; the square doors were ornamented by a plain cornice. The suburb across the river was less crowded; there were numerous trees, and some of the houses had open balustrades. After the city was fired, a long line of warriors carried off the spoil: arms, chairs, stools, tables

¹ Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, No. 146; cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, 155 ff.

² Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, 112, 197, 646, 1079.

³ Cf. Tallqvist, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XIV, 344 f.

⁴ The Anchiale which, with Tarsus, was, according to legend, founded by Sardana-pallus, here equal to Sennacherib, Dhorme, *Les Pays bibliques et l'Assyrie*, 77.

with heads and feet of animals, couches and beds with curved heads, high-backed chairs, and tables folding like camp stools.¹ Kirua was carried off to Nineveh, there to be flayed alive, the Cilicians who had supported him were deported, and their places were filled with captives. The weapons of Ashur were dedicated in Illubru, and before his image was set up a memorial tablet. Three years later, an attempt was made to extend the province to the north, where a certain Hidi had united into a more or less coherent kingdom the lands of Tabal, with Tul Garimmu as its capital instead of Meliddu. The Assyrians were successful in capturing the capital and carried off his followers, but nothing is said of Hidi, and the raid obviously had no further consequences.²

Strangely enough, this expedition was one of the few events in Assyrian history transmitted to the later world outside the Bible, and the method of transmission is almost without parallel. To-day we must consult a Latin or a German translation of an Armenian translation of the lost Greek of the Chronicle of Eusebius, who borrowed in part from Alexander Polyhistor—who borrowed from Berossus direct—in part from Abydenus, who borrowed from Juba, who borrowed from Polyhistor, and so from Berossus, who borrowed from cuneiform originals! To make confusion worse confounded, Eusebius has not recognized that Abydenus is only a feeble echo of Polyhistor, and has quoted the accounts side by side. The account transmitted through Polyhistor is not inadequate. As the Ionian Greeks were making an invasion of Cilicia, Sennacherib marched against them and fought an engagement. After a severe hand-to-hand struggle, in which the Assyrians lost heavily, they were victorious. As memorial, Sennacherib erected on the spot his image and in Chaldæan characters engraved an account of his heroism. Finally, he built Tarsus after the model of Babylon. This is not so bad a paraphrase of the inscription just quoted. Turning to Abydenus, we are scarcely surprised that Eusebius took these for separate narratives. The battle, according to Abydenus, took

¹ Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, II, 36, 40; *Nineveh and Babylon*, 119; Paterson, *Sinacherib*, 83 ff.

² Edition VI (King Cylinder), *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum*, XXVI; IV, 61 ff.

place on the Cilician coast, and the Ionians were on ships. Probably a battle on the sea coast has been transformed by the Greek mind into a battle on the sea. At any rate, the Assyrian records do not support Abydenus.¹

The troubles at the accession of Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) led to uprisings in the west, where Abdmelcart, king of Sidon, formed an alliance with Sanduarri, king of Kundu and Sisu, cities which as the classical Cyinda and the mediæval Sis were to become famous, the former under the Diadochi as a treasure city, and the latter as an Armenian political and religious capital.² While one Assyrian general was engaged in re-establishing Assyrian rule in Sidon, another was crushing the Cilician insurrection. Deprived of the aid of Abdmelcart, Sanduarri found little comfort in the mountains to which he had trusted; like a bird he was drawn from the depths of the Taurus. Abdmelcart was decapitated in October of 676 B.C., Sanduarri suffered the same fate in the succeeding March, and the severed heads were carried on the necks of their noble followers to Assyria.³

Sargon and Sennacherib had gained control of the Cilician Gates, but by the conquest of Sisu Esarhaddon was given access to the one competing pass, at the end of which route lay the sacred city of Comana. The first range of mountains was successfully crossed, and the Assyrian general reached the country of Hubishna, the Cabissus of Roman times, but a short distance south of the sacred city with its accumulated treasures. Here they chanced upon one of the Gimirrai (Cimmerian) princes, whose name of Teushpa recalls that of the almost contemporary Teispes, ancestor of Cyrus. The god Ashur promised that they would be given into Esarhaddon's hands,⁴ and the Assyrian claim is that this promise was fulfilled. Whatever the truth of this, the northward advance of the Assyrians was stopped, and they turned west across the mountains to the fertile plains where was the earlier Cilicia and the Du'ua land about the city of Tyana.

¹ Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, 27, 35; ed. Karst, 14, 17.

² For Cyinda, Strab., XIV, 5, 10; Diod., XVIII, 62; XIX, 56; Plut. *Eumen.*, 13; Suidas, s.v. For Sision-Flaviopolis, cf. Ramsay, *H.G.A.M.*, and add the Notitiae, Gelzer, *Byzant. Ztf.*, I, 248; Conybeare, *ibid.*, V, 124.

³ Prism A, I, 10 ff.; *Babylonian Chronicle*, IV, 7 f.; Winckler, *Ztf. f. Assyriologie*, II, Pl. II; *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, 527.

⁴ Langdon, *Tammuz*, 134.

The account ends at this point, and Esarhaddon goes out of his way to inform us that he was the first to conquer this territory, although we know that it had been forced to pay tribute to his father and his grandfather. In truth, he was chronicling the failure of the most ambitious attempt to subjugate Asia Minor.¹

In the last days of Esarhaddon, a certain Mugallu appeared with his army before Meliddu (Melitene). Loss of such a city, a great Hittite centre which has left to our own day a large mound and numerous sculptures and inscriptions,² was much to be dreaded, since it controlled the one route which ran eastward from Mazaka to the Euphrates crossing, and then by a corner of Haldia to Amida and Nineveh. Esarhaddon hastened to Shamash, the sun god, told how Mugallu with his camp was before the city, how the commander-in-chief had gone against him with the royal troops and the local levies, and inquired whether he would be successful in driving him from the walls of the beleaguered town.³ We do not know the answer of Shamash, but the goddess Ishtar declared that the plan of Mugallu would be dissolved.⁴ Yet, although the commander-in-chief with the royal forces had been in charge of the relieving army, the city could not be saved, and, in the next inquiry, we find the title "Milidian" given to Mugallu quite as a matter of course. He has entered into conspiracy with Ishkallu of Tabal concerning the city of Ishtiaru. During the month of May, will they have any success against the forces of the commander-in-chief, Sha Nabu-shu? ⁵ If he breaks camp, will either Mugallu or Ishkallu, or any other enemy fall upon them in broad daylight or in the dark night, defeat or plunder them, or make ill the heart of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria? ⁶

About this time, Ashur bani apal (668-626 B.C.) took the place of his father,⁷ and Mugallu determined to make his peace with the empire. In his royal inscriptions, to be read far from the frontier, Ashur bani apal attributes the submission of this prince who had raised his weapons against the kings his fathers

¹ Prism A, II, 6 ff.; Prism B, III, 1 ff.

² Olmstead-Charles-Wrench, *Hittite Inscriptions*, 39 ff.

³ Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete*, No. 55.

⁴ Langdon, *Tammuz*, 139.

⁵ Knudtzon, *Gebete*, No. 56; Klauber, *Texte*, 27.

⁶ Knudtzon, *Gebete* No. 57.

⁷ The best edition is that of M. Streck, *Assurbanipal*.

to the fear of his royalty ; Mugallu did send an embassy without war or battle,¹ but it was not received with the complacency which the king publicly assumed. Ashur bani apal again had recourse to the oracle and begged Shamash to answer him truly whether he should receive the embassy which Mugallu had sent to make submission, and whether the Milidian would keep his plighted word.² The answer was favourable, and a tribute of horses was levied upon him. The scribe calls them "great," but the famous Cappadocian stallions are hardly more than ponies. As late as 651 Mugallu and a colleague brought nearly six hundred horses, according to one of the records of the palace administration.³

In the same inquiry, Ashur bani apal asked about Ishkallu, king of Tabal, and a companion who can only be the king of Hilakku. The Hilakkai were just on the point of leaving the fertile plains of Cappadocia, where they had been settled for something like a century, en route to the still more fertile Cilician Plain, which was henceforth to carry their name. Another inquiry, dated in August, shows them on their way. Will they go down from the place they now occupy to Que, will the men of Kuzzurakkai do anything?⁴ Like Mugallu, the Hilakkai secured their objective and then, settled in their new domain, also made peace with the empire. A generation later, after the fall of Babylon, Sandasarme appeared in person with his gifts, presented his daughter, and kissed the royal feet (648 B.C.).⁵ Two months after the last inquiry, in October, probably, of 668 B.C., the youthful king, for the last time that we have record, asked the god about the case of Asia Minor. He asks of the allies of the Hilakkai, of a ruler whose name ends in -shattu, and of . . . ni, a son of Kanda. Now Kandaules is known to mean "Kanda's son" and we may see in this individual that Kandaules who was deposed by Gyges of Lydia. If our

¹ Tablet I, II, 22 ff.

² Knudtzon, *Gebete*, No. 54.

³ Johns, *Deeds*, No. 698 ; cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, CCCLI, n. 3 ; Thompson, *Reports of Magicians*, No. 64 B, the royal Ituai troops are to go against Mugallu. He is mentioned in the eclipse tablet, Harper, *Letters*, 629 ; Behrens, *Briefe*, 14, n. 4 ; 98, n. 1.

⁴ Knudtzon, *Gebete*, No. 60, 62 ; Klauber, *Texte*, 43, adds a reference to the Gimirrai.

⁵ Cyl. A, II, 75 ff.

identification is correct, we are witnessing the beginnings of the Lydian empire.¹

The account given by Ashur bani apal of his relations with Gyges is well known. Luddi (Lydia) was a far away district, a district at the crossing of the sea, of which the kings his fathers had never heard. But Ashur appeared to Gugu (Gyges) in a dream and thus he addressed him: "The exalted feet of Ashur bani apal . . . seize, and his royalty fear and beseech his lordship. As one who makes vassalage and furnishes tribute, let thy supplications come before him." The very day this dream appeared, a messenger was started toward Assyria. "Who art thou, stranger," the frontier guards address the new arrival, "to whose land no messenger has ever directed the way?" They brought him to Nineveh, and men who spoke all tongues, from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof, all with whom the god Ashur had filled the royal hand, attempted speech with him, but a possessor of his tongue was not found.² From the very day his ambassador set out, Gyges victoriously combated the Cimmerians who were destroying his land, and sent two captured chiefs as first fruits of his submission.³

This oft-quoted narrative is not without its charm as a literary composition; for the purpose of the historian it is obviously inadequate. With the aid of the Greek writers, who here begin to stand on solid ground, and with some knowledge of the general background, it is possible to come somewhat nearer the truth. Gyges had gained an uneasy throne by the deposition of Kandaules, an event which must have taken place not far from the accession of Ashur bani apal himself. Under such circumstances, it would be natural for Gyges to send an embassy. He had sensed the threat of the Cimmerians who had destroyed the Phrygian kingdom about 676 B.C., and had forced the last Midas to kill himself. The old Royal Road was now

¹ Knudtzon, *Gebete*, 62 f.; Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II, 128 ff. If the identification be correct, then the traditional date of 687 for the accession of Gyges (Gelzer, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXX, 256 ff.) is far too early. No attempt will be made to estimate the few solid facts in the Greek stories of Lydia before Gyges; the task has been executed as successfully as the data will permit by Radet, *La Lydie*. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, CCCL ff., gives exhaustively the German literature.

² The failure to understand the messenger's speech is found only in Cylinder E (Streck, *Assurbanipal*, 156 f.).

³ *Annals* I (Streck, *Assurbanipal*, 166 f.); Cylinder B, II, 86 ff.

in the hands of barbarians, and caravans could no longer journey in safety between Sardis and Nineveh. The fame of the Assyrians had long ago reached the Ægæan, and Gyges hoped that the two civilized empires might come to some agreement to crush the common foe between them. No one knew better than Ashur bani apal himself that this did not mean submission of the Lydians, but the rulers of his time were no more partial to the truth of history than they are to-day. The inscriptions which have come down to us were intended chiefly for home consumption, to increase the glory of the reigning monarch, and not to preserve the truth for the future historian.¹

The alliance between Gyges and Ashur bani apal lasted from about 668 to 648 B.C. ; at least during these years there is no sign of hostility in the Assyrian records. There was ample time to realize the hollowness of the imposing imperial structure, now so close to its fall, and the hopelessness of securing substantial aid for an enterprise so far beyond the Assyrian sphere of interest. The rebellion of Shamash shum ukin, colleague and brother king in Babylon, seemed about to bring Assyrian collapse, and Gyges ceased to send ambassadors to Nineveh. Psammetichus had regained Egypt from Assyria, and appeared about to supplant her as the dominant power in the Near East. When he asked Gyges for aid, the Lydian had no hesitation in sending those mercenaries whose scribblings are to be seen in the temple of Thutmose III at Wadi Halfa, and whose presence won for Psammetichus the unification of the Nile Valley.²

When the news of the aid given the rebel was brought to him, says Ashur bani apal, he raised his hands in prayer to Ashur and Ishtar : "Before his enemies may his corpse be thrown, and may they carry off his bones." As he had prayed so did it come to pass ; his corpse was thrown before his enemies, his bones they carried away. The Cimmerians, whom he had formerly conquered through the name of Ashur bani apal, became masters of his land. After him his son (Ardys)

¹ Since the embassy is mentioned in the fragmentary Cylinder E, dating from near the beginning of the reign (Olmstead, *Historiography*, 54), the first relations of Gyges with Ashur bani apal must date shortly after 668. In *Annals* 1, it is placed just after the Kirbit episode, which is fixed by the *Babylonian Chronicle* to 668 B.C.

² Diod., I, 66, 12 ; Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XVII, 42.

sat on his throne ; he recognized the evil deeds done by his father, and sent once more his embassy to court with the humble prayer : "Thou art the king whom God has recognized. Thou didst curse my father and evil came upon him ; toward me, thy servant who feareth thee, be thou gracious, and I will bear thy yoke."¹

If the first Assyrian narrative was absurd, the second is ridiculous. Again, the Greek sources permit us to correct the picture. Aided by the Treres and Lycians, the Cimmerians under Dygdamis² fell upon Lydia, Gyges met his death in battle, and the lower city of Sardis was sacked. Ephesus and Magnesia next felt their attack ; finally, the Cimmerians swung away to Cilicia where they were annihilated.³

The joy of Ashur bani apal at the death of Gyges was without doubt much less than he pretends ; the renewed approach of the Cimmerians to the Assyrian frontier was a danger of the first magnitude. To increase his fear, an eclipse of the moon presented the light portion of the disc in a form which the court scholars versed in such portents recognized as a kidney. On investigating their store of tablets, they came upon this terrifying statement : "When the moon at its appearing is spread out like a kidney, the god Enlil will go against the land for evil, there will be an attack on the land by the Guti people, and that land will be destroyed." For the long since forgotten Guti, they substituted the modern name of the Cimmerian horde, the Umman Manda, and sent the revised report to the king.⁴

In frantic terror, Ashur bani apal hastened to the oracle of the god Marduk to inquire of this Tugdame (Dygdamis) and of his son Sandakshatru, of this Umman Manda king who was the creation of Tiamat, the primeval chaotic monster and the model of an evil demon. Ashur bani apal gives no details of

¹ Rassam Cylinder, II, 102 ff. (Streck, *Assurbanipal*, 20 ff.).

² The MSS. give the common Asianic name Lygdamis, but the original, in view of the cuneiform Tugdame, must have been Dygdamis ; Sayce, *Academy*, 1893, 277.

³ Herod., I, 15 ; Strabo, I, 3, 21 ; XIII, 4, 7 ; XIV, 1, 40. Radet, *Lydie*, 180, says that the Cimmerians were without doubt excited by the Assyrian king, but this ignores the danger to a weakened Assyria from a strong Cimmerian state.

⁴ Virolleaud, *Astrologie*, Sin, III, 7 f. ; Weidner, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, VIII, 4, 54, 60.

the danger or the manner in which it was averted, but his abject fear and the joy with which the outcome was greeted testify to its seriousness. There can be no doubt that this reference must be connected with the Greek statement that the Cimmerians were annihilated in Cilicia; the operations must have been carried on by the Assyrian governor of Que, but the Cilicia must have been the Hilakku north of the Gates.¹ Doubtless Ardys sent a message of congratulation; that he in any sense made himself a vassal must be considered impossible to those who realize the shattered state of Assyria, barely a generation from the date when it was to disappear from the face of the earth.²

¹ Marduk inscription (Streck, *Assurbanipal*, 276 ff.); Strabo, I, 3, 21.

² The current date for the death of Gyges is 652, though 657 has its defenders, but neither fits the Assyrian data. There is no mention of his revolt or death in Cylinder B, one copy of which dates certainly from 648 B.C., the last sure date in Assyrian chronology, another from the eponymy of Nabu shar aheshu, which may be the next year. On the other hand, it is described in the Rassam Cylinder, dated in the eponymy of Shamash daninanni, which is variously dated from 644 to 636. These limits are rather wide, owing to the uncertain state of the chronology in the later part of the reign, but at least it may be considered proved that the date 652 must be abandoned.

XXI.

DIANA PERGAEA

di B. PACE

πολίων δέ τοι εὔαδε Πέργη.
(Callimaco, *Inno ad Artemide*, 187).

QUALCHE giorno dopo lo sbarco dei nostri marinai in Adalia—nel marzo del 1919—l'eccellente *epistate* della nostra Missione archeologica in Asia Minore, Haggi Nicola M. Fertecli, volle annunziarmi, dono ospitale per l'auspicato ritorno, qualche nuovo ritrovamento, e condottomi nel suo piccolo giardino mi mostrò alcuni frammenti epigrafici da lui acquistati da scalpellini e salvati dalla rovina.

Alcuni di essi attrassero subito la mia attenzione, e perchè riuniti formavano un complesso abbastanza lungo, e perchè già dalla prima parziale lettura risultava non trattarsi di uno di quei titoli sepolcrali od onorari, tanto comuni in Asia Minore e di scarso interesse, bensì dell'inventario di un tempio.

L'epigrafe contiene infatti, come vedremo, un inventario del tempio reputatissimo di Artemide di Perge in Panfilia. Primo documento di tal genere che ci venga dai santuari dell'Anatolia, esso non ha soltanto il pregio di fornire notevoli materiali sulla topografia, l'onomastica ed anche l'arte della Panfilia e delle regioni vicine ; ma ancora principalissimo quello di arricchire le notizie sull'importante culto della Dea di Perge, permettendo di specificare e coordinare elementi già conosciuti, e fornendone altri del tutto nuovi. Sicchè le nostre conoscenze al riguardo ne sono così notevolmente accresciute, che complemento e corollario naturale dello studio dell'epigrafe deve essere la raccolta e l'esame di quanto su vecchi e nuovi dati possiamo

conoscere di quel culto antico ed insigne e del suo santuario.¹ È siffatto studio che qui presento, insieme con alcune notizie generali sul nuovo testo,² di cui trascrivo solo la parte dalla quale principalmente s'avantaggia lo studio dell'antico culto.

I.

L'epigrafe proviene dalle rovine di Perge, esistenti a circa 20 chilometri ad oriente di Adalia, nella località oggi denominata Murtana. Questi grandiosi avanzi,³ cui conferisce particolare bellezza la selvaggia boscaglia che li sopraffà con rigogliosa vegetazione di arbusti, giacciono in una bassura quasi recinta da tre colline. Da quella settentrionale, nucleo originario e cinto di mura dell'abitato primitivo, la città cresciuta in floridezza ed opulenza invase il piano coi più sontuosi edificî, che in seguito —ad eccezione del teatro e dello stadio restati al di fuori—furono anche recinti di mura eccelse ed eleganti. Ma il sito della città primitiva rimase, com'era costume, incluso nella nuova cinta e conservò nella cresciuta città la funzione di Acropoli. Sembra che nella decadenza seguita al cadere dell'Impero, rimasta abbandonata la parte piana, la città si sia ridotta nuovamente nella forte collina dell'Acropoli, le cui mura mostrano tracce di rifacimenti diversi. Sicchè sull'Acropoli—più che altrove—essendosi a lungo susseguita la presenza dell'uomo, ulteriori opere rinnovarono e danneggiarono i primitivi documenti, onde oggi essa conserva pochissimi avanzi e quasi tutti del suo ultimo assetto: due chiese absidate a triplice navata ed alcune belle cisterne.

Le falde della collina di oriente—detta oggi Eilik Tepé—conservano documenti dell'epoca bizantina, fra i quali gli avanzi di una grande chiesa nella cui costruzione sono messi in opera

¹ Per le notizie finora conosciute cf. Wernicke, *Artemis*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, II, col. 1397; P. Paris, *Diana*, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, II, p. 154; Schreiber, *Artemis* in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, I, col. 593.

² Nel prossimo volume (V) dell'*Annuario della Scuola di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente*, sarà pubblicata col commento l'intera iscrizione.

³ Sulle rovine di Perge cf. specialmente: Leake, *Asia Minor*; Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie Mineure*, III, p. 212 (p. 709 seg. dell'edizione ne *L'Univers*, che cito in questo lavoro); Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, Londra, 1852, p. 190; Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage archéolog. en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, Inscript.*, III (Parigi, 1870), n. 1371-1376, p. 351; Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, I, p. 36; Paribeni-Romanelli, "Studi e ricerche archeologiche nell'Anatolia Meridionale," in *Monumenti antichi dei Lincei*, XXIII, col. 50 segg.; Pace, *Gl'Italiani e l'esplorazione dell'Oriente Ellenico*, p. 68 seg.

materiali già antichi, decorati e iscritti; dobbiamo ritenere che quivi sorgesse un sobborgo dell'ultimo periodo di esistenza di Perge, senza che si possa dimostrare od escludere allo stato attuale delle conoscenze, che questo sobborgo abbia anche preesistito. La nostra epigrafe fu appunto rinvenuta qui vicino, fra i materiali di un muro che sembra di costruzione molto tarda, esistente tra gli avanzi di questa basilica e il solo arco superstite dell'acquedotto che s'incontra sul viottolo che reca alle rovine dal secondo *Chân* di Murtana sulla carrozzabile di Adalia; muro che diede anche in passato un altro trovamento epigrafico importante, l'elogio del medico Asclepiade figlio di Mirone.¹

Gli otto frammenti, dei quali sei—i maggiori—combaciano fra di loro, compongono i due lati confinanti di un pilastro o stela quadrangolare, con le facce misuranti nel complesso non meno di cm. 67 × 48, che doveva avere adunque iscritte tutte e quattro od almeno due delle facce. Le lettere minute e regolari, alte cm. 2, ricoprivano di oltre cinquanta linee ognuna delle facce. Ma alcune rotture e profonde abrasioni occasionali hanno distrutto e illanguidito buona parte delle lettere, rendendo soprattutto nelle linee superiori estremamente penosa e spesso disperata del tutto la lettura.

Ecco la trascrizione di 14 linee del lato A, conservando la tarda ortografia.

- 20 Ἀσπιδίσκη ἔχουσα πρόσωπον Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἄγκιστρον
ἄγουσα ὀλ-
κὴ(ν) χρυσοῦς δύο ἀνάθεμα Ὀργέτου [.
δας Εὐβίου (sic) · Ἥλιος ἀκτεινωτὸς ἔχων ἄγκιστρον ἄγ[ον
ὀλχὴν (sic) χρυσοῦν ἀνάθημα Οἰνέως Τρεβημέως Ὀλυμ[πια-]
νοῦ · Ἀσπιδίσκη ἔχουσα πρόσωπον Ἀρτέμιδος ἔχουσ[α]
25 καὶ ἄγκιστρον ἄγουσα ὀλχὴν χρυσοῦς τρεῖς καΐμισυ (sic)
ἀνάθεμα Σάμου Ἀθμοπόλεως Ἀσπενδίου · Ἥλιος ἀ-
κτεινωτὸς ἔ[χ]ων ἄγκιστρον ἄγον ὀλχὴν χρυσοῦς δέκα
τετάρτην ἀνάθεμα Νέωνος Χάρητος Σιδητοῦ · Ὀρμος βα-
λανωτὸς ἐξ μισευμάτων βαλανῶν δεκαῆξ καὶ καλὰ-
30 μων δεκαπένδε καὶ ἥλιος ἀγκιστρωτὸς ἄγον ὀλχὴν

¹ Paribeni, *op. cit.*, col. 6o segg. num. 48. Su quest'epigrafe anche Ad. Wilhelm, "Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde," in *K. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Klasse*, 179, Vienna, 1915, pp. 53 segg.

ἐπὶ τὸ (sic) λίθῳ χρυσοῦς δυνόμισυ ἀνάθεμα [Κλ]αοπάτρας
 Δωρίου Ἀσπενδίου· Ἀσπιδίσκη ἔχουσα πρόσωπον Ἀρτέ-
 33 [μι]δος καὶ [ἄγκιστρον ἄ]γο[υσα ὀλχὴν χρ]υσ[οῦς τ]έσ-
 σα[ρα . . .

v. 22 Εὐβίου per Εὐβοίου; ἀκτεινωτός per ἀκτινωτός; 23 ὀλχὴν per ὀλκὴν

v. 25 καῖμισυ per καὶ ἥμισυ, etc.

Non è il caso su questo breve saggio, di trattare dell'ortografia e delle particolarità linguistiche dell'epigrafe; notiamo subito però che nel complesso si notano alcuni errori i quali indurrebbero a ritenerla scritta da ellenofoni superficiali, che conoscevano il greco come a un dipresso oggi l'italiano gli abitanti delle Sporadi meridionali. Sebbene si ritenga che tutti gli errori delle epigrafi della Panfilia riconducano a particolarità dialettali, forse di accento e di pronunzia speciale, e che il panfilico sia un dialetto ellenico, da ricondurre al gruppo arcadocipriota,¹ sta di fatto in ogni modo che i greci considerarono il panfilico lingua barbara.²

Per la descrizione degli oggetti, il peso e l'indicazione del donatore, il nostro inventario non differisce sostanzialmente, come si vede, dai documenti simili, pertinenti a diversi santuari del mondo antico, soprattutto ai celebri inventari di Delos.³

Il complesso degli ἀναθήματα affini è una prova che nella registrazione si era proceduto com'era l'abitudine, per categorie, secondo la materia e la forma; per buona ventura l'epigrafe conserva una parte dell'inventario generale del tempio che, se non è troppo varia, e non registra vere opere d'arte o devoti illustri, tuttavia riguarda gli oggetti preziosi, fra i quali ci designa in modo sicuro alcuni doni caratteristici della dea e di natura rituale. A questa categoria di doni si riferisce la parte data come saggio.

Anticamente non esisteva com'è noto un vero rapporto costante tra l'offerta e l'offerente e tra l'offerta e la divinità; ma come ogni divinità aveva devoti particolari, così riceveva di preferenza speciali oggetti.⁴

¹ Cf. Meillet, "La place du pamphylien parmi les dialectes grecs," in *Rev. Ét. gr.*, 1900.

² Eforo apd. Strab., XIV., 678; Arrian, *Anab.*, I, 26; Ps. Scylace, 101.

³ Homolle, *B.C.H.*, VI, 1882, p. 35 segg.; Dittenberger, *Syll.*, nn. 585 segg.

⁴ Homolle, *Donarium*, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict.*, s.v.

Due sono gli oggetti che appaiono con maggior frequenza nell'inventario, una ἀσπιδίσκη ed un ἥλιος.

Di essi la prima è descritta solitamente : ἀσπιδίσκη ἔχουσα πρόσωπον Ἀρτέμιδος, ἔχουσα καὶ ἄγκιστρον (v. 20, 24, 32) cioè uno scudetto o bottone,¹ recante l'immagine di Artemide, avente anche un ἄγκιστρον. Questa parola che ricorre spesso nell'inventario nostro, equivale com'è noto propriamente ad *amo*. Fra gli antichi ἀναθήματα troviamo ricordati dagli autori ami da pesca e da caccia, e se ne sono rinvenuti nel temenos d'Apollo, a Delos ;² ma nel caso nostro non mi pare che si possa trattare di veri e propri ami, perchè l'ἄγκιστρον è ricordato quasi insieme con ogni oggetto e in altri luoghi dell'epigrafe si trova ἄγκιστρωτός invece di ἔχων ἄγκιστρον. Sicchè la più ovvia interpretazione è quella di oggetto *uncinato*, *avente un uncino*, forse per poterlo appendere.³

L'ἥλιος, che vien detto ἀκτινωτός, sole radiato, anch'esso munito di uncino, dobbiamo pensare che sia una placca rappresentante il disco solare circondato di raggi, di cui possiamo immaginare la forma attraverso rappresentazioni di monumenti.⁴

Non è da escludere che il disco potesse rappresentare il volto di Elio come avviene nell'arte primitiva e popolare, e in tal caso possiamo pensare ai molti monumenti, soprattutto monete, ed anche opere della grande arte, in cui Elio ci appare con la testa circondata di raggi divergenti.⁵

¹ ἀσπιδίσκαι cf. inv. di Demares, l. 32 = Sosisthenes, l. 68, in *B.C.H.*, VI, p. 124 ; ἀσπιδίσκας ὀνυχίνας (piastrelle d'onice) appese a catenelle di una collana, inv. di Sosisth., l. 70, ivi, cf. anche inventario di Hypsocles, l. 25, ecc. Cf. anche Hesych., s.v. e Polluce, I, 143 = fimbria vestis. Ἀσπιδίσκος (δ) è piccolo scudo nel senso militare.

² Homolle, *Donarium*, in Daremberg e Saglio, II, p. 377, n. 174c. Ami sono stati anche raccolti in tombe della necropoli di Myrina.

³ Il fatto che questo ἄγκιστρον ci appare per diversi oggetti, ci potrebbe anche indurre a credere che si tratti di un segno rituale. In questo caso il rilievo del Br. Museum (*B.C.H.*, 1899, tav. I), zeppo di attributi di Men con mezzelune, potrebbe darci un'immagine di quegli oggetti votivi.

⁴ Il più notevole è un vaso di Parma con coro di satiri, cf. *Monum. dell'Istituto*, II, 55 = Reinach, *Répertoire*, I, p. 109, ora nuovamente edito da Albizzati, *Mélanges d'Arch.*, XXXVII, p. 168, fig. 24. Vedi anche l'incisione di un celebre anello miceneo con scena di culto, sole e mezzaluna : Schliemann, *Mykenae*, Leipzig, 1878, fig. 530, cf. Philo, de virt., p. 1006 = T. 2, p. 560, 30 (apd. Steph.-Hase-Dindorf, *Thesaur.*, s.v. ἀκτινωτός) Στέφανον ἀκτινωτὸν φορεῖ, εὖ πως ἀπομαξαμένου τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας τοῦ τεχνίτου.

⁵ Metope del tempio ellenistico di Ilio, riprodotta tante volte, ad es. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäel.*, n. 162a. Tipi monetali e bolli d'anfore rodie col tipo (forse ispirato al celebre Colosso di Chares di Lindos), ecc. Tipi monetali di Perge vedi B.M.C., *Pamphylia*, tav. xxv, 2, 3, II, ecc.

Dalla frequenza con cui è registrato nell'inventario questo dono, si deve ritenere che fosse rituale; esso ci dichiarano talune monete di Perge, in cui nell'interno del tempio della Dea Artemide, ai lati del simulacro del culto si vedono un sole e una luna (bronzo di Valeriano inedito nel Museo Nazionale Romano). Nell'inventario non si ha menzione di *μηνίσκοι*, *σελήνια*, *lunulae*, quali sappiamo essere dedicate alle divinità o oggetti di superstizione,¹ possiamo perciò pensare che la luna fosse rappresentata da quelle *ἀσπιδίσκαι* col volto di Artemide che l'epigrafe registra tante volte.

È anche ricordata (v. 28 segg.) una collana² che per gli elementi di cui consta vien detta ghiandiforme (*ὄρμος βαλανωτός*); essa si compone di 16 ghiande e 15 cannuce o cilindretti (*κάλαμοι*) di una composizione pietrosa, forse una pastiglia o maiolica; la parola *μίσεινμα* non documentata altrove, non credo si possa altrimenti spiegare infatti se non leggendo *μίξευμα* come sostantivo indicante il risultato della *μίξις*, cioè della miscela,³ e col significato di «composizione». Questo monile non ha certamente nulla da fare con la corona di quercia, dono più volte ricordato negli inventari di Delos, che era corona di foglie, come dimostra anche l'analogia con *στέφανος δάφνης*, *στ. κισσοῦ*;⁴ è invece una collana composta di ghiande con ogni verisimiglianza perforate ed infilate in un laccio, alternativamente con cannuce e cilindretti; si può anche pensare che la collana fosse propriamente costituita dei cilindretti, e avesse negli intervalli legati con catenelle, o pendenti comunque, questi oggettini in forma di ghiande e—nel mezzo—il sole uncinato.

Che si tratti di un solo oggetto risulta chiaramente dall'ultima parte della descrizione dove è indicato il peso: *ἄγον ὀλκὴν ἐπὶ*

¹ Hesych., *s.v.*, *σεληνίς*; Plaut., *Epidic.*, 639 (non meninisti me auream ad te adferre natali die lunulam?), cf. E. Labatut, *Amuletum*, in Daremberg e Saglio, I, p. 255 segg. Negli inventari di Delos: Sosisth., l. 16, Charil., l. 84, cf. Homolle, *B.C.H.*, VI, p. 123.

² Sui donari di oggetti preziosi appartenenti al *κόσμος* della Dea cf. Homolle, *Donarium*, cit. p. 363 segg. Per l'*ὄρμος* (da *εἶρω*, *εἶρμός*, *ἔρμα*), Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 588, ll. 197, 202. *Βαλανωτός* = ghiandiforme, cf. Parmen., cf. 16.

³ *Μίξις χρωμάτων ἢ ἄλλης ὕλης*; Steph.-Hase-Dindorf, *Thesaur.*, *s.v.*; in latino mixtura, adoperato per unguenti, medicinali, ecc. Columella, VII, 5; XII, 10 e 57. Non sembra che possa esservi rapporto con *Μίσιν*, *νος* (τὸ) = efflorescenza di metallo (Dioscor., 5, 117, cf. *Μύσιν τὸ χάλκανδον* in glossis iatricis mss. ex cod. Reg. 190 (solfato di rame), Steph.-Hase-Dindorf, *s.v.*

⁴ *B.C.H.*, VI, p. 30 = Dittenberger, 588, ll. 7, 8, 9, 10, ecc.

τῷ λίθῳ χρυσοῦς δύομισιν. Se si parlasse soltanto del disco solare, non sapremo come intendere ἐπὶ τῷ λίθῳ, perchè non sapremo immaginare facilmente una gemma collocata in un dischetto solare radiato, mentre questa speciale indicazione del peso « oltre la pietra » ben si comprende pensando ad un solo monile, nel quale il peso complessivo dell'oro era di due stateri e mezzo.

Rimando all'edizione completa del testo le ricerche complementari cui offre campo questa parte dell'epigrafe, specie riguardo all'onomastica, ma che sono aliene dallo studio del culto di Artemide Pergea, che forma oggetto di questo articolo.

II.

Raramente occorre negli scrittori antichi menzione di Perge, senza che sia subito ricordato il suo tempio; sicchè non si erra dicendo che la città deve al santuario tutta la sua rinomanza.¹

Se la maggior parte di quegli accenni non hanno valore, perchè non contengono alcuna notizia speciale,² alcuni invece ci istruiscono di particolari interessanti. Altre notizie ci danno poche, ma importanti epigrafi—di cui principalissima la nostra—mentre offre campo di notevoli informazioni la ricca serie di monete di Perge, specialmente quelle imperiali che vanno da Augusto ad Aureliano, pei loro rovesci i quali—e abbiamo già avuto occasione di constatarlo—sono fonti di primissimo ordine per la conoscenza del santuario e del culto.

Identificata tosto con Artemis-Diana (vedremo da ultimo la sua genuina natura) questa dea veniva semplicemente chiamata

¹ Di fronte ai molti autori antichi appresso citati, che introducono nei loro accenni menzione del santuario, pochissimi sono quelli che ricordano la sola città e cioè: Plinio, *N.H.*, v. 26 (nel catalogo delle città di Panfilia . . . Pletenissum (Platanistum), Perge, etc.); Dionisio, *Perieg.*, v. 854 seg. (in *G.G.M.*, II, p. 156)

² Ἄλλαι δ' ἐξείης Παμφυλίδες εἰσὶ πόλεις

Κώρυκος, Πέργη τε καὶ ἡνεμόεσσα Φάσγηλις.

anche *Stadiasm. maris magni*, § 213.

³ Ps. Scylace, *G.G.M.*, I, p. 75: Πέργη πόλις καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος; Mela, I, 14 « inter eos (Cestrum et Catarractem) Perga est oppidum, et Dianae, quam ab oppido Pergaeam vocant, templum ». Stef. Biz., *s.v.* Πέργη πόλις Παμφυλίας τὸ ἐθνικὸν Περγαῖος τὸ θηλυκὸν Περγαία · Καὶ Περγασία Ἀρτεμις. Cf. anche il verso di Callimaco, posto a capo del presente studio (gli scolii commentano: Πέργη Μητρόπολις Παμφυλίας, ed. Schneider, I (Lipsia, 1870), p. 121).

Περγαία Θεός¹ e le si attribuiva l'epiteto di ἄνασσα, la *Signora*, che forse ci conserva il suo primitivo attributo.²

Essa era riconosciuta protettrice della città³ (προεστώσης τῆς πόλεως da προϊστήμι nel senso *protego, tueor*); non pare invece che le si desse il titolo di παναγία, *santissima*, penetrato per corrotta lettura in alcuni manoscritti che riferiscono un antico proverbio sulla Dea. Dicevasi ἡ Περγαία Ἄρτεμις a proposito dei mendicanti girovaghi; e gli antichi paremiografi e lessicografi ci hanno tramandato questa espressione proverbiale spiegando, con uniformità di parole, che si diceva perchè la Dea era solita di andar girovaga e questuare, ἀγυρτεύειν αἰεὶ καὶ πλανᾶσθαι.⁴

Può darsi che in questa spiegazione sia riflessa una notizia del mito della Dea, che possiamo ben comprendere pensando ch'essa, come vedremo, era di natura lunare; ma sembra più

¹ Περγαία θεός· ἡ Ἄρτεμις. Hesych., s.v.

² Le monete autonome di Perge, poco dopo il 190 av. Cr. recano la leggenda Φανάσας Περγαίας, cf. Mionnet, *Descr. génér.*, III, n. 77; *Supplém.*, VII, n. 76; Head, *Hist. Numor.*, p. 702. Ἄνασσα è Diana, cf. Euripide, *I.A.*, 1842, 1522; Callimaco, *h.* 3, 137, ecc.; cf. Roscher, *Epitheta Deorum*, p. 44.

³ Cf. epigrafe edita incompletamente nel *C.I.G.*, 4342b, da Schönborn e *Addenda*, p. 1160, e da Le Bas e Waddington (*op. cit.*, n. 1373), riveduta da Radet et Paris (*op. cit.*, p. 159, n. 7) = *I.G.R.P.*, III, 797.

Ἱέρειαν τῆς προε[σ]τώσης τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν Θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀσύλου καὶ Ἱέρειαν Ἀθηνᾶ[ς δι]ὰ βίον, Κλ. Παν-
λ[ε]ίνα[ν] Ἀρτεμεισία[ν θυ]γατέρ[α] Κλ. Ἀπ[ε]λ-
5 λείνου καὶ] Οὔλπ. Ἀρτεμεισίας ἀρχιερέων
Μ. Κλ. Ποτείλιος Οὐᾶρος ἐπαρχος ἱππέων
εἰλης α' Κολωνῶν καὶ Λ. Κλ. Προπινκι-
ανὸς Ἀπελλίνος χειλ(ἱαρχος) λεγ(έωνος) β' Τ]ραιανῆς
τὴν μάμμην οἱ ἐγγονοί.

Cf. per il commento anche Lanckoronski, I, p. 168, n. 39 e Paribeni, col. 50-51.

⁴ Ἡ Περγαία Ἄρτεμις· ἐπὶ τῶν πλανητῶν καὶ ἀγυρτῶν. Παρόσον ἡ θεὸς ἀγείρειν καὶ πλανᾶσθαι λέγεται. Diogeniano, V, 6 (apd. Leutsch, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, Gottinga, 1851, I, p. 250).

Con identità di parole la notizia si ritrova in Apostolio, VIII, 62 (ivi, vol. II, p. 448), e in altri paremiografi (Arsenio, XXVIII, 88, etc.); parzialmente (fino ad ἀγυρτῶν) in Macario, IV, 51 (ivi, vol. II, p. 171).

Suida con lieve parafrasi ha: Ἡ Περγαία Ἄρτεμις τάσσεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγυρτῶν καὶ πλανητῶν, παρ' ὅσον ἡ θεὸς αὐτῇ νομίζεται ἀγυρτεύειν αἰεὶ καὶ πλανᾶσθαι, s.v., che il Fozio ripete con la variante ἡ θεὸς ἐν αὐτῇ ove si arresta.

Qualche manoscritto al posto di Ἡ Περγαία Ἄρτεμις, reca Ἡ παναγία (Diogeniano e Apostolio), e anche παναγραία (Arsenio), facilmente e sicuramente restituibili (cf. Leutsch, *C.P.G.*, I, p. 250).

In Apostolio si ha πενήτων al posto di πλανητῶν, errore anche questo, come dimostra la concorde redazione degli altri testi, ma che in ogni modo non muterebbe notevolmente il senso (πένης = inops).

probabile pensare anche ad un riferimento ai sacerdoti della Pergea,¹ fra i quali è probabile ve ne fossero alcuni che esercitavano la questua pel santuario ed avevano probabilmente nome di ἀγύρται e πλανῆται, come quei tali sacerdoti di Cibeles, detti Μητραγύρται, o gli ἀγύρται, ciarlatani questuanti della Dea siria.² Nelle insistenze onde questi sacerdoti questuanti richiedevano le loro elemosine, pronunziando—ed avviene pur oggi ai nosti frati cercatori—il nome della Dea, va forse cercato, come credo, l'origine della frase proverbiale.

Le epigrafi ci forniscono diversi altri elementi sul sacerdozio della Dea; conosciamo difatti due iscrizioni onorarie, l'una di un Aurelio di Apollonio, sacerdote di Artemide e contemporaneamente *archiereus* degli Augusti e della Dea Omonia,³ e l'altra consacrata da M. Cl. Rutilio Varo e L. Cl. Pop . . . ciano Agellino della seconda legione Traiana,⁴ alla memoria della loro nonna, Claudia Paolina Artemisia, sacerdotessa di Artemide e

¹ Così Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, II, 1092, cf. *C.P.G.*, cit. I, p. 502.

² Ἀγύρτης, -ου, ὅ ἐ = raccoglitore e poi prestigiatore, ciarlatano; per affinità anche mendicante: *προσαίτης, ἐπαίτης, πτωχός* (Suida e Hesych.), sebbene questi s'intendano piuttosto come ἀγύρται διὰ τροφήν (Heliodor., 2, p. 89 (76), ἀγυρτεύω = andare in giro mendicando, Μητραγύρται, galli sacerdoti di Cibeles cf. Suida, *s.v.* (v. Rapp, "Kybele," in Roscher, II, col. 1657); *id.* "del Culto della Dea siria Astarte," "qui per plateas et oppida cymbalis et rotalis personantes, etc." Apul. 8.

Un Ἀγύρτης sembra rappresentino alcune statuette del museo di Bologna, e di Berlino (Ducati, "Bronzetto del museo civico di Bologna," in *Jahreshefte*, XIII, 1910, p. 171 seg.) e di Firenze (Milani, *Guida del R. Museo Archeol. di Firenze*, I, p. 169). Πλάνης, ητος, ὅ = errabondo, "*homo erraticus*," cf. *πλανάομαι* = *erro*, *vagor*, ecc.

³ Perge, *C.I.G.*, 4342 = *I.G.R.P.*, III, 796.

Ἰερέα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
καὶ δημιουργὸν τὸ πέ[μ-
π]τον, ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σ[ε-
βαστῶν καὶ ἱερέα Σεβασ-
5 τῆς Ὀμονοίας, Τιβέριον
Κλαύδιον Ἀπολλωνίου νι-
ον Κυρεῖνα Ἀπολλωνιον
Ἐλαιβάβ[η]ν, φιλοκαΐσαρα
καὶ φιλόπατριν, υἱὸν τῆς π[ό-
10 λεως, ἑπαρχὸν γενόμενον
ἐν Ῥώμῃ τε[χν]ε[ιτῶ]ν, ἀρχι-
ερασάμενον τρεῖς καὶ ἄγω-
νοθετ[ή]σαντα τ[ρι]ῶν ἀγ[ώ-
ν]ων Σεβαστῶν, τρεῖς πρ[ε]σβεύ-
15 σαντα δω[ρ]εῖν εἰς Ῥώμην κα[ὶ]
κατ[ορ]θ[ω]σάμενον [τῇ] Περ-
γαίᾳ Ἀ[ρ]τέμιδι τῇ[ν] ἄσυλ[ί]-
αν, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ κτλ.

⁴ Cf. sopra nota 3 pag. 304.

sacerdotessa a vita di Atena, figliuola di Cl. Paolino e di Ulpia Artemisia; questi avevano coperto carica di « grandi sacerdoti » che per mancanza di determinazione nell'epigrafe e per l'accezione assai varia di ἀρχιερεύς in Asia Minore¹ non è possibile precisare se del culto della Dea o di un altro culto, ad esempio, come l'Aurelio avanti ricordato, di quello degli Augusti.

Il sacerdozio della Dea, com'è naturale trattandosi di Artemide o di divinità con essa identificata, era adunque composto anche di donne per le quali non era richiesta la verginità. Sappiamo che la prima sacerdotessa stava a capo del santuario col titolo di ἀγός² e le competeva quel posto nel terzo gradino della seconda precinzione del teatro, segnato tuttavia dall'epigrafe Ἱερείας Ἀρτέμιδος.³

Anche tra le donne erano scelti, come apprendiamo da un'altra epigrafe, gli Agonotheti⁴ che soprintendevano—come ad Elea per le corse delle ragazze nelle feste Heraia, ed in Messenia, in Laconia, a Focea e a Thyatira⁵—a giuochi ed agoni che dovevano aver luogo anche nel santuario di Perge.

Alludono a questi giochi—come già vide il nostro Sestini⁶—alcune monete imperiali della città, che recano nel rovescio su di una tavola o predella alcune urne o vasi, accompagnati talora dalla leggenda Ἱερὸς Πύθια⁷ e un'iscrizione di Megara.⁸ È evidente che questi giuochi di Perge, come altri della vicina Side, o di Termessos in Pisidia,⁹ e di numerosissime città del mondo

¹ Vedi *B.C.H.*, 1886, p. 151 seg.

² ἀγός . . . ἡγεμών . . . καὶ ἐν Πέργῃ Ἱερεία Ἀρτέμιδος. Hesych., s.v., ἀγός significa *dux*, Bekk., λέξ. ῥήτορ., p. 212. Cf. Steph.-Hase-Dindorf, *Thesaur.*, s.v.

³ Texier, p. 709.

⁴ Iscrizione del suburbio di Perge: Romanelli, *Monum. ant. dei Lincei*, XXIII, col. 68, n. 55; Pace, *Annuario della Scuola di Atene*, III, iscr. n. 15.

⁵ Per Elea Pausania, V, 16, 2. In Laconia, Messenia Focea e Thyatira rispettivamente, *C.I.G.*, 1440, 1444, 3415, 3508.

⁶ *Classes generales seu moneta vetus urbium populorum et regum, ordine geographico et chronologico descripta*, p. 93.

⁷ Mionnet, *Descr.*, III, n. 120 (tavola con urna sopra e, sotto, diota fra due palme, leggenda Πύθια: Valentiniano Senior); 127 (tavola su cui poggia un'urna, legg. id.: Gallieno e Salonina), n. 132 (urna su di una tavola: id.), *Supplém.*, VII, n. 117, 129, 132, 149 (tavola con tre urne e un vaso di forma oblunga: Volusiano); 150 (tre vasi su di una predella: id.).

⁸ *C.I.G.*, 1068 = *I.G.*, VII, 49, elenco di vittorie in ludi diversi: Πύθια ἐν Σίδῃ β', Πύθια ἐν Πέργῃ δ' (non anteriore ad Antonino Pio).

⁹ Per Side oltre l'iscrizione precedente anche *C.I.G.*, 3206, che ricorda parimente Πύθια ἐν Σίδῃ. Per Termessos, Mionnet, *Descr.*, III, p. 529 n. 219. L'elenco completo delle città elleniche in cui si festeggiavano Pythia si veda in Gaspar-Pottier, *Pythia*, in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, s.v. p. 794.

ellenico, specialmente orientale, avevano tratto il nome da quello dei celeberrimi giuochi di Delfi in onore di Apollo Pitio; vedremo che essi devono appunto andare collegati col culto di Apollo.

È naturale in ogni modo pensare che i Pythia di Perge avvenissero in occasione di quella festa annuale molto rinomata del santuario, che Strabone ricorda col nome di πανήγυρις.¹ I greci chiamavano così, com'è noto, le riunioni solenni degli abitanti di una città, d'una regione od anche della razza, per la celebrazione di una festa attorno ad un santuario comune, a cominciare dai quattro grandi giuochi o dalle Panatenaiche o dalle Efesie, feste che erano occasione di mercati pel concorso del popolo e le speciali opportunità del viaggio, e adunavano artisti, oratori, e comprendevano concorsi svariati.²

Era certamente per la polizia degli spettacoli di queste sacre solennità che le donne agonotheti della Dea, eleggevano i *mastigofori*, corpo di guardie armate di scudiscio, che ci è ricordato in due epigrafi di Perge.³

L'iscrizione già ricordata di Paolina Artemisia designa il tempio Θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀσύλου. In alcune delle monete imperiali che recano nel rovescio una delle solite rappresentazioni schematiche del tempio, ritroviamo questa designazione nella leggenda Περγαίας Ἀρτέμιδος cui fa seguito ἀσύλου scritto sul fregio del tempio, quasi titolo e designazione,⁴ mentre altre monete recano senza il tempio, le leggende Περγαίων ἄστυλος, ovvero Περγαίων ἀσυλία, o infine Περγαίων ἀσύλου ἱεροῦ.⁵

È noto che questo diritto di asilo, ἀσυλία, il quale secondo alcuni andrebbe distinto dalla generica protezione (ἰκετεία) che ogni tempio per la santità medesima del luogo offriva a quanti vi si ricoverassero, aveva un proprio e vero contenuto giuridico in quanto sospendeva l'azione legale. Sappiamo da un celebre passo di Tacito (*Ann.*, III, 60 segg.) che con la conquista romana molte città asiatiche pretesero il riconoscimento del

¹ Strab., XIV, 667.

² Isocr., *Paneg.*, 43. Cf. Saglio, *Panegyris*, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict.*, s.v.

³ Paribeni, n. 55; Pace, n. 15 (cf. p. 304, n. 3).

⁴ Mionnet, *Descr.*, III, n. 126, 140, 141, 144 (Gallieno); Head, *H.N.*, II, p. 702.

⁵ Rispettivamente Mionnet, *loc. cit.*, nn. 119, 120 (Valentiniano senior), e 127 (Gallieno e Salonina). Cf. E. Caillemet, *Asylia*, in Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. spec. pag. 508 seg.

diritto di asilo nei loro santuari, e l'abuso fu tale che Tiberio nel 22 d. Cr. ordinò la verifica dei titoli, in seguito alla quale il privilegio fu limitato ad alcuni santuari e consacrato da un *senatus consulto*.

Perge non vi è registrata. L'iscrizione e le monete, posteriori di due secoli al provvedimento di Tiberio, sembra adunque che accennino a nuovi tentativi di far credito all'abuso, fatti—probabilmente non da Perge soltanto—quando si poteva sperare che il *senatus consulto* relativo fosse passato in dimenticanza, o almeno non conservasse più l'efficacia dei provvedimenti nuovi.

III.

Il tempio di Perge è quasi concordemente rappresentato nelle monete come un distilo col frontone decorato da un'aquila ad ali spiegate; mentre nel fregio si riscontra talvolta l'epigrafe: *Ἀσύλου*, tale altre quella latina: *Diana Pergaea*.¹

Una serie di monete ci rappresenta nell'interno del tempio un betilo, che sembra decorato di bende e fiancheggiato da due figure di sfingi, che poggiano su piccole basi.

Altre invece riproducono dentro l'edifizio una figura della dea, qualche volta seduta, il più spesso in piedi, con una certa varietà di attributi e atteggiamenti, e fiancheggiata ora dalle due sfingi come il betilo, ora da due alberi di cipresso, ora da due

¹ Eckhel, *Doctr. num. vet.*, III, p. 12 segg. Mionnet, *Descript. génér.*, III, nn. 70-134; *Supplém.*, VII, nn. 74-171; Hill, B.M.C., *Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia*, Londra, 1897, p. 119 segg. tav. XXIV.

Hanno il tipo del tempio distilo, con le particolarità indicate per ogni serie, le seguenti monete:

Mionnet, *Descr.*, n. 94 e *Suppl.*, nn. 74, 75, 81, 100, 102, 157 (aquila ad ali spiegate nel timpano).—*Supplém.*, nn. 82, 83 (iscrizione *Diana Pergaea* nel fregio).—*Supplém.*, nn. 75, 81, 82, 83, 90, 102, 126, 144, 163 (Diana in piedi dentro il tempio).—*Supplém.*, n. 74 (idem modiatà).—Hill, B.M.C., tav. XXIV, n. 12 (Eliogabalo), 15 (Lucio Vero) e 16 (Filippo padre; Mionnet, *Supplém.*, n. 78 (Betilo con decorazioni, nell'interno).—*Descr.*, nn. 78, 79, 80, 84, 88, e *Supplém.*, n. 84 (Diana seduta, velata e vestita di stola nell'interno), B.M.C., tav., XXIV, 5-6.—*Descr.*, nn. 90, 93, 100, 110, 115, 126, 134, e *Supplém.*, nn. 99, 100, Diana in piedi fra due altari su cui poggia una sfinge).—*Supplém.*, nn. 113, 125 (Diana in piedi fra due colonnette su cui poggiano due grifoni [o sfingi?], nel campo in alto disco solare e la mezzaluna).—*Supplém.*, n. 142 (Diana in piedi fra due colonne con colombe).—*Supplém.*, nn. 170, 171, B.M.C., *loc. cit.* p. 139, n. 109, Aureliano (Diana in piedi fra disco solare e mezzaluna e due cipressi).—Presenta invece il tempio tetrastilo, con aquila nel frontone e busto velato nell'interno, la moneta in *Descr.*, n. 97.

colombe su colonnette, quasi sempre con il disco solare e la mezzaluna nel campo, come appese in alto nel tempio.

Di questi vari elementi alcuni io non credo che possano ritenersi riproduzione di particolari del santuario. Così quell'epigrafe *Ἀσύλου* e l'altra *Diana Pergaea*, tutta propria dell'arte del conio, che nell'impossibilità di individuare altrimenti un edificio, ricorre alla designazione scritta. Nè mi pare che la più comune rappresentazione del tempio come distilo (talvolta ci appare come tetrastilo), possa autorizzarci a ritenere che tale fosse la forma dell'edificio reale, perchè—sebbene non manchino esempi contrari—si è indotto a supporre che sia stato inciso così nel conio, per semplicità e onde ottenere un maggior spazio ove alloggiare i non pochi elementi dell'interno.

Invece l'aquila ad ali spiegate che occupa il timpano, mi sembra possa riprodurre un genuino particolare. E ciò perchè in qualche monumento d'Asia Minore—sopravvivenza forse di altre arti orientali—possiamo constatare l'uso di questa decorazione del frontone,¹ ignoto invece, per quanto io sappia, alla Grecia propria, ove tuttavia il timpano com'è noto era chiamato col nome di aquila (*ἀετός*), forse perchè dell'aquila ad ali spiegate riproduce all'ingrosso la forma.

Nell'interno la statua della Dea ed il betilo, che ci vengono rappresentati in mezzo ad elementi affini, com'è ovvio si escludono. Che nel tempo di Perge vi fosse una statua iconica di Artemide, si è voluto ricavare² anche da un passo di Cicerone nel quale si riferisce che Verre fra le sue spoliazioni asiatiche compì anche quella del santuario di Perge ove denudò dagli ornamenti d'oro *Diana medesima*;³ ma basta una semplice lettura del testo per comprendere ch'esso può benissimo riferirsi al betilo, nel qual caso gli ornamenti d'oro tolti da Verre sarebbero quelle bende e fasce che tutto intorno al cono appaiono nella rap-

¹ Cf. frontoncino di Side in Paribeni, *Monum. dei Lincei*, col. 127, fig. 24, e i lavori ivi citati sull'aquila come simbolo funerario in Siria e la sua influenza sulla *consecratio* degli imperatori romani.

² Texier, p. 709.

³ Pergae fanum antiquissimum et sanctissimum Dianae scimus esse. Id quoque a te nudatum ac spoliatum esse, ex ipsa Diana quod habebat auri detractum atque ablatum esse dico. Cicer., in *Verrem act. secunda*, I, 20, 54. Medicum Cornelium (is est Artemidorus Pergaeus, qui in sua patria dux isti quondam et magister ad spoliandum Dianae templum fuit). *Ibid.* III, 21, 54.

presentazione monetale. Con ciò non si esclude che nell'interno del *temenos* del santuario, in sacelli o altrimenti, potessero esservi statue iconiche della Dea in piedi o seduta. Ma nella pietra conica decorata e fiancheggiata da due figure di sfingi, mi sembra non si possa esitare a riconoscere un'immagine del *sancta sanctorum*, che ci istruisce dell'altissima antichità del culto della Signora di Perge, attestando che veniva adorata sotto forma d'idolo betilico, probabilmente un bolide caduto dal cielo.

Le sfingi che fiancheggiano il betilo quasi a santa custodia, mi sembrano anch'esse un elemento reale del tempio; la sfinge riappare infatti in altre monete di Perge,¹ nè occorrono speciali richiami per attestare la funzione di custodia che questi mostri alati avevano negli edifici degli imperi orientali della Mesopotamia e dell'Asia Minore.

Noi invece non sappiamo cosa pensare degli elementi che in qualche moneta sostituiscono le sfingi: i cipressi e le colonnette. In queste ultime possiamo vedere una semplificazione, in quanto potremmo intenderle come rappresentanti le basi sulle quali certamente dovevano essere collocate le due sfingi. Non così pei cipressi. È ovvio perchè non si possa ammettere che ai lati del betilo fossero con le sfingi anche i cipressi, e sarebbe del resto un po' difficile immaginare due alberi nell'interno dell'edificio a meno che questo non fosse ipetrale; non potendosi pretendere in una piccola rappresentazione, qual'è quella di una moneta, una fedeltà topografica eccessiva, dobbiamo perciò pensare che i due cipressi siano probabilmente un elemento del *temenos* forse sopravvivenza di un culto degli alberi, non strano nè nuovo nel paese.²

Statue onorarie e monumenti votivi dovevano sorgere poi—com'era generale costume—nel sacro recinto. Da una curiosa notizia di Filostrato apprendiamo che vi erano *εἰκόνες* di Varo di Callicles, retore di Perge, soprannominato cicogna per il suo naso rosso e adunco.³

¹ Mionnet, *Descript.*, III, n. 75, *Supplém.*, VII, n. 76.

² Boetticher, *Baumcultus der Hellenen*, II, 6. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, fig. 1987.

³ Varo, detto cicogna . . . διὰ τὸ πύρρον τῆς ῥινὸς καὶ ῥαμφῶδες, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὥς οὐκ ἀπὸ δόξης ἢ στελεζόντο ἔξεστι ξυμβαλεῖν ταῖς εἰκόσιν αἱ ἀνάκεινται ἐν τῷ τῆς Περγαίας ἱερῷ. Filostrato, *Vit. Sophist.*, II, 6 (ed. Didot, p. 249).

Sulla presenza di statue iconiche di uomini—in generale ex voto, ma anche onorarie—negli antichi santuari, non occorrono citazioni speciali. In Roma, « Scipio Africanus, imaginem in cella Iovis O. M. positam habet » Valer. Mass., VIII, 15.

IV.

Fuori di Perge, troviamo ricordato il culto della Dea in Alicarnasso, a Rodi e a Lindos e forse anche nella Panfilia medesima a Side.

Ad Alicarnasso il sacerdozio di Artemide Pergea poteva essere comprato da un uomo, purchè questi fornisse una sacerdotessa, per esercitarne le funzioni: ed era regola che la sacerdotessa fosse cittadina *ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεάς*, in linea paterna e materna. Esso percepiva dai fedeli 2 oboli per ogni vittima adulta ed 1 per ogni vittima di latte.¹

In Rodi si ha un titolo onorario ad una Hageso di Archembrotos, sacerdotessa della Pergea, anch'essa non vergine.² E nella medesima isola, nel santuario di Lindos, un'ara oblunga reca una sobria dedica alla dea: *Ἀρτάμιτι Περγαίαι*.³

Della diffusione del culto nei dintorni fa fede l'epigrafe di quell' *Ἀλυπιανός* di un qualche borgo alle falde dell'altipiano Pisidico, che decretava ai violatori del sepolcro il pagamento di una multa al fisco imperiale e al santuario di Perge.⁴

Dagli elementi fin qui esaminati, e da quanto è noto sui culti antichi dell'Asia Minore, risulta chiaramente che questa divinità di Perge, che greci e romani identificarono con Artemis-Diana, il cui idolo primitivo è forse una pietra caduta dal cielo, un bolide, che ha infine la mezzaluna come simbolo principale,⁵ deve essere essenzialmente una divinità celeste.

Sotto questa forma di luna—se le note monete riproducono, anche in questo particolare, l'interno del tempio—la Dea veniva individuata nel santuario a fianco dell'idolo betilico e in corrispondenza col sole radiato. Dalla frequenza onde quest'altro simbolo ci appare, come si è visto, nell'inventario come dono rituale, e dal busto di una divinità radiata che troviamo frequentemente nelle monete, si vede che nel santuario aveva anche culto

¹ *C.I.G.*, II, 2656 = Dittenberger, *Syll.*, III, 397, n. 601.

² Ἀγησὼ Ἀρχεμβρότου ἱέρεια Ἀρτάμιτος Περγαίας Ἀρχέμβροτος Ὀνοσάνδρου τὰν ματέρα. *I.G.*, XII, n. 66.

³ *I.G.*, XII, 784.

Il valore di quest'epigrafe, come prova della funzione di Rodi come ponte di passaggio delle religioni Orientali a Roma, è messo in luce in *Rev. arch.*, 1867, II, p. 25.

⁴ Pace, *Annuario della Scuola di Atene*, III, n. 19.

⁵ Oltre le monete col tempio cf. Mionnet, *Supplém.*, VII, 87 (Diana a sinistra con mezzaluna sulle spalle e face).

un dio solare, identificato come era facile ed ovvio con Elio-Apollo.¹ E di esso non mi sembra dubbio che sia documento di primissimo ordine il nome di Pythia dei sacri agoni di Perge,² il quale come in tutti gli altri luoghi ove fu adottato non può non esser connesso al culto di Apollo, nel senso che rappresenta un nome dato per influenza ellenica a sacre solennità in onore di un Dio, che veniva identificato con l'Apollo in cui onore si celebrano le più famose pitiche.

Ci riconduce con somma evidenza a questa duplicità di culto parallelo, non per anco rilevato, la monetazione imperiale di Perge—tutta intimamente connessa col santuario—nei tipi dell'Imperatore sotto forma di Elio radiato o col globo e dell'imperatrice colla mezzaluna, essa stessa perciò Selene-Artemis,³ e meglio ancora nei busti accoppiati di Gallieno e Salonina, l'uno sotto lo schema apollineo radiato, l'altra come Artemide sulla mezzaluna, collegati da una figura su di un globo.⁴

In tutta l'Anatolia troviamo nell'antichità il culto accoppiato del sole e della luna sotto la forma rispettivamente di Elio-Apollo e Selene-Artemide od anche sotto quella di Zeus solare e di Men il dio cavaliere (*Lunus*, diremmo coi latini), di cui è simbolo precipuo la luna falcata.⁵

Dall'importanza che nel santuario di Perge è annessa al disco radiato non meno che alla luna, con la quale lo troviamo in strettissimo legame e perfetta corrispondenza, si direbbe adunque che siamo alla presenza di un culto unico delle divinità celesti, cui ci richiama altresì il betilo conico, anche per l'ovvio richiamo che esso ci offre col cono siriano.

Lascia pensosi il costante ricordo che della Dea, e di questa solamente, fanno i testi che non sappiamo se attribuire ad una

¹ Mionnet, *Descript.*, III, n. 76 (mon. autonoma: testa laureata di Apollo); *Supplém.*, VII, n. 122 (mon. di Diadumeniano: Apollo con testa radiata), n. 133 (Elio radiato in piedi).

² Hill, B.M.C., *Lycia*, etc., p. 136, n. 83.

³ Testa radiata di Eliogabalo, Mionnet, *Supplém.*, VII, 125 (per questo imperatore è noto che il fatto non avrebbe significato speciale); *id.* di Severo Alessandro VII, n. 128; di Erennio su di un globo: *Descr.*, III, n. 148; Testa di Salonina con mezzaluna: *Descr.*, III, nn. 128, 158, 166; *id.* di Mamaea, *Supplém.*, VIII, n. 30.

⁴ Mionnet *Descr.*, III, n. 127.

⁵ Cf. E. Cahen, *Sol*, in Daremberg e Saglio, *Dict.*, s.v.; Paris, *Diana*, *ibid.* s.v. (per la concezione di Selene-Artemis originariamente unica e solo tardi distinta da Artemis la Vergine lunare e cacciatrice, la quale rimane anche dopo la luna, p. 130-154); A. Legrand, *Lunus*, *ibid.* s.v.

reale preponderanza del culto di essa, venuta a costituirsi col tempo, o se ritenere piuttosto sopravvivenza e indizio di una primitiva profonda concezione monoteistica, che nella Signora vedeva la divinità celeste nella sua molteplice e pure unitaria concezione, distinta soltanto in seguito, nelle sue manifestazioni più evidenti del sole e della luna, e per influenza di dottrine elleniche identificata nelle due divinità di Selene-Artemide ed Elio-Apollo. Oppure le concezioni matriarcali ben note e chiaramente esemplificate per la vicina Licia¹ appaiono anche in questo antichissimo culto di Panfilia che pone la Dea in più alto onore del Dio, così come la madre; nè si deve dimenticare che le sacerdotesse di Diana Pergea sono madri e non vergini.

V.

Noi ignoriamo il sito preciso del santuario illustre. Il Texier scrive che “alcuni resti di capitelli di stile greco sembrano indicare ch'era costruito sulla montagna” (p. 710), e in questa allusione dobbiamo riconoscere l'Acropoli, dove con ogni certezza lo crede il Paribeni (col. 48).

L'indicazione di Strabone, la sola che possediamo sul sito del santuario, non sembra però possa intendersi in questo senso. Dice infatti Strabone: Πέργη πόλις καὶ πλησίον ἐπὶ μετεώρου τόπου τὸ τῆς Περγαίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ πανήγυρις κατ' ἔτος συντελεῖται. (XIV, 667).

A me pare che se questa collina (μετέωρος τόπος) sulla quale (ἐπὶ) sorgeva il tempio, fosse stata l'Acropoli, non si sarebbe potuto dire di essa πλησίον rispetto alla città. Il fatto che sull'Acropoli esiste l'epigrafe della sacerdotessa di Artemide Claudia Paolina Artemisia, non mi sembra possa costituire un sicuro indizio topografico e infirmare comunque la testimonianza di Strabone. La base cilindrica, “con collarino ed elegante cimasa a serie di astragali, di ovali e sesto di fogliame,” che reca l'epigrafe di Paolina, è adoperata infatti come pilastro nel tardo cisternone dell'Acropoli, in cui entrarono a far parte altri materiali decorati e iscritti,² sicchè trovasi fuori del suo posto originario; e del resto quand'anche provenisse—come è probabile—da un luogo vicino a quello del nuovo impiego, e perciò dall'Acropoli, non

¹ Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, Stuttgart, 1861.

² Paribeni, coll. 49 segg., fig. 6.

si potrebbe comunque dedurre da ciò la prossimità del tempio, perchè non è detto che l'epigrafe onoraria d'una sacerdotessa non possa esser posta anche fuori nel santuario piuttosto che in altro luogo pubblico.¹

Ben diverso è il caso del nostro inventario, il quale per la sua natura deve esser collocato nelle dipendenze del tempio, come dimostrano tutti quelli rinvenuti in Delos, Delfi, Atene, etc. Ma come s'è detto anche questa epigrafe era adoperata nella costruzione di un muro tardo; sicchè non può costituire un sicuro documento, sebbene sia naturale pensare che, fra tanta ricchezza di materiali, i tardi costruttori di quel muro non si siano presi l'inutile pena di radunar pietre da lontano, ma abbiano piuttosto adoperato quelle che trovavano negli immediati dintorni. Dovremmo in questo caso cercare l'antichissimo santuario in quei pressi e precisamente sulla collina di Eilik Tepé, visto che conosciamo da Strabone che era su di un'altura.

Quest'idea mi sembra suffragata dalla vicinanza di una basilica cristiana, la quale potrebbe rappresentare la sede del nuovo culto sovrapposto—com'è legge quasi costante—all'antico santuario pagano.

A questa sovrapposizione non potrebbe naturalmente darsi uno *stretto* significato topografico, sì da cercare il tempio nel sito preciso della basilica.

Come ad Efeso, per citare un esempio vicino, la chiesa di S. Giovanni Teologo elevò le sue romane pareti a qualche distanza dalla bassura dell'Artemision, nella collina sovrastante di Aià Solúk, sede del nuovo villaggio;² inversamente a Perge, la chiesa sarebbe sorta alle falde della collina del santuario pagano, là dove—come abbiamo visto—si era ridotto un quartiere o sobborgo della città decaduta.

È ovvio però che questo problema topografico potrà essere risoluto soltanto dagli scavi, i quali auguro la missione possa presto intraprendere ad illuminare di nuova luce le conoscenze di quell'interessante regione, e la sua più antica storia.

¹ Si aggiunga che Claudia Paolina era stata sacerdotessa di Atena, cf. p. 304, n. 3.

² J. Keil, *Führer durch Ephesos*, Vienna, 1915, p. 24 seg.

XXII.

EUMÉNIA

par G. RADET

Parmi les colonies que les rois de Pergame fondèrent, après la défaite d'Antiochus III, dans les contrées que leur firent céder les Romains, il en est une, Euméneia de Phrygie, dont le site a été depuis longtemps fixé en toute certitude à Ischekli, vers le point où le Koufou-Tchaï, affluent du Méandre, sort des montagnes pour arroser la vaste plaine qui avait reçu le nom d'Euménétique.¹ Ce district a été maintes fois exploré, notamment par W. M. Ramsay, qui en a étudié la topographie, l'histoire, les institutions et les cultes.²

Mais tandis que l'établissement créé par Attale II Philadelphe en l'honneur de son frère et prédécesseur Eumène II attirait l'attention des voyageurs, des épigraphistes et des numismates, personne ne s'occupait d'une ville homonyme classée dans une province voisine. Étienne de Byzance, après avoir catalogué l'Euméneia dont il vient d'être question, ajoute : il y en a une seconde en Carie, *δευτέρα Καρίας*. Ce témoignage concorde avec celui de Pline, qui, dans le chapitre où il énumère les places cariennes, y comprend une Euménia qui s'élevait, dit-il, près de la rivière Cludros : "Eumenia Cludro flumini apposita."³

Je sais bien qu'on a l'habitude de joindre ce dernier texte à ceux qui traitent d'Euméneia de Phrygie et de faire ainsi rentrer le Cludros dans la série des cours d'eau qui parcourent l'Euménétique.⁴ Mais le passage de Pline n'autorise pas cette confusion.

¹ "Eumeneticam" (Pline, *Hist. nat.*, V, 31, 2 = 113 Detlefsen).

² Voir le chapitre X de ses *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 2^e vol., pp. 355-395.

³ *Hist. nat.*, V, 29, 6 = 108 Detlefsen.

⁴ Voir, par exemple : Mannert, *Geogr. der Griechen : Kleinasien*, t. III, 1802, p. 103 ; Cramer, *Descript. of Asia Minor*, t. II, 1832, p. 24 ; Forbiger, *Handb. der alten Geographie*, t. II, 1877, p. 350 ; Ramsay, *C.B.*, Vol. II, 1897, p. 354 ; Ruge, *Eumeneia*, dans Pauly-Wissowa, t. VI, 1909, col. 1082.

Notre auteur annonce que l'intérieur de la Carie renferme des localités notables et comme preuve il donne une liste qui s'ouvre par Mylasa et se clôt par Harpasa. Sur la trentaine de villes qu'il cite, toutes celles, et elles sont nombreuses, dont la position est connue, se rattachent en effet au pays carien. Euménia ferait-elle exception ?

Deux raisons empêchent de le croire. L'une est que Pline, décrivant un peu plus loin le cours du Méandre à partir de sa source, indique dans un ordre exact les régions traversées par le fleuve, à savoir l'Apaménienne, l'Euménétique, l'Hyrgalétique,¹ enfin, la Carie même : "postremo Cariam,"² d'où il ressort clairement que la plaine dont Euméneia était la capitale éponyme se trouvait pour lui, non en Carie, mais en Phrygie, et que par suite, en comprenant ailleurs une Euménia dans son groupe géographique carien,³ il la distinguait de l'Euméneia phrygienne. L'autre est l'assertion formelle d'Étienne de Byzance qu'il existait plusieurs villes euménéennes, dont la première était en Phrygie et la seconde en Carie.

Si la Carie a eu effectivement, comme la Phrygie, sa fondation pergaménienne au nom d'Eumène, où faut-il chercher Euménia de Carie ? Droysen estime qu'elle doit avoir été située au nord du Méandre, car, dit-il, au congrès d'Apamée, la contrée au sud du fleuve échut aux Rhodiens.⁴ Mais l'historien du monde hellénistique oublie que Telmesse, dans la zone frontière entre Lycie et Carie, fut également cédée à Eumène II,⁵ et qu'Euménia de Carie peut avoir été un des postes établis aux abords de ce que les coloniaux de nos jours appelleraient un "bec de canard."

Dirigeons nous de ce côté. Dans Pline, à la mention "Eumenia Cludro flumini apposita" succède aussitôt cette autre : "Glaucus amnis,"⁶ ce qui implique qu'Euménia de Carie était

¹ Sur la vraie leçon "Hyrgaleticos campos," suggérée par Waddington, cf. Ramsay, *C.B.*, Vol. I, p. 126.

² *Hist. nat.*, V, 31, 2 = 113 Detlefsen.

³ La phrase de Droysen (*Hist. de l'hellénisme*, t. II, p. 720) : "Euménia en Carie, ville mentionnée par Étienne de Byzance et seulement par lui," contient donc une inexactitude.

⁴ *Hist. de l'hellénisme*, t. II, pp. 720-721.

⁵ Polybe, XXII, 27, 8 et 10 ; Tite-Live, XXXVIII, 39, 16 ; Strabon, XIV, 3, 4. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Séleucides*, pp. 218-219.

⁶ *Hist. nat.*, V, 29, 6 = 108 Detlefsen.

voisine d'une rivière Glaucus, comprise également dans le territoire carien. Le Glaucus carien, déjà cité au début du chapitre,¹ se jetait dans le golfe du même nom,² appelé aussi golfe de Telmesse.³ Les savants modernes assimilent en toute vraisemblance ce Glaucus au Gargy-Tchaï, le plus important des cours d'eau que reçoit le golfe de Makri.⁴

Puisque Euménia de Carie était à proximité du Glaucus et que Pline la range dans l'intérieur du pays,⁵ il la faut chercher en quelque point de la haute région d'où descend le Gargy-Tchaï. Or, dans la partie supérieure du bassin, Duchesne et Collignon furent les premiers à signaler, en 1876, un groupe de ruines, It-Hissar, situé à deux journées du petit port de Gudjek, en une sinueuse et profonde vallée que domine le Tchal-Dagh : "It-Hissar marque à coup sûr l'emplacement d'une ville antique. On voit des traces de constructions sur une sorte d'acropole," ou plutôt de château médiéval, bâti en grande partie avec des blocs anciens. Aux flancs de la colline, qui tombe sur la rivière en pentes abruptes, des tombeaux sont taillés dans le roc vif. "Cette position devait avoir une importance stratégique de premier ordre ; elle commande la profonde vallée qui s'ouvre du N.O. au S.E., comme une des portes de la Lycie."⁶

Dans ce kastro de montagne, fort éloigné du littoral, les deux voyageurs inclinaient à reconnaître Calynda, hypothèse peu conciliable avec le rôle maritime des Calyndiens.⁷ C'est à bon droit qu'on place Calynda plus près de la côte, non loin de l'embouchure du Doloman-Tchaï.⁸ Mais alors à quelle autre ville correspond It-Hissar ? Ne serait-ce pas à Euménia ?

¹ *Hist. nat.*, V, 29, 1 = 103 Detlefsen.

² Strabon, XIV, 2, 2 ; Stadiasme, paragr. 261 (*Geogr. Græci Minores*, éd. Didot, t. I, p. 495).

³ Tite-Live, XXXVII, 16, 13 : "Telmessus sinus, qui latere uno Cariam, altero Lyciam contingit."

⁴ Cf. O. Benndorf, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, t. I, p. 148, et W. Arkwright, "The Frontier of Lycia and Caria," dans le *J.H.S.*, XV, 1895, p. 93.

⁵ *Hist. nat.*, V, 29, 6 = 108 Detlefsen : "Caria interiorum . . ."

⁶ *B.C.H.*, I, 1877, p. 364. Cf. Maxime Collignon, *Notes d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, Paris (1897), p. 17. Autre description dans Arkwright, *op. cit.*, p. 94. J'ai rapproché les deux relations, en les complétant l'une par l'autre.

⁷ Se rappeler l'histoire du vaisseau de leur roi Damasithyme, coulé par Artémise à la bataille de Salamine (Hérodote, VIII, 87, 2).

⁸ Arkwright, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

On peut, à l'appui de cette conjecture, faire valoir les raisons suivantes :

1°. À It-Hissar, nous sommes bien en pays carien, puisque Telmesse, avec laquelle se termine la Lycie,¹ est à bonne distance du Gargy-Tchaï, l'ancien Glaucus, dont Pline, très justement,² fait une rivière carienne ;

2°. En Carie, It-Hissar est une des places dont on peut le mieux dire ce que Pline dit d'Euménia, qu'elle appartenait à l'intérieur de la contrée ;

3°. On conçoit qu'en obtenant "un débouché, par l'enclave de Telmesse, sur la mer de Lycie,"³ le roi de Pergame se soit préoccupé d'assurer les communications de cette base méridionale, fort isolée, avec ses possessions du Nord. It-Hissar, qu'on nous dépeint comme une des portes de la Lycie, était un avant-poste tout désigné pour un établissement militaire et je ne serais pas étonné qu'Eumène II en personne, au lendemain même du traité d'Apamée, ait fondé là une colonie à son nom. Je retrouverais volontiers dans It-Hissar un de ces châteaux-forts des Telmessiens, "castra Telmessium," que le Sénat de Rome, en 190, lors du règlement des attributions territoriales, ordonnait de céder au monarque mysien.⁴

Un archéologue qui, après Duchesne et Collignon, visita le district arrosé par le Gargy-Tchaï, W. Arkwright, se demande si les ruines anonymes d'It-Hissar ne seraient pas celles de Télاندрос,⁵ ville riveraine du Glaucus, d'après Quintus de Smyrne.⁶ Mais Télاندрос, au témoignage de Pline,⁷ était en Lycie. Il faut donc la chercher plus à l'est : je la supposerais plutôt dans la haute plaine de Nif, où quelques débris subsistent.⁸ C'est d'ailleurs l'hypothèse que l'explorateur anglais envisage en second lieu et j'estime qu'elle a plus de chances d'être la vraie.

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¹ "Quae Lyciam finit Telmessus" (Pline, *Hist. nat.*, V, 28, 2 = 101 Detlefsen). Cf. Tite-Live, XXXVII, 16, 13.

² Cf. A. Klotz, *Questiones Plinianæ geographicæ*, p. 169 (dans les *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* de Sieglin, fasc. XI).

³ A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Séleucides*, p. 219. Dans ma citation, je supprime le mot "Milyade," qui nous reporte à l'autre extrémité du bastion lycien. La Milyade ne peut intervenir ici que si l'on y comprend la Cibyratide.

⁴ Tite-Live, XXXVII, 56, 4 et 5.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁶ *Posthomerica*, IV, v, 7-11.

⁷ *Hist. nat.*, V, 28, 2 = 101 Detlefsen.

⁸ Voir Benndorf, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, t. I, p. 148.

De nombreuses monnaies portent la légende ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ. On les classe toutes à Euménieia de Phrygie.¹ Cette attribution globale est sans doute justifiée ; mais elle peut tenir aussi à ce que l'on ne distinguait pas entre la capitale de l'Euménétique et son homonyme carienne. Il vaut donc la peine d'interroger cette abondante suite numismatique.

Plusieurs bronzes de la série représentent le dieu fluvial Glaucus.² Comme Euménieia de Carie avoisinait une rivière de ce nom, ne serait-elle pas en droit de revendiquer les dites pièces ? J'ai soumis le problème à M. Ernest Babelon, qui a bien voulu me répondre en ces termes :

“ Les monnaies qui ont pour type de revers le cavalier avec une bipenne sur l'épaule, le cheval levant une jambe d'une façon rituelle, sont sûrement d'Euménieia de Phrygie. Le type est phrygien et non carien. On le rencontre dans différentes villes de Phrygie (Epicteteis, Eriza, Hiérapolis, Peltæ, Temenothyraë, Trajanopolis, etc.) et aussi en Lydie (Mostène, Tripolis) ; mais ce n'est pas un type carien, et bien que la double hache soit l'attribut caractéristique de Zeus Labrandeus, on ne trouve le type cavalier en question dans la numismatique d'aucune ville de Carie. J'en conclus que les monnaies d'Euménieia à ce type sont bien de l'Euménieia de Phrygie.

“ De plus, comme sur ces pièces au cavalier la légende est parfois, sinon toujours, ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ ΑΧΑΙΩΝ, j'en déduis que toutes les monnaies, quel qu'en soit le type, qui donnent à l'ethnique l'addition ΑΧΑΙΩΝ, sont aussi d'Euménieia de Phrygie.

“ Vous pourriez sans doute procéder de même par élimination pour d'autres types, notamment les types dionysiaques, qui sont plutôt phrygiens que cariens. Mais il restera toujours un petit groupe de pièces à types plus banaux, moins caractérisés, que l'on ne classe à Euménieia de Phrygie que conjecturalement et par entraînement. Mais si vous voulez les reporter à

¹ Mionnet, *Descript. des médailles*, t. IV, 1809, pp. 292-296 ; Waddington, *Voyage numismatique en Asie Mineure*, 1853, pp. 23-24 ; Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, 1883, p. 400, et *Griechische Münzen*, 1890, pp. 735-736 ; Babelon, *Invent. Coll. Waddington*, 1898, pp. 354-357 ; Head, B.M.C., *Phrygia*, 1906, pp. 211-221.

² ΓΑΑΥΚΟC : Head, B.M.C., *Phrygia*, p. 214, Nos. 25 et 27, Pl. XXVII, No. 6 ; cf. Babelon *Invent. Coll. Waddington*, Nos. 6021 et 6040.

Euménia de Carie, sur quoi vous appuieriez-vous ? Comment en faire la preuve ? ”

Ajoutons que si les deux villes euménéennes étaient représentées l'une et l'autre dans nos médaillers, on observerait sans doute, au lieu de l'orthographe uniforme ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ, une différence entre les ethniques, comme cela s'est produit pour deux autres colonies pergaméniennes, Attaléa de Lydie et Attaleia de Pamphylie, qui nous offrent, la première, l'ethnique ΑΤΤΑΛΕΑΤΩΝ et la seconde l'ethnique ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ.¹

Je crains donc ou qu'Euménia de Carie n'ait pas eu d'atelier monétaire ou qu'aucune de ses monnaies ne nous soit parvenue. Si, comme nous sommes induits à le croire, elle ne fut qu'une citadelle de montagne, d'abord, forteresse telmessienne, puis, établissement militaire pergaménien, on s'explique qu'elle n'ait point songé à battre monnaie et que Telmesse, dont elle put dépendre à l'origine, l'ait fait à sa place.

La faible importance, en tant que cité, de l'Euménia carienne résulte d'une autre constatation : son nom ne figure pas, à l'époque chrétienne, parmi les évêchés. Il manque au *Synecdème*. On ne le trouve ni dans les Notices ecclésiastiques, ni dans les subscriptions des conciles. Faut-il essayer de le découvrir sous une appellation ultérieure, comme Anastasiopolis ou Marcianopolis, villes que Hiéroclès range dans la province de Carie ? J'admets plutôt, avec Ramsay, qu'Anastasiopolis recouvre Hyrgaléa,² et que Marcianopolis pourrait être Kidramos.³

Il reste à éclaircir ou du moins à signaler quelques points embarrassants.

Le premier est que chacune de nos deux colonies euménéennes ait eu à proximité de son enceinte ou de son territoire une rivière Glaucus : ici, d'après Pline, un Glaucus carien ; là, au témoignage des monnaies, un Glaucus phrygien, d'ailleurs ignoré des textes littéraires. Cette répétition, dans l'onomastique fluviale, du parallélisme existant dans l'onomastique urbaine, a quelque chose d'étrange. On peut s'étonner d'une pareille bizarrerie ; mais je n'aperçois rien qui nous autorise à mettre en doute sa réalité.

¹ Babelon, *Invent. Coll. Waddington*, Nos. 4877 à 4882 et 3265 à 3293 ; Head, B.M.C., *Lydia*, pp. 26-29 ; et Hill, *ibid.*, *Pamphylia*, pp. 110-114.

² C.B., t. I, p. 128.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

Une seconde difficulté se présente. Sur le croquis joint par W. Arkwright à son article,¹ on voit la colline d'It-Hissar baignée à l'est par deux cours d'eau, l'un, indiqué comme la branche supérieure du Gargy-Tchaï, l'autre, anonyme. Ce dernier serait-il le Cludros? Le nom de Cludros doit-il être étendu à la rivière jusqu'au point où elle se réunit au Nif-Tchaï? Dans ce cas, le Glaucus serait représenté par le Gargy-Tchaï jusqu'à son confluent avec le Nif-Tchaï et ensuite par le Nif-Tchaï. Mais alors où placer le Telmedius dont Pline fait un affluent du Glaucus?² Toute l'hydrographie du district montagneux compris entre la Cibyratide et le golfe de Telmesse reste extrêmement flottante. Souhaitons qu'un des élèves de Sir William Mitchell Ramsay s'attaque à cette *terra incognita* et nous apporte une solution définitive des problèmes qui viennent d'être posés.

NOTE ADDITIONNELLE.

LYSIAS.

Dans son énumération des localités cariennes, Pline (*Hist. nat.*, V, 29, 6), après avoir mentionné Euménia, cite un "Lysias oppidum," au sujet duquel se pose le même problème que pour la précédente place forte. Il me semble évident que cet "oppidum," classé dans le pays carien, ne saurait être confondu avec le "πόλις" homonyme que Strabon (XII, 8, 13) attribue à la Phrygie et que Hiéroclès (677, 6) range dans le voisinage immédiat de Synnada.

La dualité géographique dont j'ai donné la preuve à propos d'Euménia se reproduit pour Lysias, et dans des conditions à peu près identiques. Comme Euméneia de Phrygie, la phrygienne Lysias a battu monnaie, tandis qu'aucune des pièces de nos médailleurs ne saurait être rapportée à Lysias de Carie, pas plus qu' à la carienne Euménia. L'absence de monnayage tient ici encore à ce que nous avons affaire, non à une ville, mais à une forteresse.

Le qualificatif d' "oppidum," appliqué à Lysias de Carie, et le fait que dans la liste de Pline cet oppidum est rapproché d'Euménia m'induisent à penser qu'il faut le comprendre, lui aussi, dans le groupe des châteaux telmessiens, "castra Telmessium," dont

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

² *Hist. nat.*, V, 29, 1 = 103 Detlefsen : "Glaucus deferens Telmedium."

nous avons déjà parlé (ci-dessus, p. 318). Quant au site exact, nous ne disposons pas d'indices qui nous permettent de le déterminer.

Mais le nom dérive, selon toute apparence, de cette dynastie des "Lysiades" ou des "Philomélides," étudiée naguère par Adolf Wilhelm,¹ et dont Maurice Holleaux a récemment précisé l'histoire.²

Comme le montrent les sources littéraires et les textes épigraphiques, ces dynastes se trouvaient sous la mouvance des Séleucides et par suite opposés aux rois de Pergame.³ Or, ceux-ci, dans leur œuvre coloniale, s'ingéniaient à répartir leurs fondations nouvelles de manière à surveiller et à neutraliser les anciens établissements de leurs rivaux.⁴ Nul doute que nous n'ayons ici un exemple de cette tactique : Euménia de Carie, forteresse pergaménienne, dût, géographiquement, tenir en bride la "macédonienne" Lysias, comme, politiquement, le "macédonien" Lysias s'était vu réduire à l'impuissance par Attale I^{er}.⁵

¹ *Sitz.-Ber. der Wien. Akad.*, 1911, t. 166, I, No. 11, pp. 48-54 (*Kleinasiatische Dynasten*).

² *Rev. des Ét. anc.*, t. XVII, 1915, pp. 237-243.

³ Holleaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 238 et 242.

⁴ Cf., Radet, *De Coloniis a Macedonibus in Asiam cis Taurum deductis*, p. 55.

⁵ Holleaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 238 et 239.

BORDEAUX,
13 décembre, 1921.

XXIII.

EXAMPLES OF ISAURIAN ART: THE SCREEN IN ISAURIAN MONUMENTS¹

by A. MARGARET RAMSAY

1. DORLA. Μάκερος καὶ Θα[ς καὶ] Βάναλις ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐκόσμησαν τὸν πᾶσι φίλον ἐπίσκοπον Μάμμαν μ.χ. The two brothers and their sister who erected the tomb were doubtless the children of the bishop, for marriage was not forbidden to Isaurian bishops in the 3rd century, to which this monument belongs.

Μάκερος is the Latin macer; Θας is a variant of Tas, a man's name, common in Lycaonia: the variation between an aspirated and an unaspirated letter is very frequent in the inscriptions. It was not easy to say whether Θ or Ο was the initial of the name, but the former seemed more probable. The wording of the inscription requires a man's name, whereas 'Οας would naturally be taken as a dialectic variety of Βας, a common woman's name (genitive Βαδος), more frequently used in the form Βα (first declension). πᾶσι φίλος and πάντων φίλος are common Christian epithets, especially in the period before Diocletian.

Fig. 1 represents better and more completely a stone already published as copied by my father and myself in 1904.² At that time it was built into the eastern wall of the mosque at Dorla, at a considerable height and upside down. As the mosque stands only a yard or two from the bed of a stream, we had to look at it from directly underneath, standing on a ladder a good deal too short. The letters and the ornament are faint, and could hardly be seen from such a distance and in such an

¹ The following paper is part of a Report to the Trustees of the Wilson Trust, Aberdeen, on work done in 1909. It was drawn up at the time, but has not been published.

² *Stud. E.R.P.*, p. 36.

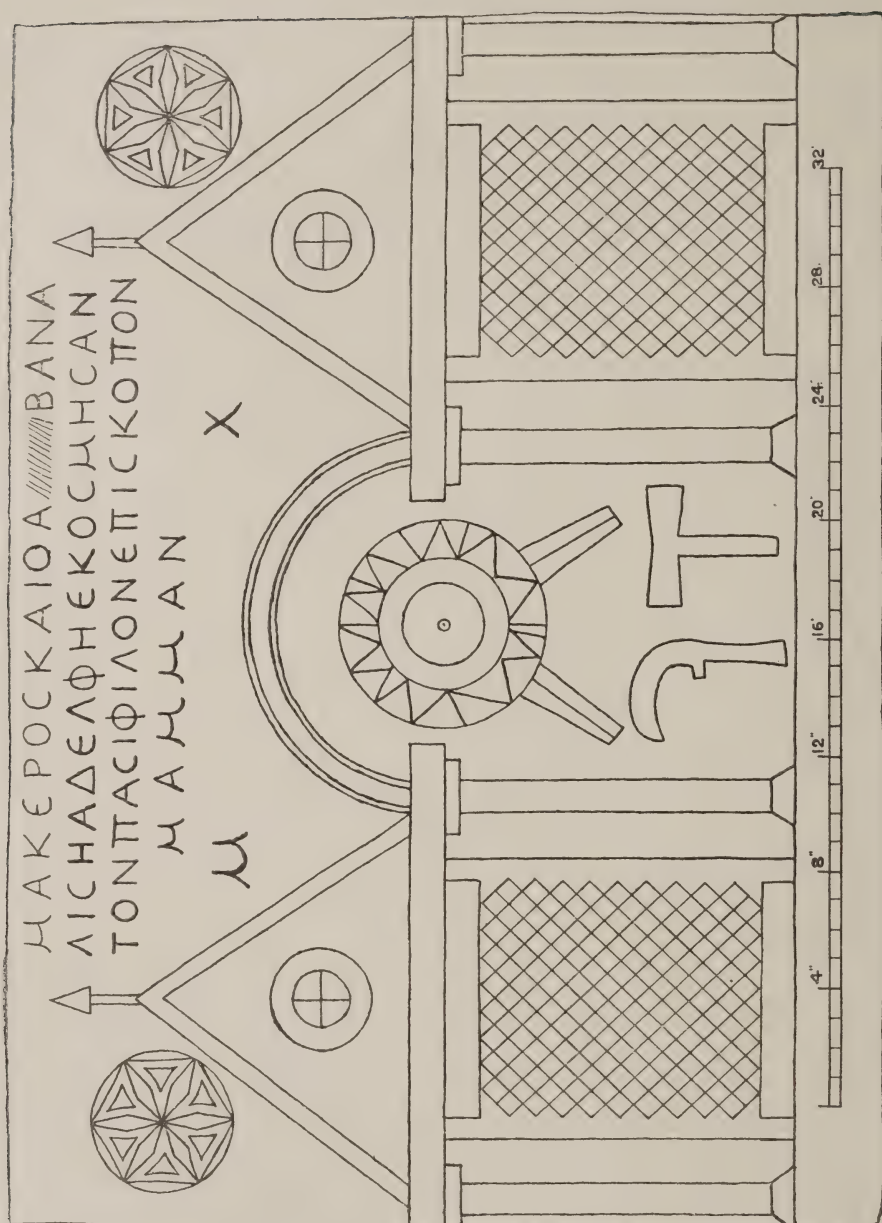


FIG. I.

unfavourable position. Hence some letters in the inscription were misread and mistakes made in the arrangement of the ornamentation. When we returned to Dorla in 1909 we found that the mosque had been rebuilt, and this stone inserted sideways nearer the ground, so that it was possible to obtain a more correct copy of inscription and ornament. The most important improvement is that the defaced ornament can now be determined with certainty. The help of Mr. Calder, who was with us on this occasion, was of great value in all these inscriptions.

The scheme of ornament is that characteristic of the region—a round arch flanked by two pointed pediments, the whole supported by four columns. The conventional form of wreath under the central arch is very common on tombstones of the Roman period in this district, as are the two implements beneath it, a hammer, and a pruning knife or sickle. The spear-like point on the apex of each pediment also occurs frequently; it is seen again in Fig. 2. When we looked at the stone in 1904 we did not see what this was, but took the apex of the spear over the left pediment for a letter of the inscription, omitting the apex above the other pediment and the two vertical lines, which in the awkward position of the stone at that time we did not notice. The ornament inside the right pediment has been defaced. It is clear, however, from the marks left on the stone where it has been cut away, that it must have been a large one, of the same size and shape as that on the left side.

In 1904 we were doubtful what the intention and the purpose of this ornament might be, and the suggestion was made, in the paper already alluded to, that it is intended to represent a fisherman's net. Further evidence has, however, led to the view that it is meant for a lattice-work screen, such as is used at the present day to cover the windows of the women's apartments in a Turkish house. Screens of this kind appear to have been commonly used in the early Christian churches, and on this, along with other facts, is based the suggestion which is assumed in this report as to the origin and meaning of the architectural scheme of ornamentation seen on this and other monuments of the district, and which is stated on p. 327.¹

¹ We remembered afterwards that Lady Ramsay had declared from the first that this ornament was an imitation of lattice-work, and not of a net.



FIG. 2.

One point remains to be noted with regard to the representation of the net-like ornament or screen on this stone. The lines which depict the net in the illustration represent lines left in relief in the original, not incised lines. It is not possible to give, in an unshaded drawing, an exact imitation of these, and for that reason they are put in as they appear in the illustration. In reality, however, they stand out in relief, with hollows between them, thus giving the effect of piercing or boring.

The question of these "screens" has been discussed by Professor Ramsay in *Luke the Physician, and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, pp. 346-348 and 379-381. He there advances the view that the scheme of ornament characteristic of this region represents the eastern end of a church, with apse and two side aisles, and that this net-like ornament is the lattice-work screen mentioned by Eusebius in his description of a typical church. "We regard it as probable, therefore, that the typical Isaurian decorative scheme on tombstones was suggested by some typical form of the Lycaonian Church" (loc. cit. p. 380). From the regular occurrence of the screen in both of the side panels, it appears that this scheme or ornament is a conventional representation of the apse and side aisles; such screens were certainly used inside the church, apparently across the side aisles near their eastern end, and were generally of wood, but sometimes, in places where wood was scarce, of stone (loc. cit. p. 381).

2. On hillside above Dorla, two or three miles to south-east. There was here a small settlement, probably a summer residence. To save time I devoted myself to drawing, while the others explored the neighbourhood and copied the inscriptions.

[ἡ δέινα ἀνε]στησεν τὸν ἄνδρα Νῆσιν. Three small letters, whose meaning is obscure, were afterwards inserted after ἄνδρα, and others may have followed in the mutilated left part of the stone. Nesin, i.e. Νῆσιον, is the common contracted accusative of the Lycaonian name Nesios (contracted Nesis), which is frequently found.

The stone has unfortunately been broken, and we could not find the left-hand part; but the decoration may confidently be restored the same as on the right side. In the inscription

the wife's name is lost, but was very short, e.g. *Bâ* or *Náva*. The restored part is distinguished by shading.

Here again we have the round arch in the centre, flanked by two pointed pediments, and the four supporting columns. Under the arch is a wreath of the usual conventional type, and below that again a swastika. In each of the side pediments is a cross within a circle, very much like those in Fig. 1, and, as in Fig. 1, each pediment is surmounted by an apex. Above are three circular ornaments, one a slight variation of the whorl which is of frequent occurrence on these stones, the other two the usual six-leaved rosettes. The suggestion has been made,¹ and Sir W. M. Ramsay supports it by analogies,² that this form of rosette was a development out of the monogram of *I* and *X*, like a six-rayed wheel, i.e. *Ιησοῦς Χριστός*; this form of monogram was early, and is hardly found later than the third century, but the rosette persisted.

The common sickle and mallet also appear, and above the spearpoint over the right-hand pediment hangs a bunch of grapes, at which a bird is pecking. As the other side of the stone is broken away, it is impossible to say whether the same symbols appeared also above the left-hand pediment. In the side panel which is preserved appears the lattice work screen; and the same ornament may be confidently restored in the lost panel, on the analogy of Figs. 1 and 3.

Wreath, swastika and screens are in high relief, each being in a panel sunk below the surrounding level of the stone. The rest of the ornamentation, including the pediments and the outer line of the arch, is in incised lines. In Isauria the swastika was a Christian symbol.

The scheme of decoration on this stone is almost identical with that on No. 1, the chief difference being in the representation of the screens. In No. 2 these, instead of being represented by square indentations in the surface of the stone, so that the edges of the squares seem to stand out in relief, though they are really on a level with the general surface, are made by squares standing out in well-marked high relief, with depressed squares alternating, like the spaces of a chess-board. The representation is also more complete in this case than in No. 1,

¹ *Stud. E.R.P.*, pp. 27, 40.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 367, 369, 378, 410.

since it not merely gives the screen itself, but shows more clearly how it was fitted into its place; namely by projecting pieces at the upper (possibly also at the lower) corners, by which it is fixed to a bar running from column to column. It is evident that the artist of No. 1 had the same intention in his mind, but was not so successful in expressing it. Accordingly, No. 2 is unmistakably a screen, not a net; and the general similarity between the stones proves that the netlike ornament on No. 1 was intended for a screen also.



FIG. 3.

3. In bridge at Baltcha Hissar, three hours north of Dorla. Πάπεις Θείη μη[τ]ρὶ γλυκυ[τάτη χ]αίρει[ν].

Here we have a combination of certain portions of the two schemes of ornamentation most characteristic of the Isaurian district; one of these being the inscribed oblong panel or tablet, which generally is flanked by some sort of scroll-work, but here is inserted between the two screens which appear under the side pediments in the other scheme. Underneath are three of the six-leaved rosettes which have been explained as Christian symbols. The ornament is in incised lines, except the screens,

which are in slight relief. Four letters are faintly visible in the erasure, l. 2.

The rest of the scheme of decoration of which the screens form part in the two monuments already described is in this case entirely omitted : the arch, pediments, and columns do not appear at all, the place of the central panel being taken by the oblong tablet, and the two screens being simply placed in juxtaposition to this. They are also differently represented. As in Fig. 1, the lattice-work is indicated by raised lines crossing one another, but the cross-pattern is more elaborate, and the whole is enclosed by a species of border or edging. These lines in the illustration represent lines in relief in the original, so that the spaces between them have the appearance of triangular hollows punched in the stone.

Stones of this class are often found in the district, having the surface covered with a series of ornaments grouped together without any plan or order. Generally they bear epitaphs, as in this case ; sometimes they are uninscribed, but even these are probably tomb-stones. They are most common in remote villages, where civilization had not penetrated. The ornaments are either objects of trade and common life, or symbolic, or articles connected with Church use.

A good example is the following, found in a village three hours south-west of Dorla.

4. Jidjik, in wall of mosque. No inscription. Two of the six-leaved rosettes, two whorls of curved lines (also a common ornament in the monuments of this district), a swastika, two implements, probably a chisel and a mason's mallet, and a square ornament in which horizontal straight lines running from side to side at regular intervals are intersected by cross lines of varying length and at different angles—apparently another variation of the screen on the three preceding stones.

The whole is incised : but the lines which in the drawing mark the carving of the screen indicate lines which in the original are left in very marked relief ; that is, the lattice-work is represented by irregular punchings, as though indicating holes pierced through the screen. The idea seems to be the same as that of the screens in Figs. 1 and 3, but much less skilfully and neatly executed. In this small and poor village among the hills

of Isauria the workmen were less skilful than in the city of Nova Isaura.

Thus on these four monuments we find four ways, different in many respects from each other, of representing the screens. In one point indeed they are all similar; whether the rest of the decoration is in relief, as in Figs. 1 and 2, or merely incised, as in Figs. 3 and 4, the screen is represented in such a way as to show that it is a solid object pierced or perforated with holes. From this point of similarity it may be conjectured that the device is in each case intended to represent the same object, the latticed screen, though the workmanship, mode of representation, and position with regard to the rest of the ornament on the stone are not the same on the various monuments.

A further conclusion may be drawn from these differences. The variety in ways of depicting the screen shows that there was no fixed conventional mode of representation, but that the maker of the monument simply depicted, as best suited his own taste, convenience or skill, an object with which he was familiar. The screens must, therefore, have been practically universal parts of the equipment of churches in this part of Asia Minor during the 4th century, the period to which all these representations probably belong—though the 3rd century is not altogether impossible as a date for Figs. 1 and 2.

Now it seems probable that, if the scheme of ornament in which these screens appear had been a foreign importation, a device learnt by the Isaurian workmen from some other source, there would have been some regular convention in depicting it. The artists would have learnt it as a certain definite form, and (allowing for differences of skill in craftsmanship) the same fixed type would have been used in all cases where this particular device occurs. If, on the other hand, the scheme of ornament is (as was maintained in the paper above-mentioned)¹ of local and indigenous growth, it is only to be expected that there should be variations in it. We have, therefore, in this a further corroboration of the theory that this scheme of decoration, characteristic of a numerous class of Isaurian monuments, was not adapted or borrowed from Western or Græco-Roman sources, but was of native Anatolian origin, and suggested, as Professor

¹ *Stud. E.R.P.*, pp. 1-92.

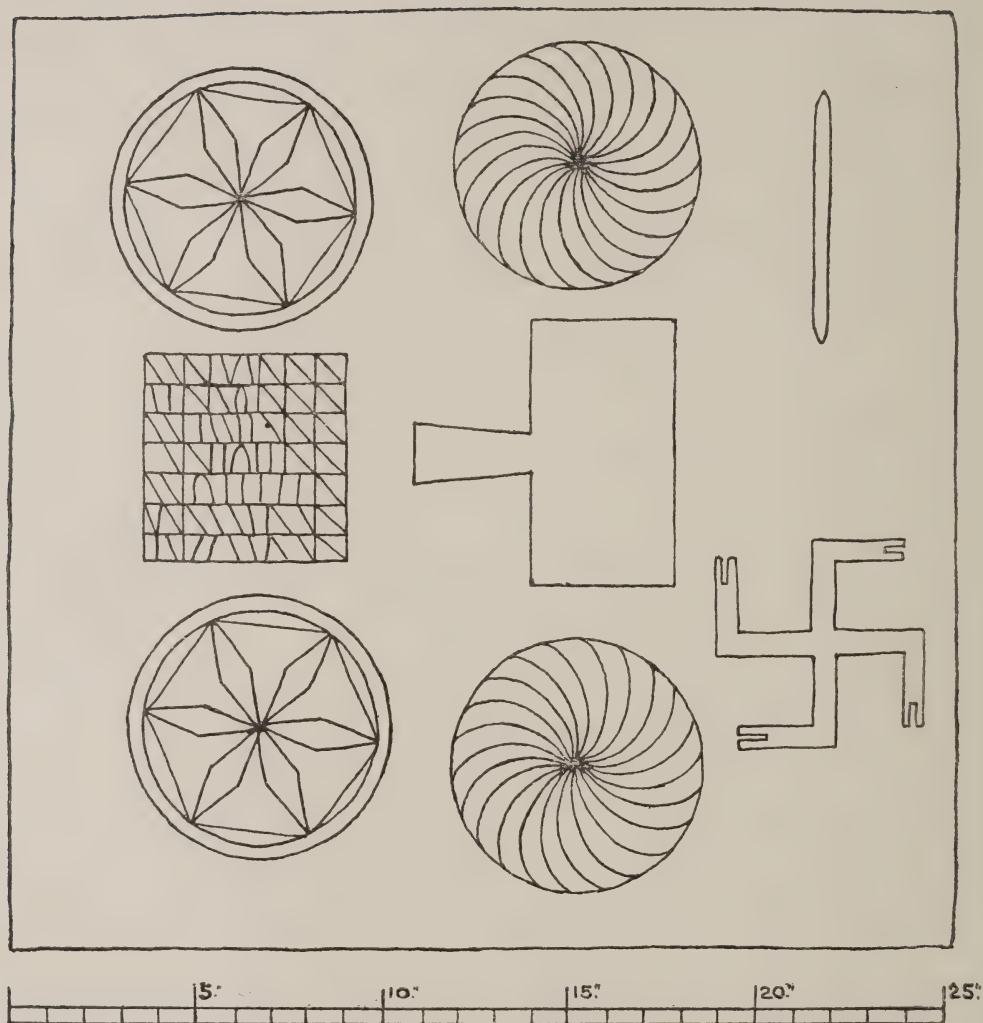


FIG. 4.

Ramsay has maintained in his *Luke the Physician* (loc. cit.), "by some typical form of the Lycaonian Church," as described by Eusebius (see above p. 327).

In Fig. 4 there is a mere heaping together of separate details, most of which were often used as ornamental adjuncts in the Dorla scheme; but in this case there is no plan and no meaning. The screen is there, but no reason is apparent why it or any other article represented should be in that place. So meaningless is the whole that it is difficult to say which is the top and which the bottom of the stone; and perhaps I have not placed the drawing in the position which the original stone-cutter intended. There was probably an epitaph engraved on the stone, but this is no longer visible. Every detail is the representation of some article or ornament familiar to the workman; and a collection of the stones of this class will be interesting as a record of the range of knowledge of Isaurian stone-cutters among the poorer classes.

In Fig. 3 two inconsistent plans of ornament are mixed, but one of these, viz., the Dorla architectural scheme, has almost entirely disappeared, and only the analogy of other cases proves that the scheme was vaguely present in the stone-cutter's mind as a cause of the arrangement which he has adopted. Another example of this mixture found at Dorla is published in the article already quoted, p. 47: there the columns are totally suppressed, but the forms of a rounded central and two pointed side pediments appear above the inscribed tablet in a way which would be unintelligible unless the Dorla scheme were known from many other stones.

5. In Fig. 5 an example is given of the same combination of the tablet with the Dorla scheme. It was found at Kara Viran on Lake Trogitis. The tablet is the principal feature of the stone, but the columns of the Dorla scheme have not wholly disappeared. Two columns decorated with zigzag ornament (like the central columns in the tombstone of the Makarios Papas at Dorla)¹ support a high entablature, on which are carved various details usual in the upper portion of the Dorla scheme. The central ornament, which resembles a pair of great round eyes formed by sets of three concentric incomplete circles,

¹ See *Stud. E.R.P.*, p. 23, Fig. 7A and Plate V.



FIG. 5.

has a certain similarity to one of the degenerations of the Dorla scheme, which at present would require too much space to describe and illustrate. It is sufficient that the general character of the Dorla scheme is unmistakably present in the Kara Viran stone.

Two fishes are shown underneath the tablet and between the central columns. On the monument of the Makarios Papas, at Dorla, just mentioned, two fishes appear in the lower part, one in each of the side spaces. The shape of the fish on the Kara Viran stone is markedly different. On the Dorla monument the fish are of the general and almost conventional form; but at Kara Viran the artist was evidently imitating some special kind of fish, which he had seen, and which has some resemblance to a pike in the shape of the body, though the snout is too much upturned for a pike. This fish is probably some species found in the lake on whose shore Kara Viran stands. There must have been fish in the Tcharshamba river, more than two hours to the north-west or north of Dorla; but at Dorla itself the stream is too variable to contain fish,¹ and it is not likely that those of the Tcharshamba were carried to Dorla to be eaten; for the fish found in such rivers are always bad and even dangerous food over the whole central plateau.² On the other hand, the fish of a large lake like Trogitis were certainly numerous, and may probably have been eaten at least by the poorer classes in villages on the shore, so that they are likely to have been always familiar at Kara Viran and rarely seen at Dorla.

The artist at Kara Viran was evidently conscious of his skill and ambitious of fame, for he placed his signature and his *patria* on the stone. His name unfortunately has been broken off: the last two letters of his father's name (in the genitive case) remain: then follows Ψεκαλεὺς ἐξήρτισεν. Psekala was a village somewhere in this region.

It is worthy of note that many Isaurian artists signed their

¹ It is pointed out by Professor Ramsay in the *Thousand and One Churches*, p. 32, that the streams flowing into the Lycaonian plain (like the Dorla stream) carried more water in the Roman period; but probably the difference would not be such as to necessitate any alteration in what is said in the text.

² See Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 288.

works: this shows a certain artistic consciousness and pride, and it is easy to see how these qualities led to the growth of a distinct style and kind of art in the country, not indeed art of a high order, but still having a character of its own. Professor Holl of Berlin has shown in *Hermes*, 1908, that the skill of Isaurian artists is often mentioned in Byzantine literature of the 4th and later centuries; and in these village monuments, of which a few specimens are here given, we see something of the work of the humbler class among them. The work of the best artists was expended on the decoration of numberless churches over the central plateau, and nothing remains of its products. The humble artists carved on the gravestones of the villages forms and details borrowed (as we assume) from the decoration of the churches.

The main part of the inscription in Fig. 5 is the epitaph of Valeria, the wife of Silvanus, son of Gaius:

Αὐρ. Σιλουανὸς Γα-
 είου ἀνέστησεν
 τὴν γλυκυτάτην
 κὲ σεμνὴν γυναῖκα
 5 αὐτοῦ Οὐαλερίαν
 μ[νήμης χάριν].

The use of Aur. as a sort of *praenomen* (as it should here be regarded, and not strictly as a *nomen*) has been shown repeatedly by Professor Ramsay to point to a date in the century following A.D. 212.¹

There is no indisputable proof of religion in this monument; but I have taken this whole class of monuments to be Christian. Many of them have the religion clearly marked. Others are neutral. The symbolism, as I have argued at length in the paper already alluded to, is Christian in origin. In this case the names Silvanus and Gaius are of course neutral, but they were certainly favoured by Christians as consecrated by the New Testament. That the fish was an early Christian symbol does not need to be stated; and the peculiar form in this case does not affect the symbolic force.

¹ See, for example, *Stud. E.R.P.*, p. 355; but the principle was stated by him in *J.H.S.*, 1883, p. 30, and used from that time on as a criterion of date.

The tombstone of Valeria, therefore, is probably a Christian tombstone of the middle or last half of the 3rd century, nearly contemporary with the monument of the Makarios Papas. If Valeria took her name from the Christian wife of Diocletian, the date would be in the early 4th century ; but that connexion cannot be assumed, for Valerius as a *nomen* was common in Asia Minor.

6. Fig. 6 shows an epitaph, much defaced, which was found at Utch Kilisse, south of Lystra, and probably in its territory, but close to the frontier of the Isaurian land. In the ornament the union of the tablet with the Dorla scheme is again clearly visible ; but the columns remain only as meaning-

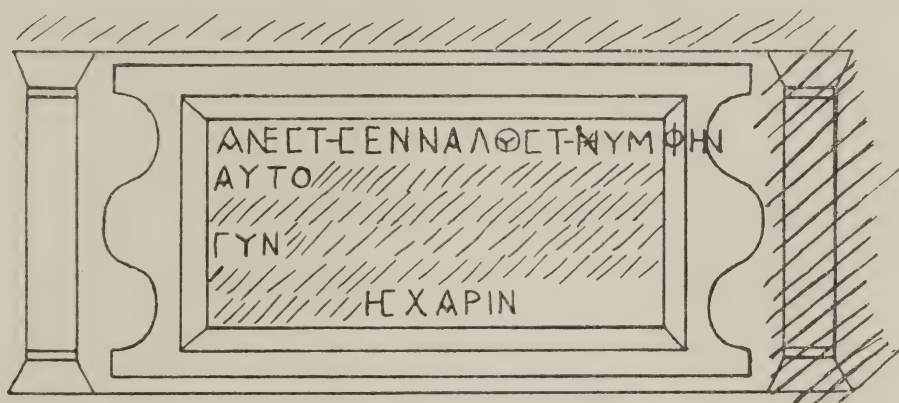


FIG. 6.

less side-pieces and support nothing (for the upper part, though defaced, seemed never to have been decorated).

The epitaph was probably of a somewhat unusual type, but is too seriously defaced to afford much evidence. It should probably be read as follows :—

- ἀνέστησεν Νᾶ Λούστη(ν) νύμφην
 αὐτο[ῦ, name and description of]
 [the daughter-in-law follows]
 γυν[αῖκα, then followed an account]
 5 [of her husband, the son of Na]
 [μνήμη]ς χάριν.

It would be possible also to read Ναλούς τῇ(ν) νύμφην. Na is usually a woman's name, whereas the maker of the tomb

was a man ; but the variation of masculine and feminine terminations is not rare in Lycaonia and Isauria. Λούστη may be a metathesis of the name found in masculine in the inscription quoted below ;¹ compare also καταλουστικοὶ Μηναγύρται in an inscription of Satala (Sandal) in Lydia.

On the standing of the daughter-in-law in a Phrygian or Lycaonian household much is said in *Studies in the Art and History of the Eastern Provinces*,² and some further evidence is stated by Mr. Calder in *Klio*, X, p. 239. Na made the tomb of his daughter-in-law, though probably his son, her husband, was still living. Married sons generally continued to live in their father's house ; and only exceptionally did they become householders. An example of the latter kind occurs in an Isaurian inscription published by Professor Sterrett, *Wolfe Exp.*, 150 ; but the sons are there called οἰκοδεσπότης. The formal statement implies that this was not usual.

¹ Zizima (Sizma), 6 hours north of Konia : copied by my father and myself in 1905 and 1909 (see *Class. Rev.*, XIX, p. 370). Our copy was revised in 1911 by Mr. Calder, who reported that the letter following ΔΙΟΝΥCΩ is I (we read I, and suggested that it was mutilated K), and that part of C or E follows. He suggests Διονύσωι ἐ[ὐαντ]ήτῳ, pointing out that *iota adscriptum* occurs sporadically on Imperial inscriptions of this district. The most probable reading of this difficult inscription is :

[ὑπὲρ τῆς Καίσαρος τύχης καὶ]
[?]ρέων δήμου Διὸς Μεγίστο[υ
Ὀλυ]νπίου, Ἰνῶ Διονύσωι ἐ[ὐ-
αντ]ήτῳ Ἡτᾶς Λουτσος Κα[ρι-
5 κο]ῦ οἰκονόμου νέου.

² See p. 373 f. and the Index under *Religious Law*, p. 390.

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XXIV.

IGNATIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH, AND
THE APXEIA

by S. REINACH

παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν κατ' ἐρίθειαν πράσσετε ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν. ἐπεὶ ἤκουσά τινων λεγόντων ὅτι Ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις εὔρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω· καὶ λέγοντός μου αὐτοῖς ὅτι Γέγραπται, ἀπεκρίθησάν μοι ὅτι Πρόκειται. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρχεῖά ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὰ ἄθικτα ἀρχεῖα ὁ σταῦρος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ· ἐν οἷς θέλω ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν δικαιωθῆναι.

—IGNATIUS, *Epist. ad Philadelph.*, § 8.

THE article ἀρχεῖον, in the Estienne-Didot *Thesaurus*, was revised by L. Dindorf, by no means a theologian, but who knew Greek. The second section of the article, with the meaning *archivum*, *tabularium*, is headed by a quotation from the above passage of Ignatius inserted by Dindorf: “*Epist. ad Philadelph.*, n. 8: Ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις εὔρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω.” Dindorf did not even suppose that the plural τὰ ἀρχεῖα could be considered, not by some but by almost all theologians, as an equivalent of “the Old Testament,” παλαιὰ διαθήκη.

That mistake, which is the result of an exegetical tendency, has reappeared quite recently in an article about Ignatius; I quote the passage:

‘Aux gens qui lui disaient (à Ignace): “Ce que je ne trouve pas dans les archives”—c’est à dire dans les Ecritures de l’Ancien Testament,—“je n’y crois pas dans l’Evangile”; Ignace a répondu: “C’est écrit,” mais ils ont contesté sa démonstration, disant: “C’est à prouver”; quant à lui, ses archives sont Jésus-Christ, archives inviolables que sa croix, sa mort, sa résurrection, la foi qui vient de lui.’¹

¹ Loisy, *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*, décembre, 1921, p. 470.

If Ignatius had meant 'Scripture' in setting forth the objection of the unbeliever, Loisy's interpretation, which is the current one, would cause him to say: 'My Old Testament is Jesus Christ, His cross, etc,' which makes bald nonsense.

Though having combated the current explanation in 1912,¹ I think it necessary to do so once more, appealing not only to the scholarship, but to the *bona fides* of my readers.

The unbeliever said to the bishop: "What I do not find in archives, the facts you recite about Jesus Christ, I will not admit them when they are stated by your gospel."—"But," answers the bishop, "those facts have been prophesied in the Old Testament." "That's no proof," objects the unbeliever, "it is begging the question." Then the bishop gets angry, gives us to understand that he cares nought for official documents as stored up in *tabularia* and that he relies on his own spiritual archives, which are his faith.

In the article to which I refer in the foot-note, I have gone into more particulars and shown how my interpretation is consistent with other passages of Ignatius, especially with that of Ephesians, §. xix. "Now the virginity of Mary was hidden from the prince of this world, as was also her offspring, and the death of the Lord." As Ignatius cannot possibly have been informed by the prince of this world, and as we cannot accuse him of writing nonsense, we feel compelled to admit that he means the worldly powers, the authorities, all more or less subject to the Devil, and that what they are said to have ignored is precisely what has been sought for in vain by wicked unbelievers in the *tabularia*. When the famous French *doctrinaire*, Royer-Collard, spoke his well known phrase: "*Rien n'est bête comme un fait*," he was, like Ignatius, but with less excuse, in an anti-scientific mood.

¹ *Revue moderniste*, 1912. *Cultes, Mythes*, IV, p. 200 ff.

XXV.

TWO NEW EPITAPHS FROM SARDIS

by DAVID M. ROBINSON

AMONG the various kinds of epitaphs found in Asia Minor there are two of infrequent occurrence, one in which the dead person makes a speech to the spectator, and the other, even more uncommon, in the form of a dialogue between the two. Good examples of each of these types, found in 1913-1914, are here offered, as small ἀπαρχαί of the excavations at Sardis, to the chief pioneer of Asia Minor research.

The development of the dialogue-epigram, illustrated by our second inscription, out of the earlier monologue-epigram, of which our first is a sample, can easily be traced. In the oldest Greek epitaphs the dead person or the tomb is conceived as addressing the passer-by, in order to acquaint him with the name, and sometimes with the age or the native city, of the dead.¹ Occasionally the survivors are mentioned, and grief or regret is expressed.

¹ Cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. Græca*, 1878, 6, 10, 11; Loch, *De Titulis Gr. Sepulcralibus*, pp. 5, 7, 46; Florence Gragg, "The Greek Epigram before 300 B.C.," in *Proc. Am. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XLVI, 1910, p. 13 f., and the table on p. 59; Geffcken, *Neue Jahrbücher f. Kl. Alt.*, XX, 1917, pp. 91-100. In the 7th century the dead speaks in *I.G.*, I, 469, and the tomb in *Arch. Ep. Mitt. aus Oest.*, XI, 1887, p. 187; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigrammatum Græcorum quæ ante medium sæculum a. Chr. n. tertium incisa ad nos pervenerunt*, Halle, 1893, 53, and in *Hermes*, XX, 1885, p. 158 (Hoffmann, 54); cf. also J. Geffcken, *Griechische Epigramme*, 1916, Nos. 136, 148, 208, 219, 397. In the 6th century we find the passers-by saluted in *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1908, II, p. 1040 f. From the 5th century we have the dead as speaker in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 53, *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 249, *Herodotus*, VII, 228, and *I.G.A.*, 368 (Kaibel, 22, Hoffmann, 66); and the tomb as speaker in *I.G.*, I, 442 (Kaibel, 21), and *I.G.A.*, 146 (Kaibel, 486, Hoffmann, 56). For the 4th century B.C., Miss Gragg cites no examples of the tomb as speaker, but the cases where the dead either speaks alone or converses with the passer-by distinctly increase: Kaibel, *op. cit.*, 27 = Hoffmann, 106 = *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 245; *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, p. 140; Kaibel, 25, 69, 91; *I.G.*, II, 3, 3260b = Hoffmann, 109; Kaibel, 471a add. = Hoffmann, 177. Cf. also Loch, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

In some cases the passer-by is asked to stop and to take pity,¹ and there was often added the greeting, *χαῖρε, χαίρετε*, or *χαίρετε, οἱ παριόντες*,² like *vale* in the similar Latin epitaphs. To this it was supposed that the person greeted would reply *καὶ σὺ χαῖρε* or *χαῖρε καὶ σὺ*, and from such reciprocal salutations there arose in the 4th century B.C. the first and simplest form of dialogue-epitaph.³ In the older epigrams the idea of a dialogue is often implied, but the earliest funerary inscription in which an answer longer than the formal greeting appears is of the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.⁴ This is a brief dialogue between a dead mother and the son buried near her; soon after this date we find similar conversations between the dead and bystanders.⁵

Such simple dialogue-epitaphs were the forerunners of the elaborate epigram (such as our No. 2), which in question and answer gives the name and personal circumstances of the dead,

¹ Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 2, 13, 22, 55, etc.

² Cf. also *χαίρετε, οἱ παριόντες* for the 6th century B.C., *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1908, II, pp. 1040 ff.; for the 5th century B.C., *I.G.A.*, 368, Kaibel, 22; and for the 4th century B.C., Kaibel, 23; Erinna frag. 5 in Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*, III, p. 144. Later instances in Sterrett, *Papers Am. School*, II, 1888, p. 25, No. 22: *ξένε, χαῖρε πορευτοῦ μηδὲν μεμψάμενος τὴν ἰδίαν ἄλοχον*; Kaibel, 235; *I.G.*, II, 2831, 2844; *Rev. Arch.*, IX, 1887, 199, 1. For variants of *χαῖρε*, namely, *εὐψύχει, θάρσει, εὐσέβει, ὑγίαινε, ἔρρωσο, εὐτυχεῖτε, ἀμερίμνει*, etc., cf. Loch, *op. cit.*, pp. 280, 291 ff., and the references which I give in *Am. J. Arch.*, XVII, 1913, pp. 197, 505.

³ Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, XXIII, 19, 179; Euripides, *Medea*, 663, 665; *Orestes*, 476-477; Xen., *Mem.*, III, 13, 1, many examples in Kaibel and many cited by Loch, *op. cit.*, pp. 278, 279; Stemler, *Die griechischen Grabinschriften Kleinasiens*, pp. 38-39; Buckler, *Rev. de Philol.*, XXXVII, 1913, p. 329; *χαίρετε, παροδείται—καὶ σὺ παρ' ἡμῶν*. *Syllogos*, IE', 1884, p. 50; *Ath. Mitt.*, XI, 1886, pp. 120 ff., p. 408; Keil-Premmerstein, *Zweite Reise in Lydien (Denkschr. k. Ak. Wien)*, LIV, 1911, 94, *χαῖρε καὶ σὺ*. Often some good wish is added either for the stranger or for the dead, such as *χαῖρε καὶ σὺ καὶ εὐόδει* (*C.I.G.*, 1956), *χαῖρε, κὰν Ἀϊδου δόμοις | εἴ σοι γένοιτο* (Eur., *Alcestis*, 626 f.), or *ὅσα λέγεις, φίλε, καὶ σοι τὰ διπλά* (Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique*, III, 2702, 2704; cf. also *Ath. Mitt.*, XVI, 1891, 174, No. 3; Kaibel, 190, 205, 236, 237).

⁴ *I.G.*, II, 3, 2643 = Kaibel, 69 = Hoffmann, 77 = Geffcken, 136. Among non-funerary epigrams, however, there are, as Professor Wilhelm has pointed out to me, even earlier examples of dialogue, as, for instance, at Halicarnassus about 450 B.C., in the dedication of a statue of Apollo (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLV, 1920, p. 157 f.), and in the verses, mentioned by Wilamowitz (*ibid.*), in honour of a boxer contemporary with Pindar (*Anth. Plan.*, 23).

⁵ For epitaphs in which the dead address the stranger with more words than a simple *χαῖρε*, cf. Loch, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-293; cf. *Syllogos, Parartema*, II', 1881, pp. 79 f.; *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 81; cf. *Museion*, 1876-1878, p. 53, No. 123, *Ξεῖνε, σὺ δ' εἰδοίης Νικοκρά[τ]εα Ξενοκλείους] κείμενον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇδε*; *C.I.G.*, 2445.

and sometimes explains the meaning of the symbols on the tombstone.¹ Of this type an interesting example has been found near Smyrna, in which a dead child speaks to her surviving mother, while her dead father addresses both her and his living friends.² The second of our Sardian inscriptions is a no less remarkable specimen of the elegiac epitaph in dialogue form, while our first is a good illustration of the epitaph in monologue, historically the earlier type of the two.

The stages of development seem to have been : (a) speech by the dead or by his monument ; (b) from the 4th century onwards, speech addressed to either of them (Hoffmann, 275 ; Simonides, frs. 95, 113 ; Kaibel, 60, 235, 488) ; (c) conversation between two dead persons buried near one another (Hoffmann, 77 = Geffcken, 136) ; and lastly (d) conversation between the dead and a living person (Hoffmann, 147 = Geffcken, 148).

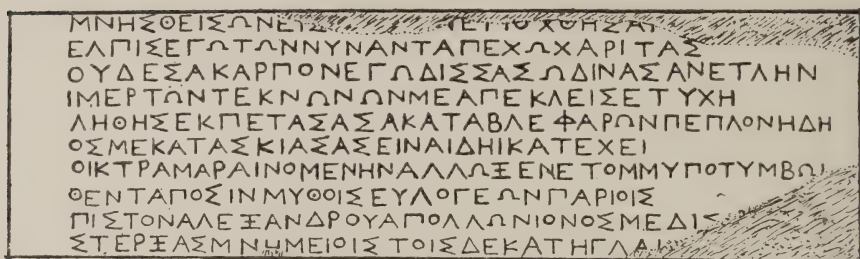
I.

Μνησθειῖς' ὦν εἰς [πολλὸν] ἐμόχθησ' αἰ[νοτόκεια
 Ἑλπίς ἐγὼ τῶν νῦν ἀνταπέχω χάριτας·
 οὐδ' ἐς ἄκαρπον ἐγὼ δισσὰς ὠδῖνας ἀνέτλην
 ἱμερτῶν τέκνων ὦν με ἀπέκλεισε τύχη,
 5 λήθης ἐκπετάσασα κατὰ βλεφάρων πέπλον ἦδη,

¹ Cf. W. Rasche, *De Anthologiae graecae epigrammatis quae colloquii formam habent*, 1910 ; Geffcken, *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Alt.*, XX, 1917, pp. 99, 100, 107, n. 1. So many examples are found in the Palatine Anthology that this form was evidently much in vogue, though few such actual inscriptions have been discovered ; cf. especially *Anth. Pal.*, VI, 122, 357 ; VII, 37, 62, 64, 79, 140, 161, 163-165 ; [*P. Oxy.*, IV, 662], 307, 317, 335, 379, 424, 426, 470, 503, 522, 524 [unique in the wayfarer's address to both tomb and dead], 548, 552, 576, 590, 603, 679, 725 ; IX, 294 ; Kaibel, 140, 247, 575, 667. Such sepulchral epigrams are well studied by Rasche (as cited above), who traces in them the influence not only of Callimachus, but of earlier Peloponnesian poets such as Anyte, and even of the philosophical dialogues ; cf. also Reitzenstein, *Epigram u. Skolion*, pp. 123-129. There is, however, so far as I am aware, no exhaustive treatment of the subject, though *Zwiesgespräch* is touched on by E. Loch, *Zu d. gr. Grab-schriften ; Festschr. L. Friedländer*, 1895, pp. 278 ff. The literary epigrams have been studied in all aspects (for literature, Geffcken in *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Alt.*, XXXIX, 1917, pp. 88 ff., where Miss Gragg's monograph is not mentioned). But apart from Loch's article, his dissertation, *De Titulis Graecis Sepulcralibus* (1890), and Stemler's *Die griechischen Grabinschriften Kleinasien* (1909), little study has been devoted to the history of inscriptional epitaphs as a whole.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, p. 496.

ὅς με κατασκιάσας εἰν Ἀΐδῃ κατέχει
οἰκτρὰ μαραινομένην· ἀλλ', ὦ ξένε, τὸ μ' ὑπὸ τύμβῳ
θέντα πόσιν μύθοις εὐλογέων παρίοις,
πιστὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀπολλώνιον, ὅς με δὲ [εὐπαις
10 στέρξας μνημείοις τοῖσδε κατηγλαΐ]σεν.



Block of the local bluish marble found in May, 1913, north-west of the temple of Artemis, about 25 meters from the Pactolus, among remains of Byzantine walls. Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.67 m.; and thickness, 0.32 m. The letters are shallow but finely cut, 0.008 m. to 0.015 m. high. Date: end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century B.C.

“When I recall my *heavy* travail borne in *sorrowful child-birth*, I, Elpis, receive due thanks for it in this sepulture. Not fruitlessly did I twice endure birth-pangs for the beloved children between whom and me Fate closed the door. For lo! she has spread over my eyelids that mantle of forgetfulness which, plunging me into the shadow, holds me in Hades where I piteously waste away. Ah! stranger, as thou passest, speak kindly of my husband who laid me in the tomb, trusty Apollonius, Alexander’s son, since he loved me for having brought twofold *blessing of children*, and with this monument has honoured me.”

In l. 1 there is a bad break in the middle and at the end. εἰς [πλείστο]ν would be possible, but πολλὸν fills the space better. Professor Adolf Wilhelm approves this, and independently suggested αἰνοτόκεια,¹ which I had restored; cf.

¹ It seems to be implied that her death was due to childbirth. For such inscriptions, cf. Robinson, *Am. J. Phil.*, XXXI, 1910, pp. 388-389; *I.G.*, II, 3, 3877; III, 2, 1320; the famous painted stele of such a subject from Pagasæ, Arvanitopoulos, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀθανασκείῳ Μουσείῳ Βόλου Ἀρχαιοτήτων*, p. 215 f; Robinson, *Am. J. Arch.*, XVII, 1913, p. 161 f., this from Cyrene being a case of death at the birth of twins (διτόκον . . . θείῃ νούσῳ καὶ τοκετῷ; Pindar, *P.*, IX, 149; and the citations in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1908, p. 24, nn. 2 and 3.

Edmonds, *The Greek Bucolic Poets*, p. 468, Megara, l. 27. Leaf proposes εἰς [τλητὸ]ν = "up to the limits of endurance," and at the end αἰ[νὰ νοσοῦσα], or a genitive such as αἰνοπαθειῶν or ἀγριοτήτων. αἰ[νὰ παθοῦσα] would also be possible. Calder suggests εἰς [πόσσι]ν . . . αἰ[ἐν ὀρώσα].

L. 2. For the name Elpis in Lydia cf. Keil-Premmerstein, *Reise in Lydien* (*Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LIII), 128, 129, 164, 172; *Zweite Reise*, *op. cit.*, 82, 128, 154. The meaning seems to be that the children whom she bore compensate her for the dismal existence in Hades, and that looking back from the grave upon the misery she suffered in life, she is actually grateful for her death and burial.

L. 3. ἐς ἄκαρπον is here adverbial.

L. 4. On the non-omission of the vowel in με, though the metre requires its elision, cf. Allen's statement¹ that in one third to one fourth of the cases noted by him, words other than prepositions retain in inscriptions the elided vowel. In all other cases of elision here the vowel is omitted.

L. 8. παρίοις, an idea very usual in such epitaphs; cf. πάριθι cited in note 1. It occurs from very early times; cf. *I.G.*, I, 463: Τέτιχον οἰκτίρας, ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν, παρίτο; Wilhelm, *Beitr. z. gr. Inschriftenkunde*, p. 31.

δῖς [εὐπαις: The letters ΔΙ are complete and the upper half of the Σ is clear. Professor Calder's restoration εὐπαις is very appropriate as alluding to the two children of Elpis. δίσ[ευνος or δῖς [εὐνις (cf. Martial, IX, 31) would also be possible, but neither seems so pointed nor so suitable as the word here restored. Wilhelm suggested δῖς ἄλλης.

2. [Pl. XI.]

(a) Above the niche:

ὁ δῆμος Μηνοφίλαν Ἑρμαγένου.

It is not, however, expressly stated that Elpis had twins or that she died in childbirth, and the inscription may mean simply that she left two children. See the epitaph in Keil-Premmerstein, *Dritte Reise in Lydien* (*Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LVII, 1914), p. 107, No. 163, part of which is worth citing because it also is a conversation between the dead and the stranger: ὁδεῖτα, | λέειπω δ' ἐν θαλάμοις νήπια δισσὰ τέκνα. | Ἀλλά με, τὸν τύμβωι κεκρυμμένον, ᾧ ξένε, χαίρειν | αὐδήσας παρ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτ' ἔχων πάριθι.

¹ On Greek Versification in Inscriptions: *Papers Am. School*, IV, pp. 136 f., 155.

(b) Below the niche :

Κομψὰν καὶ χαρίεσσα(ν) πέτρος δείκνυσι· τίς ἐντὶ
 Μουσῶ[ν];—μανύει γράμματα Μηνοφίλαν.—
 τεῦ δ' ἔ[ν]εκ' ἐν στάλα γλυπτὸν κρίνον ἡδὲ καὶ ἄλφα,
 βύβλο[s] καὶ τάλαρος, τοῖς δ' ἔ(π)ι καὶ στέφανος;—
 5 ἡ σοφί[α] μὲν βίβλος, ὃ δ' αὖ περὶ κρατὶ φορηθεῖς
 ἀρχά[ν] μανύει, μουνογόναν δὲ τὸ ἔν,
 εὐτάκτου δ' ἀρετᾶς τάλαρος μάνυμα, τὸ δ' ἄνθος
 τὰν ἀ[κ]μὰν δαίμων [ᾗ]ντιν' ἐλήϊσατο.—
 κού[φ]α τοι κόνις εἰμί· π[ο]λλοὶ τοιῇδε θανούσῃ
 10 ἀγα[ν]οί.—οὐ δὲ γο[ν]εῖς· τοῖς ἔλιπες δάκρυα.

(a)

“The People (honoured) Menophila, daughter of Hermogenes.”

(b)

“Comely, and full of grace is she whom the stone displays;
 which of the Muses is she?”

The inscription shows her to be Menophila.

And wherefore carved on the stele are there a Lily and an A, a
 Book, a Basket, and a Wreath withal?

Wisdom is the Book, the Wreath worn round the head shows
 Public Office, and the Number One an only child;
 orderly Virtue doth the Basket betoken, and the Flower
 her Prime which Fate did snatch away.

Light dust am I; to such a maiden dead many are they who
 give kindly greeting.

But not so thy parents; to them didst thou leave tears.”¹

The stele (Pl. XI) is of a well-known shape, late Hellenistic in style and type. It probably dates from the 1st century B.C., and is similar to several from Samos, Clazomenæ, and other sites in Asia Minor.² It tapers toward the top and is crowned with a gable as in many similar examples.³ Part of a snake

¹ For a verse rendering cf. *Am. J. Arch.*, XXVI, 1922, p. 81.

² Professor Pfuhr has studied such reliefs in the *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, pp. 47 ff.; 123 ff.; XXI, 1906, p. 128; see also Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1900, pp. 177 ff.; Noack, *ibid.*, XIX, 1894, pp. 315 ff.; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 47; Rostovtzeff, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1911, pp. 108 ff.; Janssen, *Grabreliefs, De griekische Monumenten*, III, Nos. 8 ff.

³ E.g., Keil-Premierstein, *op. cit.*, II, p. 44, Fig. 22; p. 50, Fig. 24, where the good preservation of the snakes makes it possible to complete those on our stele.

with its head facing inwards forms at each end a kind of acroterion, while that at the apex consists of two snakes with their heads extended downwards along the sloping sides of the pediment, in the centre of which is a carved rosette. Below the gable is the inscription ὁ δῆμος Μηνοφίλαν Ἑρμαγένου, and under this a curving laurel-wreath stretched across the stele.¹ In the niche on a shelf or wall is carved to the right of the lady's head a lily (κρίνον), to the left a bundle of papyrus-rolls bound together by two encircling bands (βύβλος) and a basket (τάλαρος).² Under these is an incised Α (ἄλφα) which, with the other symbols, is explained in the lower inscription.

To the left of the lady is a diminutive draped attendant, raising her right hand to her neck and letting her left hang down. On the other side is a similar attendant, holding on her left hand, of which the fingers are long and crudely cut, a cista or round box, upon which she rests her right hand.³ The wreath carved above indicates that the stately lady between the two small figures—Menophila herself—was a *stephanephoros*.⁴ She stands in full front view, in an attitude of meditation,⁵ resting her weight mainly on the right leg with the left slightly bent. The left arm lies across her body, and the left hand seems partly to support her right elbow. The right hand, now broken away, was raised to her neck and probably held her veil or the upper edge of the himation, which she wears over her long flowing chiton. The lower drapery shows clearly through

¹ Cf. Keil-Premmerstein, *op. cit.*, II, p. 47, Fig. 23.

² K.-P., *ibid.*, p. 65, say that the practice of representing on grave-stones objects of daily use which had been of worth to the dead in life prevailed especially in Phrygia and spread into north-east Lydia but not to Sardis (cf. Keil-Premmerstein, *op. cit.*, I, p. 73, nos. 128, 153, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 169, 188, 190; *op. cit.*, II, nos. 9, 135, 138, 142, 143, 151, 153, 154, 170, 172, 253, 254, 261 ff.; Wagener, *Mémoires couronnées publ. par l'acad. royale Belgique*, XXX, p. 33, nos. 10, 11; Körte, *Inscriptiones Bureschianae*, p. 19, no. 22; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 43, no. 25; p. 47, no. 28; *B.C.H.*, XI, 1887, p. 470, no. 37).

³ At first I thought she held the towel for the last washing or an open mirror, but comparison with the objects held by similar figures leaves no doubt; cf. Pfuhl, *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, p. 52, Fig. 5; p. 129, Fig. 23; Pls. IV, VI, No. 1; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1900, p. 194.

⁴ So the key indicates a priestess and the ivy an actor; Diels, *Antike Technik*, p. 40, and my remarks in *Am. J. Phil.*, XXXI, 1910, p. 382, no. 18. The inference is here clinched by the lower inscription, l. 6.

⁵ Cf. for example the Florence *Thusnelda*; Bienkowski, *De Simulacris Barbarum Gentium apud Romanos*, p. 37, Fig. 17a. That such an attitude was widespread in art is shown by the Japanese figures of Kuanyin.

the upper—a characteristic of late Hellenistic times¹—especially on her right side. Unfortunately the face is badly battered, but we can see that she wore a head-cloth or veil over the back and sides of her head.² She is represented as a type, without personal individuality, and this type can be traced back to the Attic reliefs of the 5th and 4th centuries and of the earlier Hellenistic period.³ It is not a creation of Alexandrian or of Roman art, but of Greece and Asia Minor.⁴ This figure reminds one of the Mourners' sarcophagus from Sidon, now in Constantinople. The third woman from the left on one of its long sides resembles ours in the position of feet and hands and of veil and drapery,⁵ while all the eighteen women there represented—who may have belonged to the Ionic harem of the pompous philhellene Stratus I (374-362 B.C.)—show, like our lady, the charm of the Praxitelean style.⁶ That this type had by the 1st century B.C. become much used in depicting the Muses is suggested by the phrase *τίς ἐντὶ Μουσῶν*.⁷ The scene seems to be laid in an heroon or grave-enclosure, rather than, as Wiegand believed, in the court of a lady's house. There were doubtless in Asia Minor many *heroa* such as that here represented,⁸ with free standing statues, and

¹ Rarely found before 190 B.C.; Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 46. She is similar to other figures on east-Greek reliefs; cf. especially Pfuhl, *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, p. 52, Fig. 5; p. 54, Fig. 8; Pls. IV, VI, 1, 3; *Jahreshefte*, XV, 1912, p. 61, Fig. 34; Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles in Gr. Brit.*, p. 562, No. 90; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1900, p. 194; in these last two, however, the drapery is different and the position of the hands reversed.

² This was usual in Roman times for priestesses, vestals and women officials. In early Rome all women wore a head-cloth (*struppis*); Dio Hal., XI., 39; Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*, p. 23. This came from Ionia and is mentioned in Sappho, fr. 44. "Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head," 1 Cor. xi 7. We can trace the complete veiling of the head, still so widespread in the Near East, back to the second millennium B.C. (cf. Jastrow, *J. Am. Or. Soc.*, XLI, 1921, pp. 11, 39).

³ In which small figures of slaves were also symbolic; cf. Furtwängler, *Samml. Sabouroff*, I, p. 48; Weisshäupl, *Grabgedichte d. gr. Anth.*, p. 88 f.

⁴ Though examples have been found in Italy and on south Italian vases and in Pompeian frescoes, they seem to have been copied from Anatolian or Greek prototypes.

⁵ But without the oblique folds: Hamdi-Bey et Reinach, *Une Nécropole royale à Sidon*, Pl. IX.

⁶ Cf. the well-known Mantinean reliefs sometimes attributed to Praxiteles (Dickins, *A.B.S.A.*, XXI, pp. 1 ff.), and the Tanagra figurines.

⁷ Greek art used thus to develop and change a type till it reached perfection and then degeneration (cf. Rhys Carpenter, *The Esthetic Basis of Greek Art*, 1921, passim).

⁸ Conze, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1884, p. 621 f. Small figures of attendants have also been found in the round.

with a shelf¹ or wall on which were placed symbols of the life of the departed. Our sculptor represents objects such as were used not only in every-day life but actually in or on graves: the wreath,² the basket,³ the papyrus.⁴ Lilies⁵ also were thrown on the grave, but I know of no grave-stone other than this showing the lily, to say nothing of the alpha.

Heading: ὁ δῆμος Μηνοφίλαν Ἑρμαγένου. Such inscriptions, recording an honour such as a wreath, are very common in Asia Minor; usually, however, the wreath is not stretched out, as here, but is carved in a circle below or above the inscription, with the words ὁ δῆμος inside; more than 100 Lydian instances in *C.I.G.* and *Mouseion*. The name Menophilus was common at Sardis, and so was that of Hermogenes in Lydia.

Ἑρμογένου for Ἑρμογένους occurs often, but the form Ἑρμαγένου is unusual, α for ο being very rare in proper names. In a text containing so many non-Attic forms this interchange of vowels is probably not a stone-cutter's error.⁶

L. 1. The *nu* was omitted at the end of *χαρίεσσαν*, an epithet used to denote female grace and beauty only after Homer's time, from the days of Hesiod and Sappho to Theocritus.⁷ Doric forms, such as *κομψάν*, *ἐντί*, *μανύει*, *στάλα*, *ἀρχάν*, *ἀρετᾶς*, *τὰν ἀκμὰν*, *κούφα*, were taken from the lyric poets, and having long before this become stock-in-trade of the epigrammatist, do not necessarily give evidence as to the nationality of the author.⁸

¹ Shelves are known to have existed not only in the Greek houses at Priene and Delos (*Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, p. 130, n. 259), but also in the *heroa* and grave temples (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1901, pp. 290 ff.).

² Cf. for Roman times Petronius, ed. Bücheler, p. 48; Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 31, 75; this literary evidence for Smyrna confirmed for Priene by *Inscr. v. Priene*, 104, 109, 111, 113.

³ Vitruv., IV, 1, 9, and cf. below p. 352.

⁴ *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, p. 64.

⁵ *Anth. P.*, VII, 485.

⁶ Cf. Mayser, *Grammatik der Gr. Papyri*, pp. 61, 362; Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugr. Gram.*, p. 186; *Rh. Mus.*, XLVI, 1891, p. 194; Schweizer, *Gram. der perg. Ins.*, 184; Prentice, *Gr. and Lat. Inscr. (Amer. Arch. Expedition to Syria, 1899-1900)*, Nos. 25, 26, 148, 216, 295; *Am. J. Arch.*, XVII, 1913, pp. 170-171, cf. Nachmanson, *Laute u. Formen der Magnet. Ins.*, 166, and references there.

⁷ Cf. Hesiod, *Th.*, 246, 260; *Class. Rev.*, XXX, 1916, p. 98; Theocritus, XVIII, 38.

⁸ Cf. Wagner, *Quæstiones de Epigrammatis Græcis*, Leipzig, 1883; Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, II, 1899, p. 244.

L. 3. For τεῦ δ' ἔνεκ' . . . γλυπτὸν cf. *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 424 :

Μαστεύω τί σευ Ἅγῆς ἐπὶ σταλίτιδι πέτρα,
Λυσιδίκα, γλυπτὸν τόνδ' ἐχάραξε νόον·

I know of no exact parallel to the inscribing of an A alone on a gravestone.¹ There is an interesting use of the symbol *alpha* along with *μονογενής*, the epithet so often applied to Christ, on a stone in Prentice, *Gr. and Lat. Inscriptions* (*Am. Arch. Exp. to Syria*, 1899-1900), No. 4, but the inscription does not, like ours, expressly define the meaning of A. In the Sethian tablets and elsewhere we find cryptic letters such as *upsilon*, but here the inscription tells us the meaning of the letter.

L. 4. The correct form βύβλος (Herod., II, 92) is used here for a papyrus book, whereas in l. 5 we have βίβλος. The two words were at this time probably pronounced alike. The papyrus-rolls are tied together by two bands and the similar objects on Phrygian and Lydian gravestones, usually regarded as writing materials, should be interpreted in the same way.² Our inscription shows that papyrus-rolls might be used on women's graves and not merely, as Pfuhl thought (*Fahrbuch*, XX, 1905, p. 45), on men's. ἔπι should be read for the stone-cutter's ἔτι, an easy mistake in a text so poorly engraved.

Ll. 5 ff. Here begins the answer to the questions about the meaning of the objects on the stele, and we may be grateful to the man who carved these verses, since they give us for the first time definite information as to the significance of such

¹ This is quite different from the examples in literature and inscriptions, where a letter stands for a name (cf. Athenæus, X, 453 ff.), and from the epigram (*Anth. Pal.*, VII, 429) where a double φ was playfully inscribed to indicate the name Φιδίς, which Professor Gildersleeve has rendered by Beebe. One thinks of Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, of Chaucer's description of the dress of the Prioress (*Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, l. 161) who wears hanging round her neck a gold brooch, "On which ther was first write a crowned A," = Amor; and of Chaucer's *Troilus*, stanza 25,

"Right as our firste lettre is now an A.

In beautie first so stood she, makeless,"

which has been interpreted to mean Queen Anne, the first lady of the realm (cf. Lowes *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XXIII, pp. 285 ff., and references there for use of symbol A). Cf. also Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, I, first prose passage.

² Keil-Premmerstein, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87, No. 188; *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, p. 327; Le Bas, *Voy. Arch., Monuments*, Fig. 130, 2; *Museumion*, 1873-1875, p. 78, No. 42; cf. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, pp. 255 ff.

objects.¹ The interpretation is simple and natural. The papyrus shows that Menophila was wise as a book. That which was worn about her head (cf. *Anth. Pal.*, V, 143: ὁ στέφανος περιὶ κρατὶ), namely, the στέφανος² carved above, denotes that her office was that of *stephanephoros* (στεφανηφόρος). This office was known to have existed at Sardis under the Empire (*C.I.G.*, 3461), but not till we found an inscription on a cinerary vase from Sardis (*Am. J. Arch.*, XVIII, 1914, p. 21, No. 17), did we know that the title later became eponymous, replacing that of the municipal priest of *Rome*, and could be held by a woman.³

L. 6. ἀρχάν: For ἀρχή in this sense see *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 225, No. 83, ἄρξας τὴν στεφανηφόρον ἀρχήν; *C.I.G.*, 2330, 2331; Athenæus, 553 E. τὸ ἐν is used in lieu of ἄλφα because of the metre, for variety, and also to indicate that *alpha* has its numerical value. μονογόναν ("an only child") is a late-Greek word used by Apollonius (*Argonautica*, III, 846), Oppian, *H.* 3, 489, of Persephone; the form affected by Christians was μονογενής, which was applied to Christ in literature and in inscriptions (e.g. Prentice, *op. cit.*, No. 254) and in

¹ Cf. Chap. III on *Gräbersymbolik* in Weisshäupl, *Grabgedichte der gr. Anth.* pp. 68 ff., and references there; *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 169, 421-426, 445, 505, etc.; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 551; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, II, 843; Vergil, *Æn.*, VI, 232; Wharton's *Sappho*, fr. 120, etc.; cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, pp. 315 ff.; pp. 330-332. These give a decided warning to those archæologists who are beginning to see Freudian symbolism in Greek art (cf. Agnes Baldwin, "Symbolism on Greek Coins," *Am. Numism. Soc.*, 1916). On the other hand the conclusion of Miss J. M. Macdonald about the Greek avoidance of symbolism and that Greek art is the great example of non-symbolic art fails to consider such late Hellenistic stelæ as ours. Cf. her Bryn Mawr diss. *The Uses of Symbolism in Greek Art*, Chicago, 1922.

² The wreath could also signify many other things. Cf. *Syllogos, Parartema*, IE', 1884, p. 56, δῆμον δὲ στέφανος πινυτὴν φρένα μὲν νύει ἀνδρός. For the various uses of the wreath as decoration, as symbol of victory, as ornament of a sanctuary or statue, as dedicated on a base or wooden *pinax*, cf. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 266 ff.; Homolle, in Dar-Saglio, *Dict.*, II, p. 376; *B.C.H.*, VI, 1882, p. 120; Keil-Premmerstein, *op. cit.*, I, p. 71; II, No. 168; Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, IV², 1636 ff.; Köchling, *De coronarum apud antiquos vi atque usu: Religionsges. Versuche und Vorarbeiten*. XIV, 21.

³ Cf. Braunstein, *Die polit. Wirksamkeit d. gr. Frau.*, p. 52; Chapot, *La Province romaine procons. d'Asie*, p. 161; Paris, *Quatenus feminæ res publicas . . . attigerint*, pp. 79 ff. Our inscription, however, seems to be earlier than imperial times, and the title had probably not yet become eponymous, nor been transferred from the royal or Roman cult to the imperial cult. For women *stephanephoroi* cf. *C.I.G.*, 2162, *Inscr. v. Magnesia*, Nos. 116, 158, 182, 199; for the crown of the imperial *stephanephori* cf. Hill, *Priesterdiademe*, in *Jahreshefte*, II, 1899, pp. 245 ff.; Michon, *Rev. Arch.*, 1901, II, p. 399.

the latter was used also of family relationships (e.g. p. 82 above).

The basket (τάλαρος) has here no cryptic significance, but is simply the symbol of housewifely virtues.¹ Our text fixes the name of such a basket, so often represented on grave-stones, as τάλαρος, not κάλαθος, the term generally used by commentators.

It is interesting to note that the first question, about the lily (κρίνον), is answered last (άνθος). The Greek loved variety, and in literature rarely answered questions in their order.²

Ll. 9-10. κού[φ]α τοι κόνις εἰμί. The idea that the body comes from dust and returns to dust occurs all through Greek and Roman literature from the days of Theognis³ and Epicharmus,⁴ and it is frequent also in inscriptions.⁵

π[ολ]λοί. The bracketed letters, which are much worn, look like ΟΑ. In l. 10 the first word, which is not clear,

¹ Keil-Premmerstein, *op. cit.*, II, 142, 143, 170, 172; *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, pp. 61, 145; Watzinger, *De vasculis pictis Tarentinis*, p. 16 f.; *Jahreshefte*, XV, 1912, p. 61, Fig. 35; *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, p. 331, n. 1. Cf. also Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien*, p. 241, Fig. 100, where the lady is seated with left hand raised; under the chair and to the right is a small attendant, and on a shelf a basket and other objects. Where scholars are doubtful about the meaning of the basket, they will do well to remember, in view of this Sardinian inscription, not to read too much into the interpretation; cf. Cumont, *Études syriennes*, pp. 40 [No. 9], 43, 45, 46, 48, 49; *Stud. Pont.*, III, Nos. 30, 40, 41, 44a, 61a, 156, 359; Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien*, p. 241, Fig. 100; *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, pp. 315 ff.; XXV, 1900, pp. 177 ff., 194. For a list of monuments with a basket see Weisshäupl, *Grabgedichte d. gr. Anth.*, pp. 77 ff., 80; *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 423, τὰ δ' ἔφρια τὰν φιλοεργόν; *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, p. 322. The basket may be represented before or near the sitting lady, or under her chair, or in the gable or other part of the monument. Even the gravestones of women might take the form of a basket. Sometimes, however, it had a sacrificial use, and, in connexion with the mysteries, a special mystic meaning; cf. Hastings' *Dict. of Rel. and Ethics*, s.v. *Basket*, Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.*, p. 163.

² Cf. even for as early a time as Homer, Bassett on ὕστερον πρότερον 'Ομηρικῶς in *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.*, XXXI, 1920, pp. 39 ff.

³ 878, γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι.

⁴ Cf. Bergk., *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*, II, p. 239, Latin adaptations in Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, 974, 1532, etc. Cf. Aesch., *Cho.*, 127 f.; Lucretius, 990 f.; Cicero, *Nat. Deor.*, II, 26; *Genesis*, III, 19; *Isaiah*, XXIX, 4; Tennyson, *Queen Mary*, "A low voice from the dust"; *Aylmer's Field*, "Dust are our frames," etc.

⁵ Cf. *Arch. Ep. Mitt.*, VI, 1882, pp. 30, 31; *Arch. f. Religionswissenschaft*, VIII, 1905, p. 35; Kaibel, Nos. 75, 156, 288, 438, 551 (κούφη κόνις); Keil-Premmerstein, *op. cit.*, II, No. 84, ἐκ γῆς εἰς γῆν; Preger, *Ins. Græc. metr.*, No. 37. Cf. *Anth. Pal.*, VIII, 8, epigram on Sappho, Δωρίχα, ὅστέα μὲν σὺ πάλαι κόνις; VII, 80, translated by Gildersleeve in *Am. J. Phil.*, XXXIII, 1912, p. 112, "Well, Halicarnassian friend, long since thou must have turned to dust." In Latin inscription *sum cinis* is frequent (Dessau, *I.L.S.*, II, 2, 8156, 8168, etc.; *Philologus*, LXII, 1903, p. 449; cf. also ἀμφιέσαντο κόνιν in *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 255; *B.C.H.*, XXV., 1901, p. 272).

appears to read ΑΓΑΙΟΙ ; the fourth letter comes in the break that runs obliquely upwards and seems to me to have been a *nu*. Other words such as *ἀγανοί*, *ἀγαιοί*, *ἀγλαοί* or *ἀ(ρ)αῖοι*, might be proposed, but *ἀγα[ν]οί* fits perfectly and suits what would seem to be the meaning, while *ἀγανοί*, for *οἱ ἀγανοί*, makes the quantity correct (Calder). *Elpis* refers to kindness shown in words by passing strangers, as with *χαῖρε* (see above), and in the case of Apollonius (No. 1, l. 9) ; *ἀγανός* is often used in the poets with *μύθοις*, *λόγοις* or *ἐπέεσσιν*, and probably has that meaning here. The reply "But not so thy parents, etc.," points out that for them grief makes such kindly speech impossible. Had the sense been "There are no parents to whom thou hast left tears," probably the relative *οἷς* would have been used, though *τοῖς* might be the relative and not the demonstrative, as we believe. The theme is exactly that of Euripides' *Hecuba*, ll. 426-7 :

Polyxena : *χαῖρ', ὦ τεκοῦσα, χαῖρε Κασάνδρα τ' ἐμοί.*

Hecuba : *χαίρουσιν ἄλλοι, μητρὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν τόδε.*

This inscription then is not only a quaint and interesting example of an epitaph in the form of a dialogue between the passer-by and the dead, but is also important for its explicit interpretation of the sepulchral symbolism.

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XXVI.

THE ARCHER OF SOLI IN CILICIA

by E. S. G. ROBINSON

THOUGH the coins struck in the 5th century at Soli in Cilicia have long been known,¹ the type which they bear on the obverse, an archer kneeling and holding an arrow or bow in both hands, does not appear to have been hitherto correctly identified. There are two main varieties of the type:—

1. *Obv.* Female figure kneeling l. on r. knee, the l. leg advanced; she wears a short-sleeved vest and pointed skin cap, from beneath which her hair falls in long plaits onto her shoulders, and a bow case with bow on her l. hip. She is looking down an arrow which she holds in front of her, one hand at either end; circular dotted border (Pl. XIV, 1).
[*Rev.* ΣΟ ; bunch of grapes ; square dotted border and square incuse.]

AR. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 163.3 \text{ grns.} \\ 10.56 \text{ grms.} \end{array} \right.$ (= B.M.C., *Lycaonia*, etc., p. 144, No. 1).

2. *Obv.* Similar, but instead of the arrow the figure is looking down the string of her bow ; her skin cap is winged and her (?sleeved) garment has slipped off her shoulders and rests in folds on the girdle which carries the (now empty) bow case ; dotted ground line (Pl. XIV, 2).
[*Rev.* Similar but ΣΟΛΕΩΝ ΝΙ and ankh symbol ; circular dotted border and circular incuse.]

AR. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 161.2 \text{ grns.} \\ 10.45 \text{ grms.} \end{array} \right.$ (= B.M.C., *ibid.*, No. 7).

¹ Babelon, *Traité*, 2^e Partie, Tom. II, pp. 363 *seqq.*, Pl. CVI, 11-27 ; B.M.C., *Lycaonia*, etc., pp. 144-146, Pl. XXV, 1-11.

No. 1 cannot be much later than 480 B.C.; No. 2, owing to the circular incuse of the reverse, cannot be much before 420, though the style at first sight looks earlier. A chronologically intermediate variant (B.M.C., *ibid.*, No. 2, Pl. XXV, 2) shows the vest of No. 1 but the cap and the action of No. 2.

The archer's head appears on the smallest denomination :

3. *Obv.* Female head l. with circular earring and necklace, wearing skin cap, with wing, point and neckflap showing the ends of the plaited hair beneath.

Rev. ΣΟ; bunch of grapes; dotted border and circular incuse (Pl. XIV, 3).

AR. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 13.2 \text{ grns.} \\ 0.86 \text{ grms.} \end{array} \right.$ (= B.M.C., *ibid.*, No. 13).

The figure has hitherto been regarded as male. Babelon¹ has described it as the King of Cilicia wearing the Persian tiara and stringing his bow. Imhoof-Blumer² regarded the headgear as a helmet peaked at the back and decorated with a feather and took the figure to represent a typical Cilician archer—a pendant to the hoplite who appears on contemporary coins of Tarsus;³ this is also the view taken in the British Museum Catalogue.⁴

The female sex of the figure, however, which is already suggested by the long plaited hair, the slight proportions (e.g. in No. 2) and the earring and necklace of No. 3, is rendered certain by the clearly drawn left breast which shows on well preserved specimens beneath the left armpit. She can only be an Amazon. The skin cap is the characteristic alopecis and the wing, though uncommon, is paralleled on a fragment of a vase in Munich with an archer in a similar pose.⁵ In No. 1 she is spinning the arrow to test its balance; in No. 2 she is looking along the string of the bow, which her pose shows that she has just strung, to see whether it has cockled in the process. A

¹ *Perses Achéménides*, pp. xxv and 19, No. 147.

² *Kleinas. Münzen*, II, p. 487.

³ B.M.C., *ibid.*, p. 162, No. 5, 1-9, Pl. XXVIII, 4-10.

⁴ B.M.C., *ibid.*, p. lxxii.

⁵ Sauer, *das sogenannte Theseion*, p. 118; he does not recognize that the archer is an Amazon.

close parallel to the pose of the figure is to be found in an archaic statue of an Amazon stringing a bow, from the Villa Ludovisi,¹ and the coin type gives the impression that it was suggested by a piece of sculpture. Apart from some 3rd century issues at Cyme the Amazon does not otherwise occur as a coin type before Roman times² and it is interesting to find a 5th century monument of such Hittite affinities on the coast of Cilicia.

¹ Described and illustrated by Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.*, IV., p. 86.

² Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Amazonen auf griechischen Münzen* (*Nomisma*, Vol. II), p. I.

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XXVII.

NOTES ON THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PERGAMENE KINGS

by M. ROSTOVTZEFF

THE careful investigation of the historical topography of the valley of the Caicus, of Æolis and Troas, inaugurated by a journey of Sir William Ramsay, and the splendid systematic work done by the German Archæological Institute on the site of ancient Pergamon, have revived in the last few decades the interest of the scientific world in the history of the Pergamene kingdom. The valuable epigraphic material collected and illustrated by E. Fabricius, M. Fränkel and lately by W. Ippel has enabled many scholars—especially M. Holleaux in France and J. Beloch and his pupils Pedrolì, the late P. Ghione, G. Corradi, and G. Cardinali in Italy—to trace the main features of the historical development of the kingdom of Pergamon during the two centuries of its independent existence. Specially good work has been done by G. Cardinali in his *Storia del regno di Pergamo* and in many articles.¹

As was to be expected, the main attention of these scholars has been directed to the political history of Pergamon and to its constitution, i.e. to the relations between the Pergamene kings and the other leading powers of the Hellenistic world, on the one hand, and the city of Pergamon and the other Greek cities of their kingdom on the other. Parallel to these studies, a careful investigation of the artistic monuments discovered by the Germans on the Acropolis of Pergamon has been carried out by archæologists and historians of art. More difficult was the study of the social and economic conditions which prevailed in the Pergamene kingdom in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Here

¹ G. Cardinali, *Il regno di Pergamo* (*Studi di Storia Antica pubbl. da G. Beloch*, V), Roma, 1906.

again the lead was taken by Sir William Ramsay in his well-known works on the historical geography of Asia Minor in general and of Phrygia in particular, and on his results is based what both Cardinali¹ and myself² have been able to say on this topic.

In the present article I propose to suggest some ideas on this last subject which, I think, may throw some light on the important and obscure problem of the main foundations of the economic prosperity of the Pergamene kings. We must not forget that it was chiefly this prosperity which enabled the Pergamene kings (1) to build up, to increase and to maintain a large mercenary army and fleet in competition with the great and wealthy kingdoms of Syria, Macedonia and Egypt; (2) to assert and to affirm the political independence of the Pergamene kingdom; (3) to defend the heart of Asia Minor from being devastated by the hordes of the Galatians; (4) to exert a lasting influence by means of pecuniary subsidies on many free or half-free cities of Asia Minor, the islands and the continent; and finally (5) to transform the residence of the kings, the eagle nest of Pergamon, into one of the most brilliant capitals of the Hellenistic world, one of the leading centres of religious, artistic and intellectual life in the 3rd and 2nd centuries.

It is needless to point out that it was not the 9000 talents stored by Lysimachus in Pergamon and seized by Philetærus that were the main foundation of this prosperity. Those 9000 talents may have served as a starting-point; but without a solid and sound economic basis, secured by the exploitation of the resources of the kingdom itself, this sum of money would soon have been spent on the army and the fleet, without any influence on the future.

I.

The Economic Resources of the Main Territory of the Pergamene Kingdom

In investigating the economic development of the Pergamene kingdom, it is necessary to ascertain first the economic

¹ G. Cardinali, *op. cit.*, 173 ff.

² M. Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des roemischen Kolonates*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 240 ff. and esp. pp. 280 ff.

resources of the main territory of the kingdom, i.e. of Mysia and the two adjacent sets of Greek cities on the coast—the Æolian and the Troad groups. This task is comparatively easy, thanks to the careful geographical and geological survey of these lands carried out by A. Philippson and the expeditions of different scholars, especially of Sir William Ramsay, J. Keil and A. v. Premerstein, C. Schuchhardt, Th. Wiegand, F. W. Hasluck and others, whose aim was to elucidate the historical topography of Mysia, Æolis and Troas. Some sites have been carefully excavated by German and American scholars (Ægæ, Mamurt-Kaleh, and Assos).¹

The first question concerns the boundaries of the early Pergamene kingdom at the time of Philetærus, Eumenes I and Attalus I, since it was on the activity of these three rulers that the success of the State was based under the last three kings, Eumenes II, Attalus II, and Attalus III. The problem has often been treated, but I hardly think that the last word has been said on the subject.²

We must begin with a very brief survey of North-Western Asia Minor, which formed and still forms a geographical and economic unit. The north-western corner of Asia Minor is a world in itself. It is confined to the basins of the many rivers that flow from Mount Ida and the slopes of the Temnus chain into the Adramyttian gulf, the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmora. This part of Asia Minor looks to the north and to the north-west, and must be sharply distinguished from the valley of the Sangarius (Bithynia), one of the Black Sea lands,

¹ A. Philippson, "Reisen und Forschungen in S.W. Kleinasien," I (1910) and III (1913) (*Petermanns Mitt.*, Ergänzungshefte 167 and 177); Sir William M. Ramsay, "Contributions to the History of Southern Aeolis," *J.H.S.*, II, pp. 44 ff., 271 ff.; Th. Wiegand, "Reisen in Mysien," *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX (1904), pp. 254 ff.; J. Keil and A. Premerstein, *Denkschr. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, 1907; F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, Cambridge, 1910; C. Schuchhardt, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, I, 1. *Stadt und Landschaft. Historische Topographie der Landschaft*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 66 ff.; R. Bohn und C. Schuchhardt, "Altertümer von Aegæ," *Jahrb. d. d. Arch. Inst.*, Erg. II, Berlin, 1889; A. Conze und P. Schazmann, "Mamurt-Kaleh," *ibid.*, Erg. IX, Berlin, 1911; J. Th. Clarke, F. H. Bacon, R. Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos*, Expedition of the Arch. Institute of America, Boston, 1902-1921.

² G. Cardinali, *Il Regno di Pergamo*, pp. 78 ff., and "La Genealogia dei Attalidi," *Mem. d. R. Accad. delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna*, 1913, pp. 8 ff.; cf. *Rendic.* of the same Academy, *Classe di Scienze Morali Sezione Giuridica*, 1914, pp. 3 ff.; P. Ghione, "I comuni del regno di Pergamo," *Mem. d. R. Acc. di Torino, Scienze Mor., Stor. e Filol.*, LV (1905), pp. 67 ff.; C. Schuchhardt, *Alt. v. Perg.*, I, 1, pp. 77 ff.

and from the valleys of the Hermus and of the Mæander, which look straight to the west, towards Greece and the Greek islands.

In late prehistoric times the political centre of this part of Asia Minor was Troy. Dr. Walter Leaf has shown the reasons for the economic and political importance of Troy at the end of the second millennium B.C., and I must refer the reader to his works on this subject.¹ Later, the three parts of this unit lived each for itself. The cities on the Hellespont drew their means of subsistence mainly from the commerce between the Greek world and the lands on the shores of the Black Sea. The cities on the Adramyttian gulf exploited the rich soil of their territories, protecting themselves from the tribes of Mysia by advanced fortified posts. Thus the mouth of the Hermus was protected by Larissa, Neonteichos, and Temnus; the mouth of the Pythicus by Tisna and Ægæ; the mouth of the Caicus by Pergamon and Gambreion, which in their turn were protected by Apollonia and Germe (later on by Stratonikeia and Nakrasa); the northern part of the Adramyttian gulf by Skepsis and Palaiskepsis. Finally, the Mysian lands with their fertile valleys, separated each from the other by rough mountains, had their own tribal and village life, just as in the time of the political domination of Troy.

The unity of the region was realized again at the time when the separatist tendencies of the Satraps began to prevail over the centralizing efforts of the Persian kings. In the early 4th century B.C. this part of Asia Minor was ruled by Pharnabazus, and later it formed the nucleus of the independent Satrapy of Orontes.² We do not know precisely in what way

¹ Walter Leaf, *Troy, a study in Homeric Geography*, London, 1912, and *Homer and History*, London, 1915; C. Schuchhardt, *Alt. v. Perg.*, I, 1, p. 74, and *Zeitschrift für Ethn.*, 1908, pp. 945 ff. I cannot, however, accept the theory of Dr. Walter Leaf in full. How could Troy without the help of a strong fleet bar the way to the Black Sea? Is it not more natural to assume that both the merchants from the Black Sea and from the Ægean preferred to exchange their goods at Troy without incurring the risk of a dangerous journey into the Black Sea or *vice versa*?

² E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, III, p. 150, § 91, and V, p. 490, § 981; U. Kahrstedt, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden V und des IV Jahrh.*, p. 52, 114; P. Ghione, "Note sul regno di Lisimaco," *Atti. d. R. Acc. di Torino*, 39 (1903-1904), p. 623, n. 1; H. von Fritze, *Die antiken Münzen Mysiens*, I, Berlin, 1913, pp. 1, 5, and *passim*. Fritze gives a full bibliography, especially of numismatic studies on Orontes and his Satrapy.

Mysia and the two groups of Greek cities on the sea were treated by Alexander and his first successors.¹ But I have not the slightest doubt that Philetærus regarded himself not only as the Lord of Pergamon but as the Satrap of the whole land of Mysia also. It is striking that in the official chronicle of the Pergamene kingdom² the rule of Orontes over the whole of Mysia was strongly emphasized. Undoubtedly the early Pergamene rulers regarded themselves as the successors of Orontes and intended to dominate the Mysian lands in their totality. The few facts which are known to us regarding the policy of Philetærus point to this leading idea. His main efforts were directed towards the west and north-west. He helped Pitane with a loan of money to secure for itself a plot of land bought by the city from King Antiochus;³ he took a vivid interest in the sanctuary of Apollo Chresterios near Myrina;⁴ he made every effort to help Kyzikos in its struggle against Bithynia and the Galatians. It is worthy of note that in the inscription of Kyzikos which enumerates the services rendered to this city by Philetærus, the facts referred to indicate that the territory of Philetærus bordered on that of the city of Kyzikos. During the struggle with Bithynia the Kyzikenes transported part of their belongings and of their war booty into the territory of Philetærus, and Philetærus did not insist on the payment of duties for these goods (which were probably cattle and slaves).⁵

I see no reason to suppose that the conditions changed under the rule of Eumenes I and Attalus I. The satrapy was

¹ A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. d. Séleucides*, II, Paris, 1914, pp. 525 ff.; cf. P. Ghione, l.l., pp. 619 ff.

² *Inscr. v. Perg.*, 613; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 264.

³ Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 366, l. 135.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 312; cf. Schuchhardt, *Alt. v. Perg.*, I, 1, p. 98.

⁵ *J.H.S.*, XXII, p. 193; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 748; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 265, No. 23. The paragraph of the inscription which deals with the duty-free transport of war booty and other things through the territory of Pergamon (dated 229-228) recurs in many treaties between neighbouring States both in the early and in the late Hellenistic period: see the treaty between Erythræ and Hermias, the tyrant of Atarneus (Dittenberger, *Syll.*,³ 229); the treaty between Miletus and Magnesia, *Milet, Erg. der Ausgr.*, I, 3, No. 148, l. 49 foll.; that of Miletus and Herakleia, *ibid.*, No. 150, l. 67 foll.; cf. Polyb., IV, 81, 11, etc. I cannot help thinking that the mention of this "gift" of Philetærus by Kyzikos implies the existence of a regular *συμμαχία* between Philetærus and Kyzikos.

transformed into a kingdom, and that was all. The proclamation of independence even gave to these two rulers the possibility of insisting on their right to dictate their will to most of the cities of Æolis and Troas. The fortress of Philetæria on the slopes of Mount Ida was there both to protect the cities and to impose on them the will of the kings. It is well known how arbitrary were the acts of the kings in regard to the territories of the cities of Priapus¹ and Dardanus,² and I see no reason to attribute these acts to the last Attalids. In any case the transfer of the population of Gergis in the Troad to the valley of the Caicus was carried out by Attalus I,³ and we hear almost the same about Miletropolis and Gargara.⁴ We know, moreover, that the same king had in Æolis (including Troas?) a special commissioner who acted as his delegate in judicial matters (see below, p. 376). The expressions used by Demetrius of Skepsis, who testifies to the sending of a special judge, indicate that such judges were not a novelty first introduced by Attalus.

In the east the main efforts of the first Pergamene kings were directed towards protecting the valley of the Caicus from the Bithynians and the Galatians. How far the Attalids were masters of the mountainous districts of Abbaitis, Abrettene and Olympene, I do not know. I shall return to this question. Naturally there were no well-defined frontiers in this part of the kingdom. They fluctuated according to the successes of the kings in their constant struggle against the Galatians.

Finally, in the south the fortress of Attalia and the ridge of the Temnus marked the natural boundaries of the Pergamene territory. The extension of the kingdom along the shore of the sea towards the south depended entirely on its maritime strength.

¹ Strabo, XIII, 588; Cardinali, *Il R. di Perg.*, p. 98 f. ² Strabo, XIII p. 595.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 616; Cardinali, l.l., p. 100, n. 9, cf. *Klio*, 1909, p. 10; Ghione, *I com. d. R. di Perg.*, p. 8 (74). The case of Apollonia and Tymbrias and the redistribution by a king of the territory of these two cities is still a subject of controversy as regards the date of the redistribution. G. Hirschfeld (*Goetting. Gel. Anz.*, 1888, p. 590, cf. A. Wilhelm, *Arch. ep. Mitt. aus. Oest.*, 1897, p. 85) thinks of Eumenes II, but Ramsay has shown that the reference is probably to Amyntas and the first Roman ruler of Galatia, see *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 143.

⁴ Strabo, XIII, p. 611; Pomp. Mela, I, 92; Steph. Byz. s.v. Gargara; Ghione, *I com. d. R. di Perg.*, p. 78 (144), cf. p. 8 (74); W. Judeich, *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, IV (1901), p. 119, n. 5.

No wonder, therefore, that after the campaigns of Attalus I the Greek cities of the shore as far as Ephesus were politically dependent on the Pergamene kings.

Thus the striking feature in the policy of the early Pergamene kings was their orientation towards the north and the north-west, their efforts to secure for themselves all the lands in Æolis and Troas which did not belong to the territories of the Greek cities, and to have a free hand in dealing with these cities according to their strength and political influence. How are we to explain these facts?

The tendency to maintain friendly relations with the strong cities of the shore and to subjugate the weak needs no explanation. The Pergamene kingdom could not live without a footing on the sea-shore and without the command of the Adramyttian gulf to protect the main harbour of the kingdom, Elaia. The desire to rule over the shore of the Hellespont and to maintain friendly relations with Kyzikos, Lampsakos and Abydos was dictated by the necessity of having the way into the Black Sea open for the Pergamene merchant ships. What Pergamon needed from the shores of the Black Sea was probably mainly the iron of the Chalybes, which she was able to receive only through the intermediary of Kyzikos, since Sinope, the chief harbour for the iron trade with Trapezus, was in the hands of the Pontic kings, and the way from Sinope and Herakleia to the Pergamene kingdom lay through the hostile territory of the Bithynian kingdom and the Galatians.

No less important was it for the political and economic prosperity of the kingdom to possess the lands which lay between the Caicus and the territories of Kyzikos, the cities of the Hellespont and those of the Troad. The importance of these regions for the Pergamene kings is explained by the following considerations:—

1. The possession of, or the command over, the region around Mount Ida was a question of life and death for the Pergamene kingdom, as Ida was the main, if not the only, source of timber and pitch for the shipbuilding activity of the Pergamene kings. The second source, Mount Olympus, lay too far away and the timber of this forest region was certainly mostly in the hands of the Bithynian kings. The political rivalry of the

Pergamenes with the Macedonians excluded the possibility of getting timber and pitch from Macedonia. That is the reason why one of the first cares of the Pergamene kingdom was to build the fortress of Philetæria on the slopes of Mount Ida, and why Attalus I was so keenly interested in the forests of Ida, a fact attested by his treatise on this region, which was well known to Demetrius of Skepsis.¹

2. The second leading consideration was that the same regions near Mount Ida were famous for their horses. Homer knew of Abydus as rich in excellent horses,² and the fact that Alexander the Great had his horse-supply base in these parts shows that the plains near Mount Ida were well adapted for studs.³ The great importance of cavalry in the Hellenistic armies is well known. Even before the Hellenistic period Agesilaus fully realized that without a strong cavalry it was impossible to conduct a war in Asia Minor or in the East in general.⁴ Therefore one of the main problems of the military organization of the Hellenistic armies was to secure a constant supply of good horses. The Seleucids kept large studs near Apamea.⁵ Horse-breeding on a large scale was one of the most important cares of the Ptolemies, and their policy towards Palestine and the lands bordering on Arabia was dictated by these considerations.⁶ The enormous advantage enjoyed by the Macedonians in having at their disposal the wealth of horses existing in Macedonia and Thessaly is a matter of common knowledge. The measures taken by Agesilaus to build up a good cavalry show that it was impossible to find mercenary soldiers already provided with horses. It was easy to find men, but the army leaders had to supply the horses. We know that the Attalids were successful in handling this problem. The

¹ Strabo, XIII, p. 606, describes the forestry on Mount Ida, cf. G. Glotz, *Rev. Ét. gr.*, 29 (1916), p. 293, and Ghione, *I com. d. R. di Perg.*, p. 79 (145), (*silvæ regiæ* near Zeleia). The treatise of Attalus I: Strabo, XIII, p. 603.

² *Ibid.*, p. 585.

³ Plut., *Eum.*, VIII.

⁴ Xen., *Hell.*, III, 4, 12, 15 ff.; Plut., *Ages.*, IX.

⁵ Strabo, XVI, p. 752. It is noteworthy that Nysa in Caria, which was refounded and renamed by the Seleucids, had large horse-breeding areas in its territory, see the inscription of Hadrian's time, *B.C.H.*, 9 (1885), p. 125, l. 18; Laum, *Die Stiftungen*, II, 130; instead of *χωρίων ἱπποσ[τασίων]* I am inclined to read *χωρίων ἱππο[τρόφων]*.

⁶ M. Rostovtzeff, *A large estate in Egypt in the third century*, *B.C.* (Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, 6), Madison, 1922, p. 167 f.

well-known funerary epigram of Arkesilaus¹ shows that the Pergamene kingdom was famous for its horses :

Πέργαμος οὐχ ὅπλοις κλεινὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵπποις
πολλάκις αὐδᾶται Πίσαν ἀνὰ ζαθέην.

Another epigram (*Inscr. v. Perg.*, 10) speaks of a victory in horse-races won by Attalus (brother of Philetærus?). These horses were certainly bred in the plains of Troas and Æolis, as in the Homeric period.

3. The third consideration which made the north-western corner of Asia Minor extremely important for Pergamon was the fact that the only mines of copper and silver in these regions were almost all situated near Mount Ida. Copper mines near Kisthene, mines of ὀρείχαλκος near Andeira, silver mines near Palaiskepsis (the village Argyria) and on the frontiers of Kyzikos and Pergamon (Pericharaxis), are known to us partly from Strabo, partly from archæological evidence.² Strabo mentions also gold mines near Abydus and between Pergamon and Atarneus,³ and copper mines are still worked between Madairas and Yailandjik.⁴ Nobody will underestimate the importance of the possession of these mines to the Pergamene kings: their coinage, their military factories of weapons, and their flourishing silver and bronze industry depended entirely upon it.

4. The richest regions, too, from the point of view of agriculture and cattle-breeding, were those which lay near the coast of Æolis and Troas. The territories of Gargara and Thebe were famous for their fertility; olive groves and vines prospered exclusively on the coast-land, the honey of the neighbourhood of Elaia was of the best.⁵ Moreover, sheep-breeding flourished all over the Mysian lands. We do not,

¹ Diog. L., IV, 30.

² Strabo, XIII, p. 607 (Kisthene); 610 (Andeira); 603 (Argyria); Th. Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1904, pp. 268 ff. (Pericharaxis).

³ Strabo, XIV, p. 680, cf. Schuchhardt, *Alt. v. Perg.*, I, 1, p. 71; J. T. Clarke, etc., *Investigations at Assos* (1921), p. 1 foll.

⁴ Schuchhardt, l.l. It is interesting to compare with the mining activity of the Attalids that of Archelaus: Strabo, XII, p. 540.

⁵ The fertility of the northern part of the western coast of Asia Minor is well known. On Gargara, see Judeich, *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, IV (1901), p. 118; on the territory of Thebe, Liv., XXXVII, 19, 8. On honey near Elæa, Galen., XIV, p. 22 (Kühn); Schuchhardt, l.l., p. 113.

indeed, hear that the sheep of Mysia, Æolis, and Troas were as good as those of Phrygia and the region of Miletus. Nevertheless, we know from some inscriptions that Thebe and Mykale were very rich in sheep and goats,¹ that a flourishing industry of woollen stuffs developed at Ægæ, that Palaiskepsis produced good woollen clothes, and that Perkote was famous for its carpets (see below, p. 379, note 2).

If we take into consideration that a part, and indeed a very large part, of these shore-lands belonged to the kings, as is attested by the dealings of Pitane with the Seleucids and the grants of land made by Antiochus in the territory of Zeleia, we shall realize how important it was for the Pergamene kings to be recognized as sovereigns all over Æolis and Troas.

II.

The Social and Economic Conditions in the Main Territory of the Pergamene Kingdom

The brilliant work done by Sir William Ramsay in and for Asia Minor has revealed to us many important features of the peculiar social and economic conditions which prevailed in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. No doubt the conditions in Mysia, Æolis, and Troas did not differ greatly from those of the rest of Asia Minor. But the evidence bearing on this subject, plentiful as it is, has not been collected and investigated. It is worth while, therefore, to deal with the question here, for without a careful study of it we shall never be able to understand the history of the Pergamene kingdom.

The territory of the early Pergamene kingdom consisted of three main parts: the Greek cities, the temples of the native gods and goddesses, and the tribes and villages of the native population. I shall take each of these parts separately.

We do not know the size of the territories of the Greek cities of Æolis and Troas; but we must be careful not to overestimate it. Kyzikos and Herakleia on the Pontus with their enormous lands, populated by serfs, were certainly exceptional. Most of the Æolian and Troad cities suffered continually from

¹ *Inscr. v. Priene*, 362; Collitz-Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.*, IV, 2, No. 42.

under-production of foodstuffs due to the smallness of their territories. No wonder that they tried by every means to increase these territories at the expense of their neighbours. Hence the constant wars with them, and later, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, endless law-suits. We must not forget that the Greeks at the time of their first settlement in Asia Minor did not occupy a no-man's land. They found an age-old tradition of civilized life, well-defined territories belonging from time immemorial to the ancient cities which they conquered, warlike tribes and influential temples in the immediate vicinity of those cities. Moreover, the Greeks very soon had to submit to the mighty overlords of Asia Minor, first the Lydian and later the Persian kings. These kings were not at all willing to grant to the cities large territories of cultivable and cultivated lands. Thus the land owned by the Greek cities represented only a small part of the territory ruled by the Pergamene kings.

As important as the cities, and perhaps more important, from the social and economic point of view, were the temples of the native gods and goddesses. Our information on these temples is very scanty. We know some names, we know some peculiar features of the organization of the larger sanctuaries, none of which were situated in the territory of the early Pergamene kingdom, and nothing more.¹ The number of temples of native gods in Æolis, Troas, and Mysia was very large. Some of them were connected with Greek cities and were included in the territory of those cities. But whether the mere fact of incorporation implies that they had entirely lost their economic independence, I do not know. The example of Ephesus shows that it was not always so. Some others, again, remained in their original isolation and never had any relations with the Greek cities.

It is worth while, for the sake of emphasizing the importance of the temples in the social life of the country, to bring together the evidence about them, scanty as it is and probably not fully collected by myself. However, an enumeration of

¹ Rostowzew, *Studien*, pp. 269 ff.; W. H. Buckler and David M. Robinson, "Greek Inscriptions from Sardes," I, *Am. J. Arch.*, XVI (1912), pp. 11 ff.; W. Scott Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, New York, 1913, pp. 196 ff.; Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, New York, 1914, pp. 243 ff.

them, even if incomplete, may be useful for future investigators of the subject.

To the class of temples connected with cities we may assign the following:—(1) the temple of Apollo Chrestorios near Myrina;¹ (2) the temple and the oracle of Apollo at Gryneion dependent on Myrina;² (3) the temple of Apollo Killeius near Killa;³ (4) the temple of Artemis Astyrene near Adramyttion and Antandrus; the lands of this temple bordered on the lands of the city of Pitane;⁴ (5) the temple of Apollo Smintheus near Hamaxitus (another near by on the island of Tenedus);⁵ (6) the temple of Meter Andeirene near Andeire;⁶ (7) the temple of Apollo Chrestorios near Ægæ;⁷ (8) the temple of Apollo Kynneius near Temnus;⁸ (9) the temple of Meter Plakiane near Placia;⁹ (10) the temple and the oracle of Apollo near Zeleia;¹⁰ (11) the temple of Apollo and Artemis, *alias* Adrasteia, between Parium and Priapus;¹¹ (12) the temple

¹ Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 312. Dittenberger thinks that the inscription belongs to the sanctuary of Apollo near Ægæ, but see Schuchhardt, *Alt. v. Perg.*, I, 1, p. 98.

² Strabo, XIII, 622; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 266, l. 18; 229, l. 85; Ghione, *I com. d. R. di Perg.*, p. 47 (113); Head, *Hist. num.*, 2nd ed., p. 555.

³ Strabo, XIII, p. 612. The important temple of Zeus near Gargara hardly survived the prehistoric period, see Plut., *de fluviis*, 13, 3; Luc., *dial. deor.*, 4, 2; Epicharmus in Macrob., *Sat.*, V, 20, 5; Judeich, *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, IV (1901), pp. 112 ff.

⁴ Strabo, XIII, p. 613, cf. 606, and Xen., *Hell.*, IV, 1, 41; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 335, l. 115 f., n. 45; Head, *Hist. num.*, 2nd ed., p. 541. Strabo says that the sanctuary was *προστατόνμενον μετὰ ἀγιστείας ὑπ' Ἀντανδρίων*. What kind of economic relation this expression implies, is not easy to judge. In any case the temple owned large tracts of land, as is shown by the inscription quoted above.

⁵ Strabo, XIII, p. 604; Head, *Hist. num.*, 2nd ed., p. 546.

⁶ Strabo, XIII, p. 614, cf. 610; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 219.

⁷ R. Bohn, "Altertümer von Aegæ," *Jahrb. d. d. Arch. Inst.*, Erg. II, Berlin, 1889, pp. 57 ff. (Schuchhardt), cf. Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 312, n. 1.

⁸ Polyb., XXXII, 25; Schuchhardt, *Alt. v. Aegæ*, pp. 57 ff.

⁹ The cult of this goddess at Kyzikos (Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, pp. 216 ff.) implies the existence of a temple of this goddess near the little town of Placia before, and probably after, its absorption by Kyzikos, cf. Head, *Hist. num.*, 2nd ed., p. 537; *Ath. Mitt.*, VII, p. 151.

¹⁰ Strabo, XIII, p. 588; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 102; B.M.C., *Troas*, p. xlv; Head, *Hist. num.*, 2nd ed., p. 550.

¹¹ Strabo, XIII, p. 588. On the cult of Adrasteia and the Homeric city of Adrasteia on the Granicus plain, see Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 220; W. Leaf, *Troy*, p. 183 f. Strabo's account shows how sometimes ancient temples were destroyed and transferred to the Greek cities by the Greek conquerors of the land. At the time of Strabo, as he says, no sanctuaries existed in the plain of Adrasteia, but only a beautiful altar at Parium. He must be mistaken, as Plutarch, *Luc.*, 13, 15, mentions a temple and a *ξόανον* of Ἀρτεμὶς Πριαπίνῃ which was plundered by the soldiers of Mithradates. The old temple, therefore, either was never completely destroyed, or was rebuilt later on.

of Meter Tereia, forty stades from Lampsakos;¹ (13) a large number of temples in the territory of Kyzikos; besides the ancient local sanctuary of the Meter Dindymene on the peninsula,² there were many temples in the vicinity of cities dependent on Kyzikos, e.g. the temples of Apollo Krateanos and Asklepius near Pœmanenon, perhaps a temple of Zeus or Apollo Gannatenos near Apollonia, etc.³

To the second class of temples, i.e. temples not connected with cities, belonged probably: (14) the temple of Zeus Abrettenos near Mount Ida in Abrettene, which played some part in the history of Asia Minor in the 1st century B.C.;⁴ (15) a similar temple of Zeus must be assumed as the religious centre of Abbaitis.⁵ Less important were some minor temples: (16) the temple of Meter Aspodene on the top of Mamurt Kaleh;⁶ (17) the temple of Apollo Tarsenos somewhere on the river Tarsius;⁷ (18) a temple of Zeus with lands and a village on a tributary of the river Tarsius near Hadrianutherae;⁸ (19) another on the place where later was built the city of Hadrianutherae;⁹ (20) the sanctuary of Artemis near the sources of the Aisepus.¹⁰

Cities and temples, however, were a kind of superstructure

¹ Strabo, XIII, p. 589. On the identification with the Homeric Tereia, see Leaf, *Troy*, p. 187 f.

² Hasluck, l.l., pp. 214 ff.; Preller-Robert, *Die Griechische Mythologie*, 2nd ed., I, p. 640, n. 2; 649, II, 3, p. 835. It is interesting to see how many local cults of the neighbourhood were transferred to the city of Kyzikos, e.g. that of the Meter Tolupiané, Plakiané, and Lobriné (Hasluck, l.l.); cf. J. Keil, *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, XVIII., pp. 66 ff.

³ Apollo Krateanos, see Hasluck, *J.H.S.*, 1903, pp. 39 and 87; Th. Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXX (1905), p. 329; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, pp. 121 and 230. For Asklepius, see Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, pp. 115 ff.; Gannatenos, Le Bas-Waddington, 1095, cf. Hasluck, l.l., p. 291, No. 9. I do not know whether the territory of Apollonia was included in that of Kyzikos at the time of the Attalids, cf. H. von Fritze, *Die antiken Münzen Mysiens*, 1913, pp. 63 ff. The chief deities of Apollonia were Apollo, Zeus, and Artemis. Gannatenos may have been the local name of either Apollo or Zeus.

⁴ Strabo, XII, p. 574, cf. 576.

⁵ Le Bas-Waddington, 1001; Head, *Hist. num.*, 2nd ed., p. 663; Ghione, *I com. d. R. di Perg.*, pp. 14 (80) ff.

⁶ Strabo, XIII, p. 619; Conze und Schazmann, "Mamurt-Kaleh," *Jahrb. d. d. Arch. Inst.*, Erg. IX, Berlin, 1911.

⁷ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, p. 213.

⁸ Arist., *Hier. log.*, E. 10, p. 454; Γ 41, p. 423, cf. A 51, p. 388, and Δ 105, p. 451; Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1904, p. 279.

⁹ Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 92.

¹⁰ Arist., *Hier. log.*, Δ 3, p. 426; Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1904, p. 279.

in the social life of Asia Minor. The main foundation of this life was formed, not by them, but by the villages, which were populated by herdsmen and tillers of the soil, native peasants, the same probably who still form the majority of the population of the country. Some of these villages were included in the territories of the Greek cities, some were owned by gods and belonged to the territories of the temples, but most of them were villages owned by the overlord of the country, the king. How such conditions came about we do not know. It is natural to attribute them to the foreign conquerors of Asia Minor, the Hittites, followed by the Phrygians, the Lydians, and finally the Persians. The relations between the villagers and the king in the Hellenistic period are described in my book on the Colonate (see p. 360, note). I should like to add here an analysis of an earlier text, which throws a vivid light on the social and economic life of Mysia in the early 4th century B.C., I mean the well-known description in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon of the last action of the Ten Thousand under the leadership of Xenophon (VII, 8, 7 ff.). The episode is familiar to all students of the history of Pergamon, but no one has endeavoured to show its importance for the social and economic history of Asia Minor.¹

From Thrace Xenophon brought his soldiers to Lampsakos and from here through Troas and Æolis up the Caicus to Pergamon. Here he received a friendly welcome from Hellas, the wife of Gongylus and the mother of Gorgion and Gongylus. All of them were tyrants of some Greek cities of Mysia, vassals of the Persian kings. The same position was held by the descendants of Demaratus. From her (i.e. Hellas) he learned that Asidates, the Persian, was in the plain. "If you take three hundred men and go by night, you will take him," she said, "his wife, his children, and his property; of goods he has a store." Xenophon followed the advice of Hellas and started by night with a small force. "About midnight they arrived. The slaves who lived near the tower (τῦρσις), with the mass of their property (i.e. cattle), slipped through their fingers, their sole anxiety being to capture Asidates and his belongings. Failing

¹ Schuchhardt, *Alt. v. Perg.*, I, 1, p. 77; Conze, *ibid.*, I, 2, pp. 161 ff.

to take the tower by assault (since it was high and large and well supplied with battlements and with many warlike men), they endeavoured to undermine it. The wall was eight clay-bricks thick. By daybreak the wall was undermined. At the first gleam of light, through the aperture, one of the defendants inside, with a large ox-spit, smote right through the thigh of the man nearest the hole, and the rest discharged their arrows so hotly that it was dangerous to come anywhere near the passage; and what with their shoutings and kindling of beacon fires, a relief party at length arrived, Itamenes and his force, and a body of Assyrian hoplites from Comania, and some Hyrcanian cavalry, about eighty, being also mercenaries of the king, and another detachment of light troops, about eight hundred, and more from Parthenium, and more again from Apollonia and the neighbouring places, also cavalry."

The retreat was not easy, as the raiders carried with them slaves and cattle. They succeeded, however, in joining the main force and renewed the raid the next day with the whole army. Asidates tried to find a refuge in the villages near Parthenium, but was captured with his family and belongings.

This vivid picture lets us see deep into the social and economic conditions of Mysia. The Greek cities and their territories were mostly in the hands of Greek tyrants, refugees from Greece, the women playing an important part among them. The Gongylids and Demaratids mentioned by Xenophon¹ were not the only representatives of this class. We know of the rule of Mania over the cities of the Æolis (Xen., *Hell.*, III, 1, 13), of the tyrants Eubulus and Hermias in Atarneus,² of a certain Nikagoras who was tyrant of Zeleia about the time of Alexander,³ and others. The land outside the cities was in the hands of Persian nobles, large landowners carrying on an extensive husbandry. To protect them Persian fortresses were scattered all over the country. In the neighbourhood of Pergamon we have three of them: Comania, Parthenium and Apollonia. The Persian landowners lived mostly in fortified houses (τύρραις),

¹ Cf. Xen., *Hell.*, III, 1, 6.

² H. von Fritze, *Die antiken Münzen Mysiens*, p. 104 f.

³ Athen., VII, p. 289c (from Baton, *Fg. hist. gr.*, IV, 348), cf. Clem. Alex., *Protr.*, 4, 54; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 103.

inside or outside a native village.¹ The villages were inhabited by slaves (ἀνδράποδα), who attended to the cattle (mostly oxen, cows and sheep) and the horses of their masters, which were bred in large numbers. These ἀνδράποδα were certainly enslaved natives. In times of danger this native population gathered in the τύρσις and helped the Persians to defend them. They were brave and warlike people.

The most influential and the most powerful of the land-owners was the satrap, the governor of a Persian province. Pharnabazus, the Satrap of Phrygia and Mysia, in his talk with Agesilaus describes his estate in his satrapy as consisting of a palace, villages, gardens and parks (παράδεισοι), both artificial and natural, full of game.²

But not all the native population was enslaved. In the mountains lived practically independent native tribes around their fortified refuges and their temples. They were the scourge of the Persian landowners, as their main occupation was to raid the villages and the villas of the plain. No wonder that both the villages and the villas were fortified. Very often the satraps were forced to carry out regular expeditions into the mountains, in which the local tyrants and cities took an active part. We

¹The word τύρσις is frequently mentioned by Xenophon. Sometimes it means towers on a village wall (*Anab.*, V, 2, 5 and 15), sometimes towers on houses (*Anab.*, IV, 4, 2, in Armenia: εἰς δὲ ἣν ἀφίκογτο κώμην μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ βασιλειον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταῖς οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν), but mostly fortified country-houses or villas (*Anab.*, VII, 2, 21: Seuthes receives Xenophon in such a τύρσις, cf. *Hell.*, III, 2, 14-15). Τύρσις, therefore, is synonymous with τετραπυργία, a word used in the same sense by Plut., *Eum.*, VIII; Rostowzew, *Studien*, pp. 253 f. On πύργοι as "Wirtschaftsgebäude" see recently F. Presigke, *Hermes*, 54 (1919), p. 423 (Egypt); E. Meyer, *ibid.*, 55 (1920), p. 100; Alt, *ibid.*, pp. 334 ff.; J. Hasebroek, *ibid.*, 57, p. 621 (cf. Pol. 13, 9, 2) (Arabia). Similar half-military, half-agricultural buildings were characteristic of the territory of Carthage, App., *Pun.*, 101, cf. 68; E. Kuhn, *Die Entstehung der Städte*, p. 174, cf. p. 190; *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reiches*, II, pp. 435 ff. To the bibliography on the controversy about the πύργοι of Teos quoted by myself, *Studien*, p. 253, n. 2, add H. Francotte, "Formation des villes, etc., de la Grèce ancienne," *Bull. de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique*, 1901, p. 991; *La polis grecque*, Paderborn, 1907, p. 137. Ruins of a τετραπυργία in Lydia near Metropolis are described (with a plan) by Keil und Premerstein, *Dritte Reise*, p. 102.

²Xen., *Hell.*, IV, 1, 15: ἐνθα (near Daskylion) καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν Φαρναβάζω, καὶ κῶμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχουσιν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ θήραι μὲν αἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν περιειργμένοις παραδείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ (ἐν) ἀναπεπταμένοις τόποις πάγκαλαι. Cf. *ibid.*, 33, and the talk between Meidias and Derkyllidas, *ibid.*, III, 1, 25 (Derkyllidas asked: καὶ πόσαι σοι οἰκίαι ἦσαν; πόσοι δὲ χῶροι; πόσαι δὲ νομαί. On χῶροι, see Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, 335—eleven χῶροι on the sources of the river Granicus).

hear, for example, that Mania, the ruler of Æolis, *συνεστρατεύετο τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ καὶ ὁπότε εἰς Μυσοὺς ἢ Πισίδας ἐμβάλοι, ὅτι τὴν βασιλείῳς χώραν κακουργοῦσιν* (Xen., *Hell.*, III, 1, 13).

Such were the conditions in Mysia in the 4th century B.C. No doubt the Attalids in the middle of the 3rd century found these conditions almost unchanged. They were the same soon after Alexander, under Eumenes, in Phrygia (Plut., *Eum.*, VIII), and almost the same a century later in Caria.¹ In the mountains they probably were not changed even by the Attalids. The independent tribes of Mysia took an active part in the revolt of Aristonikos, and still lived at that time in their fortified refuges.²

III.

The Pergamene Kings and the Land.—Agriculture, Cattle-breeding, Industry

Such was the land which the Persians handed over to Alexander, Alexander to the Diadochs, Lysimachus and Antiochus to the Satrap Philetærus and his heirs—the dynast Eumenes and King Attalus. The largest part of the land was royal land. Of this one section was managed by the kings themselves, another—the mountain tribes—paid a nominal tribute. What was the policy of the Attalids towards the land owned by them and inhabited by their slaves? Did they follow the path chosen by the Diadochs and the Seleucids and sell this land to the Greek cities,

¹ Cf. the *φρούρια* and *συννοικίαι* of the Rhodian and Cnidian *Peræa*, *I.G.*, XII, 1, 1036; Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 3rd ed., 586; M. Holleaux, *Rev. Ét. anc.*, 1919, p. 98, n. 2; Pol., XVI, 11, 1; Liv., XXXIII, 18, 20; Holleaux, *ibid.*, 1921, p. 180.

² See the decree of Bargylia in the honour of Posidonius, Holleaux, *Rev. Ét. anc.* 1919, pp. 94 ff., l. 19 f.: Manius Aquillius fought in the Abbaitis: τὰ ὀχυρώ[ματα πάντα] δοκοῦντα εἶναι δυσάλωτα [κατὰ] κράτος λαβόντος. The expression *δοκοῦντα εἶναι δυσάλωτα* shows that these *ὀχυρώματα* were not reduced to full submission by the Attalids. The fact that the Attalids maintained a system of fortified posts all over the country shows that they were not sure of the mountain tribes of the Abbaitis, Abrettene, Morene and Phrygia Epiktetus, see Schuchhardt, *Alt. v. Perg.*, I, 1, p. 79, cf. the description of the ruins, Nos. 15-17, 19, 20, 61; Judeich, *Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1898, p. 544; Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1904, p. 309. The same conditions still prevailed in Cappadocia at the time of Strabo, see his description of Mazaka; the inhabitants of this city are mostly cattle owners (*κτηνοτρόφοι*): Τρόπον γάρ τινα στρατόπεδον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἀσφάλειαν τὴν αὐτῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων εἶχον ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις, ἃ πολλὰ ὑπάρχει τὰ μὲν βασιλικά τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων.

assign it to new Greek cities, grant it and sell it to their friends and relatives? This was the policy of the Seleucids down to the end of their domination, as is shown by a newly discovered inscription of Samos and by the description given by Strabo of the Syrian land.¹ It was the policy followed also by the Ptolemies at the beginning of their rule in Egypt. The Ptolemies, however, did not adhere to it, but gave it up as early as the time of Euergetes I.² Did the Attalids keep to the ancient tradition, or did they inaugurate a new policy?

The question is not an easy one. The Attalids, of course, founded new cities and endowed them with land. But the number of these cities was not large, and they all had a frankly military character. As regards the policy of the Attalids towards their friends and relatives, we have no evidence. One line in the famous inscription which contains the *psephisma* of the city of Pergamon, voted after the death of Attalus III, shows that the last Attalids confiscated a large number of private estates which belonged probably to their friends and relatives, and had probably been granted to them by the first Attalids.³ But, on the other hand, some indirect testimonies seem to imply that such grants were exceptional, and that most of the royal land remained under the direct management of the kings. I have already quoted the testimony of Demetrius of Skepsis on the judges of the "King's folk" (βασιλικοὶ λαοί) in Æolis (Athen., XV, p. 697d). It shows that large tracts of land in Æolis were managed by the kings personally. In the same direction point the frequent mentions of large quantities of grain given to different cities by the Attalids and the gifts of Philetærus to the Kyzikenes: large quantities of grain, fifty horses, and the permission to buy oxen in the Pergamene territory without paying the taxes.

¹ See Rostowzew, *Studien*, pp. 240 ff. Add to the references on Macedonia Theop., *Phil.*, XLIX (*Fr. hist. gr.*, I, 301; Athen., VI, p. 261a). On Samos, see the decree in honour of Eulagoras, M. Schede, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIV (1919), p. 25, No. 13 (time of Antiochus II). On the feudal structure of the Syrian kingdom in general, Strabo, XVI, p. 753.

² See Rostovtzeff, *A large estate in Egypt*, pp. 142 ff.

³ Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 338, l. 20 ff.: καὶ τὰς γυναι|κας πλὴν τῶν ἡγορασμένων ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου | καὶ Φιλομήτορος βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἀνειλημμένω(ν) | ἐκ τῶν οὐσιῶν τῶν γεγενημένων βασιλικῶν. Cf. Cardinali, "La morte di Attalo III e la rivolta di Aristonico," *Saggi di Storia Antica e di Archeologia offerti a Giulio Beloch*, Roma, 1910, pp. 269 ff.

The Attalids were certainly very rich in grain and cattle, undoubtedly produced on their estates.¹

Still more important is the fact that the Attalids showed a vivid interest in scientific agriculture, viticulture, horticulture and cattle-breeding. It is worthy of note that the same interest was shown by many of the Hellenistic kings whose lands were mainly agricultural regions: the Ptolemies, Hiero II, Attalus III, Antiochus (III ?), and later Archelaus and Deiotarus are all mentioned either as authors of treatises on scientific agriculture or as men to whom such treatises were dedicated.² It is natural that the last descendants of a generation of kings who worked hard at introducing scientific agriculture into their kingdoms³ should try to systematize the results of their experiments and to make them accessible to everybody who read and understood Greek. We do not know the content of these treatises, but it seems evident that it did not differ very much from that of the treatises of Varro, Columella, and Pliny, who used the Greek works on agriculture as their main sources, along with the Punic version of the same scientific agriculture of the Greeks, that of Mago. If this view is correct, it implies that the royal treatises also dealt more with viticulture, horticulture and cattle-breeding than with the tillage of the soil for cereals. Moreover, it shows

¹ Pol., XVIII, 16; Liv., XXXII, 40, 8; *J.H.S.*, XXII (1902), p. 195; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 748; Cardinali, *Il R. di Perg.*, p. 56 and p. 179.

² See Varro, r.r. I, 8. His catalogue is repeated both by Columella I, 1, 8, and Pliny, *N.H.*, XVIII, 22, and the lists of sources for the Books VIII, X, XI, XIV, XV, XVII, and XVIII. It is interesting that both Columella and Pliny made out of the Attalus Philometor of Varro two kings: Attalus and Philometor, meaning by the last the Egyptian king of this name. See Susemihl-Oder, *Griechische Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, I, 829 ff.; 835, n. 22, and 845, nn. 55-57; F. Muenzer, *Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Naturgeschichte des Plinius*, Berlin, 1897, p. 377, note. On the sources of Varro, G. Gentili, "De Varronis in libris r.r. auctoribus," *Studi ital. di fil. cl.* X (1903); H. Gummerus, "Der römische Gutsbetrieb," *Klio*, Beiheft V (1906), pp. 50 ff.; cf. M. Wellman, "Die Georgika des Demokritos," *Phil. Woch.*, 1921, p. 1218. It is noteworthy that of the Greek writers on agriculture the majority were natives not of the mainland of Greece (Varro mentions Athenians only), but of the large and fertile islands (Thasos, Lemnos, Chios, Rhodes), of Asia Minor (Pergamon, Miletus, Cyme, Colophon, Priene, Soli, Mallos, Nicæa, and Herakleia), and of the Thracian coast (Maroneia and Amphipolis). Most of them belong to the Hellenistic period. On the Ptolemies as promoters of scientific agriculture see the article of R. Johannesen in *Classical Philology*, 18 (1923), (Chicago).

³ See the interesting letter of Apollonius to Zenon, referring to an order of Philadelphus to sow twice the land in the Fayum, C. C. Edgar, *Ann. du Serv. des Ant. de l'Égypte*, XVIII, No. 27; Rostovtzeff, *A large estate*, p. 49.

that the main foundation of agriculture in the East, and especially of viticulture, horticulture, and cattle-breeding, was slave labour. It is noteworthy that as early as the end of the 4th century gardens were cultivated in Asia Minor almost exclusively by means of slaves, as is shown by the long inscription of Sardes, serf work being probably confined to the production of grain and to cattle-breeding.¹ The interest shown by Attalus III in scientific capitalistic agriculture was not a novelty in Asia Minor. Such interest is closely connected with the old monarchical traditions. The only evidence which we possess about efforts made to introduce new plants and new animals into the husbandry of Asia Minor is connected either with the Persian kings (the famous letter of Dareius to his Satrap Gadatas) or with the Greek tyrants dependent on the Persian kings (e.g. Polykrates of Samos).² The Hellenistic monarchs resumed the work of the Persians. We have plenty of evidence on this topic for the Ptolemies, especially for Ptolemy Philadelphus.³ Pyrrhus was doing the same kind of work in Epirus.⁴ And some accidental testimonies speak of Eumenes II buying up the famous white boars of Assos,⁵ no doubt to improve the breed of his pigs (we know that in Roman times Asia Minor along with North Italy produced the best ham),⁶ and of Attalus III having a vivid interest in horticulture, planting gardens, and no doubt introducing the cultivation of new plants.⁷

Our evidence on all these points is scanty, but it seems to show that a steady work of improvement in agriculture and cattle-breeding was done by the Pergamene kings on their estates. No doubt they tried also to increase the cultivable and cultivated territory of the kingdom. The fact that they trans-

¹ Buckler and Robinson, *Am. J. Arch.*, XVI (1912), p. 13, col. I, cf. p. 56.

² Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 3rd ed., 22 (Magnesia ad Mæandrum). On Polykrates see Athen., XII, p. 540c-d from Clytus of Miletus (*Fr. hist. gr.*, II, 333).

³ Rostovtzeff, *A large estate*, p. 114.

⁴ Arist., *Hist. an.*, III, 21, p. 522b, 23; VIII, 7, p. 595b, 18 (on oxen); *ibid.*, III, 21, p. 522b, 23 (on sheep). Cf. Plut., *Pyrrh.*, 5; Büchschütz, *Besitz und Erwerb*, p. 222 and p. 219, n. 4.

⁵ Ptol. Euer. II, Ὑπομνήματα (*Fr. hist. gr.*, III, 188, 9; Athen., IX, p. 375d); O. Keller, *Die antike Thierwelt*, p. 396.

⁶ Keller, l.l., p. 399; Athen., XIV, p. 657e.

⁷ Just., XXXVI, 4, 3: *omissa deinde regni administratione hortos fodiebat, gramina serebat*, etc.; Cardinali, *La morte di Attalo*, p. 270.

ferred the half-barbarian population of Miletopolis to the rich plain of Gargara shows that they were anxious to keep this fertile territory cultivated (see above, p. 364, note 4).

Nevertheless the social and economic basis of their work remained the same as it was under the Persians. Slaves and serfs furnished the labour, and the fortified posts scattered all over the territory of the kingdom and belonging to the times of the Attalids, which are often described by modern explorers (see above, p. 374, note 1), show that without such a network of forts the cultivation of the land was impossible. It is not surprising that after the death of Attalus III Aristonikos was able to collect immediately a large force of discontented elements, mostly natives. The slaves and the serfs of the royal domains and of the estates of his friends and other citizens of Pergamon formed probably the nucleus of Aristonikos' forces, which were very soon joined by the half-independent tribes of the mountains, especially the Abbaitis, Abrettene, Morene and Phrygia Epiktetos.¹

No less active were the Pergamene kings in developing industry in the cities of their kingdom, and especially in Pergamon. We must remember that on the world-market Asia Minor was known as the chief centre of the woollen industry. This was the main source of wealth for Sardes in the Lydian and the Greek periods, for Phrygia and in particular the city of Laodicea (which probably replaced an ancient temple-centre of commerce and industry similar to Pessinus), for Miletus and for scores of other Greek cities of Asia Minor. I have already mentioned that some cities of Æolis and of Troas were known for their activity in this domain. Palaiskepsis, Perkote and Gambreion were famous for their clothes and carpets.² An inscription of the 3rd century B.C. shows that Ægæe was another important centre for the production of coloured clothes and that it attempted to monopolize this industry by trying to induce its

¹ Cardinali, l.l.

² In the enumeration of the cities which were given by the Persian king to Themistocles in Athen., I, p. 29f, Perkote, Palaiskepsis and Gambreion are quoted as producing garments and carpets. Thucyd., I, 138, 5, does not mention them; see the note of Poppo-Stahl on this passage. But Athenæus seems to follow a good Hellenistic source, and this source would not mention the three cities were it not for their notorious excellence in the production of woollen stuffs.

neighbours (e.g. the small city of Olympus) not to work themselves the wool produced by their sheep, but to bring all of it to Ægæ.¹ Another inscription shows how important was the manufacture of woollen stuffs at Teos, which became a part of the Pergamene kingdom as early as the time of Attalus I, if not earlier. The inscription is a treaty between Teos and another city. Teos grants to this city, which seems to belong to the territory of Teos or was to be included in this territory, some privileges in connexion with its trade, which consisted in importing Milesian wool, dyeing a part of it with imported colouring stuffs, and making out of it χλάνδια ἀ[λοργὰ ἢ λευκά], which were undoubtedly a special product of this city.² Unfortunately we do not know the name of this city nor the date of the document. It is certainly not earlier than the 3rd century B.C. It may be that the treaty, which tried to develop in Teos a new branch of industry, formerly located somewhere else, was not concluded without the influence of the early Pergamene kings. We may compare the content of this inscription with the well-known fact of the foundation of Hierapolis in Phrygia, probably by Eumenes II. I suppose that the new foundation was intended to be not only a military post but also a new centre of woollen industry to compete with the famous factories of Laodicea.³

More important was the textile industry developed by the Pergamene kings in Pergamon itself. In the time of Roman domination in Asia Minor, in the 1st century B.C., and the 1st century A.D., Pergamon was famous for its gold-woven clothes

¹ S. Reinach, *Rev. Ét. gr.*, 1891, p. 268; Keil und Premerstein, *Denkschr. d. Wien. Akad.*, LIII (1910), II, pp. 97 ff.; G. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, XLVII (1919), pp. 68 ff.

² Judeich, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1891, p. 292; *Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1898, p. 545, No. 1; Wilhelm, *Arch. ep. Mitt. aus. Oest.*, XVII, p. 41 f.; *Griech. Dialektinschr.*, III, No. 106; cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 3rd ed., 344, note.

³ On Laodicea and Hierapolis see W. M. Ramsay, *C.B.*, I, pp. 40 ff. and pp. 84 ff., cf. Cichorius, "Alt. v. Hierapolis," *Jahrb. d. d. Arch. Inst.*, Erg. IV, pp. 19 ff.; Cardinali, *Il R. di Perg.*, p. 101, note. χλάνδιον ἀλοργῶν is mentioned twice in the well-known inventory of the temple of Samos of 346-345 B.C., *Gr. Dialektinschr.*, 5702 (220), ll. 30 and 36. It is interesting to compare the inscriptions of Teos and Ægæ with the inscription of Chios which contains a strict regulation of the trade in wool with the tendency to concentrate this trade in the city, see Zolotas, *Ἀθηνα*, XX, p. 221, No. 21; Wilhelm, *Jahrb. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, XII (1909), pp. 142 ff.; Keil, *ibid.*, XIV (1911), Beibl., pp. 51 ff.; *Gr. Dialektinschr.*, IV, 2, n. 52.

(*vestes Attalicæ*) and its beautiful curtains (*aulæa*).¹ These products of Pergamon were closely connected with the name of Attalus, probably the most famous of the three kings of this name, Attalus I. In the reign of this king workshops certainly formed one of the most important sources of the royal revenues, as is attested by the fact that Attalus I granted some workshops as a source of revenue to the priest of an unnamed god, perhaps Zeus in Pergamon.² It is noteworthy that the two specialities of Pergamon were both the specialities of Sardes. Lydus speaks of it, and the inventory of the temple of Samos, compiled by the Athenians in 346/5 B.C., mentions these products as coming from Lydia.³ Perhaps Eumenes II, when he became master of Sardes, transplanted the industry from Sardes to Pergamon. But I am more inclined to think that it was done earlier, in the reign of Attalus I, with the object of competing with the Seleucids. Of course, the fine products of Pergamon mentioned above were not the only products of the Attalian workshops.⁴

¹ On the Pergamene textile industry see Büchsensschütz, *Die Hauptstätten*, etc., p. 65; H. Blümner, *Die gewerbliche Thätigkeit*, etc., p. 37.

² Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 3rd ed., 1018. The workshops were consecrated to the god by the king, the priest having the right to give them in lease for the time of his office and to dispose of the yearly revenue. The workshops were ἐπισκευασμένα, i.e. furnished with tools and slaves (?), cf. the decree of Pergamon on the priest of Asklepios (late 2nd century B.C.), Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 3rd ed., 1007 (the priest was to be the master of the ἱεροὶ παῖδες); and Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 2nd ed., 846 (cf. Jardé, *B.C.H.*, 1902, p. 268), where the envoy of Attalus Dameas manumitted, in 197 B.C., at Delphi, a royal girl slave (παίδισκη βασιλική).

³ On the *aulæa* and the *vestes Attalicæ* see the books quoted above, note 1. Lydus, *De mag.*, III, 64, p. 258, says expressly that gold-woven clothes were an invention of the Lydians: σπουδὴ γέγονε τοῖς Λυδοῖς . . . καὶ χρυσοστήμονας διεργάζεσθαι χιτῶνας (καὶ μάρτυς ὁ Πείσανδρος εἰπὼν 'Λυδοὶ χρυσοχίτωνες'), and in the inventory of Samos (*Gr. Dialektinschr.*, 5702) we have the constant mention of κιθῶν λύδιος (white or coloured), cf. l. 16: κιθῶν κατάστικτος, and l. 17: κιθωνίσκος χρυσῶι πεποικιλμένος; in l. 26 appear αὐλαῖαι δύο, which shows that Isidorus, *Orig.*, XIX, 26, 8, or his source, is wrong in ascribing the invention of the name *aulæa* for curtains to the Attalids.

⁴ It is interesting to note that the same Demokritos who wrote a treatise on agriculture (see above, p. 377, n. 2, was the author of a treatise called Βαφικά, i.e. on the dyeing of cloth, cf. the chapter on the dyeing stuffs in the well-known *Papyrus Holmiensis* (I, 29, p. 28): see Otto Lagercrantz, *Papyrus Holmiensis, Rezepte für Silber, Steine und Purpur*, Upsala, 1913; E. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, Berlin, 1919, pp. 1 ff.; H. Diels, *Antike Technik*, 2nd ed., Leipzig u. Berlin, 1920, pp. 140 and 145. I am confident that in the Hellenistic period these beginnings of a technical chemistry were not yet a speciality of forgers and charlatans, but a real science, systematizing and developing the achievements of Oriental technical skill. Note the brilliant development of the mining of *rubrica Sinopensis* in Sinope (D. M. Robinson, *Am. J. Phil.*, XXVII (1906), p. 141), and of the *σανδαράκη* near the later Pompeiopolis

It is curious to note that in the time of Hadrian Attalian suits were still used in Egypt under this very name: a worn-out suit of this kind was owned by the well-known governor of the Apollonopolite nome, Apollonius.¹ At this time the industry in Pergamon was in the hands of rich weavers and dyers (*γναφεῖς* and *βαφεῖς*), one of whom is known to us and seems to have had some influence in Pergamon.²

There is no doubt that the work in the royal workshops was done by slaves, mostly women. The fact is well known, and I need not insist upon it. But it is necessary to point out that the paragraph of the Pergamenian *psephisma* voted after the death of Attalus III, which deals with these female slaves, implies that the number of them was very large and that new ones were constantly bought by the kings.³ Newly-discovered documents containing the correspondence of Zenon, the manager of the estate of Apollonius the diœketes in Egypt under Philadelphus, show that the same system of employing female slaves, mostly imported from abroad, was used in Egypt also. The factory of woollen stuffs established at Memphis by Apollonius employed exclusively *παιδίσκαι*. Curiously enough, these *παιδίσκαι* were using Milesian wool either imported into

(sandarake was used by the Lydian clothing industry, *Lyd.*, *De mag.*, III, 64) under the rule of the Pontic kings. Green-coloured wool is mentioned in the inscription, *J.H.S.*, 1884, p. 253, cf. *W. M. Ramsay, ibid.*, XXXVIII (1918), p. 191, no. 29: *Στατειλία ζῶσα προνοῦσα παραθήκην ἔδωκε τινὶ ἐρέαν πράσινον*. 'Ερέα πράσινος is green-coloured wool. I may be mistaken, but I cannot help thinking that the Attalids contributed to the development of this branch of science as they did to that of agriculture. How could they otherwise compete with the older famous centres of textile industry?

¹ *P. Giess.*, 21, l. 4: ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας | ἔπεμψάς μοι, writes the mother of the Strategos, ἐζήτησα τὸ λακῶνιον | καὶ οὐχ εὖρον ἀλλὰ ἀτταλιανὸν σαπρόν. This ἀτταλιανὸν cannot be a gold-woven *vestis Attalica*, but was certainly a special cut first introduced by the Attalids.

² Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 491; *Inscr. gr. ad res R. pert.*, IV, 425; cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII (1902), p. 102. Another industrial innovation of the Pergamene kings, which is mentioned by Athenæus (XV, 688e foll.), affected the ἀρώματα. Athenæus quotes Apollonius Heraphilius' treatise περὶ μύρων. Page 689a he speaks of the vine-flower unguent made at Adramyttium and says: "οἰνάνθινον δὲ ἐν Ἀδραμυττίῳ πάλαι μὲν μέτριον, ὕστερον δὲ πρῶτον διὰ Στρατονίκην τὴν Εὐμένηους . . . ἐν δὲ Περγᾷ πρότερον μὲν ἐξόχως, νῦν δὲ οὐ, μυριεῖος τινος ἐκπονήσαντος τὸ παρ' οὐδενὶ πω γεγονὸς ἐσκενάζετο λιβανώτινον μύρον." We may notice again how the Attalids worked for the improvement of the industrial activities of their subjects both in the dependent cities of their kingdom and in Pergamon. I have no doubt that the Attalids borrowed the unguent industry from Sardes (*Ath.*, XV, 690c, 691d) itself.

³ Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 338, ll. 23 ff.

Egypt, as it was imported into Teos, or produced in Egypt itself by imported Milesian sheep.¹

The women employed in the textile industry formed only one section of the large class of royal slaves which is expressly mentioned in the above-quoted inscription of Pergamon. The whole class, comparable to the *Cæsar's servi* of the Roman Empire, was important enough to be dealt with in the *psephisma* of the city of Pergamon. The social standing of this class is comparatively high: it ranks with the children of freedmen and with the public slaves (*δημόσιοι*) of the city of Pergamon.² For what purpose these slaves were used by the kings we do not know. But it is natural to suppose that they played the same part in Pergamon as the *Cæsar's servi* in Rome and in the Roman Empire. The class did not consist only of the personal servants of the kings. Hundreds of these slaves worked, no doubt, in the different departments of the royal court, and were connected with State life and with the management of the private estate of the king; thousands may have worked in royal mines, as is shown by the fortress near Pericharaxis, which certainly was built there to watch the slaves in the mines; others toiled in the royal factories.

Of these factories the textile were certainly paramount. But it is well known that, along with textile products, Pergamon was the leading centre in the production of parchment, a fact which is easily explained by the enormous wealth of Pergamon in cattle. We must not forget that Asia Minor in general was famous for its leathern industry.³ I may mention also, in conclusion, the Pergamene branch of Hellenistic ceramics, which still waits for its investigator and seems to be connected with the Samian factories,⁴ and I would draw attention to the importance of a careful study of the Pergamene toreutic art.⁵

¹ Rostovtzeff, *A large estate*, pp. 115 ff.

² On the *δημόσιοι* in general, see Cardinali, *Rendic. d. R. Acc. d. Lincei*, 1908, p. 158; Wilhelm, *Beitr. zur gr. Inschriftenkunde*, 1909, p. 229. On the *Cæsar's servi* see M. Bang, *Hermes*, LIV (1919), pp. 174 ff.

³ See e.g. *Inscr. gr. ad res R. pert.*, IV, 790 (Apamea); III, 442 (Termessus); IV, 907 (Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 495) (Kibyra); in all these inscriptions *σκυτεῖς* or *σκυτοβυσσεῖς* are mentioned.

⁴ Conze, *Alt. v. Perg.*, I, 2, pp. 254 ff., cf. R. Zahn, *Priene, Kleinfunde*, and S. Loeschke, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVII (1912), pp. 345 ff.

⁵ C. Griniewicz, *Bronze vase of the tumulus of Courdjipsa*, *Bull. de la Comm. Arch.*, 65 (1918), p. 45 ff. (in Russian).

IV.

The Relations between the Attalids and the Temples and Cities of the Kingdom

In the second section I have spoken of the part played by the temples in the social and economic life of the Pergamene kingdom. We are not well informed on the relations of the kings to the temples. The temples are not as talkative as the cities. It seems, moreover, that many of the temples, as has been shown by Sir William Ramsay, were absorbed during the Pergamene period by the Greek cities of the kingdom. But certainly not all of them. One interesting, though fragmentary, inscription of the time of Attalus II proves that the temple of Apollo Tarsenos was in direct relations with the king and was treated by him as an independent economic organization. The priests of this temple asked the king to confirm the privilege of the temple in regard to the tax on sheep. This fact shows that the temple possessed large flocks of sheep, had no relation to any city, and was not as a rule exempt from the usual tax on sheep, which existed in all the Hellenistic kingdoms.¹ The same independent position was probably enjoyed by the temples of the Abrette and Abbaitis.

The question of the management of the temples became one of the most important questions of economic policy for the Pergamene kings when, under Eumenes II, the king became the master of many temples of first-rate importance. Of course, the temple of the Great Mother at Pessinus retained its independence, although under a kind of Pergamene protectorate.² But there were within the boundaries of the Pergamene kingdom other temples of no less importance than the temple of Pessinus. The most famous were certainly the temples of Ephesus and of Sardes. A bit of stray evidence shows how the Pergamene kings encroached on the material interests of the temple of

¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, p. 213 f., for the date cf. Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 331.

² The commercial importance of the temple is emphasized by Strabo, XII, p. 567. On the relations between the temple and the Pergamene kings see Ghione, *I com. d. R. di Perg.*, p. 14 (80). Not less important was the textile industry of Pessinus, as shown by the important inscription, Cagnat, *I.G.R.P.*, III, 228, four letters of Trajan in which he thanks a certain Claudius for having sent him some products of the textile industry of Pessinus.

Ephesus, confiscating for themselves the revenues of the sacred fisheries of the temple.¹ Another chance mention, in an honorary inscription of Sardes, throws some light on the relations of the Attalids to the great temple of the Sardian Artemis. The discoveries of the American excavators at Sardes have improved our knowledge of this temple. The important text dealing with the banking operations of the temple in the late 4th or the early 3rd century shows its wealth and its independence in financial affairs, although it was connected with the city of Sardes through the body of *νεοποῖαι*, who were probably elected by the city to manage the financial affairs of the temple.² Some other texts illustrate the religious administration of the temple.³ To these texts we may now add the honorary inscription mentioned above. Mr. W. Buckler, who was kind enough to send me a copy of it and a photograph of the *stele* on which it was engraved, will with Prof. Robinson publish the full text of this document. I may, however, contribute a few observations towards its elucidation. The inscription is an honorary decree of the *βουλὴ* and the *δῆμος* of Sardes, made on the proposal of the *στρατηγοὶ* for Timarchus, son of Menedemus, *νεωκόρος* of the temple of Artemis. The man is known to us from another inscription of Sardes, a votive stone dedicated by him to the *ἥρω*s ἐπιφανής.⁴ The *ἥρω*s may be a real divine person, or by this description Timarchus may have meant the king. Be this as it may, the important fact is that in both the first and the second inscription Timarchus acts as the *νεωκόρος* of the temple. The second inscription is not dated, but in the first we have the mention of a *θεὸς βασιλεύς*. According to the rules of the Pergamene royal cult, a king with the epithet of *θεὸς* can only be the deceased ruler, not the living

¹ Strabo, XIV, p. 642, cf. 641. It is interesting to note the tendency of the Attalids to transform Ephesus into the main harbour of their newly enlarged kingdom, a tendency which finally led to the recognition of Ephesus as the capital of Asia Minor by the Romans.

² On the date of this inscription (see above, p. 378, 1), U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1914, p. 89, cf. W. Kolbe, *Hermes*, LI, p. 537; on the inscription in general, E. Weiss, "Pfandurkunde aus Samos," *Zeitschr. d. Sav. St. f. R.G.*, rom. Abt., 35 (1914), 352 ff.

³ W. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, "Greek Inscriptions from Sardes," III, *Am. J. Arch.*, XVII (1913), pp. 368 ff.

⁴ Buckler and Robinson, l.l., XVIII (1914), p. 39, no. 9.

one.¹ In our case he must be either Eumenes II or Attalus II, the former hypothesis being much more probable. The main point which makes the decree historically important, in spite of its verbosity, is contained in ll. 2-11 :

ἐπεὶ Τίμαρχος Μενεδήμου, τεταγμένος πρό|τερον ὑπὸ τοῦ
θεοῦ βασιλέως ρίσκοφύλαξ ἐν Περγάμῳ | καὶ πίστεως οὐ μικρᾶς
ἡξιωμένος, ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν | χρεῖαν διεγενήθη ἀκολουθῶς τῇ
τοῦ ἐγχειρίσαντος | προαιρέσει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνεστράφη
ἀμέμπτως, | διόπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιγνούς τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάρ-
χουσαν | καθαριότητα καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸν βίον εὐταξίαν τε καὶ
μετριότητα, καὶ νομίζων εὖθετον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν καὶ
εὐκοσμίαν τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν Ἀρτέμιδος, κατέστησεν
νεωκόρον τῆς θεοῦ, κτλ.

We see that Timarchus, who was for a long time ρίσκοφύλαξ of the late king of Pergamon, was now appointed, probably by the new king, νεωκόρος of the temple at Sardes.

What kind of office had he held at Pergamon? The commission was important enough, as is shown by the expressions used in the decree, and was certainly given by the kings to persons in their confidence. 'Ρίσκοφύλαξ means guardian of the ρίσκος, i.e. the chest with the precious stones, plate and money—the treasury. The word ρίσκος was common in the Hellenistic period, especially in Egypt. Every man in Hellenistic Egypt had his ρίσκος. So, for example, a school-boy, Zenon the manager of the estate of Apollonius the dioeketes, and Apollonius himself. In the household of Apollonius the ρίσκος had an enormous importance. It is the treasury of the household, managed probably by the treasurer (ταμίας). Not a single drachma could be taken out of the treasury without a special order of the master, and every payment had to be authorized by a special document.² Like everybody else in his kingdom, the king also had his ρίσκος, i.e. his private treasury. Aristaeus tells

¹ Cardinali, *Il R. di Perg.*, p. 153 ff.

² Good evidence on the ρίσκος is now furnished by the Zenon papyri, see the unpublished *P. Lond. Inv.* 2312, l. 11 (school-boy), *P.S.I.*, 428, l. 45 f. (list of shipped goods): Χάρμου ρίσκος· | ἄλλος ρίσκος ἡμέτερος | ἀριστοφόρων ἀργυρωμάτων. Cf. Phleg. Trall., *περὶ θαυμ.*, ed. West., p. 118: ἀνοίξας τὸν ρίσκον ἐξαίρει τὸν τε δακτύλιον τὸν χρυσοῦν . . . καὶ τὴν στηθοθεσμίδα . . ., and Phot., p. 489, 11: ρίσκος, ὃ τὰ ἀργυρώματα ἔχων καὶ τὸ πρόχειρον ἀργύριον; Apollonius, *P.S.I.*, 411; Rostovtzeff, *A large estate*, p. 31.

us that gold, precious stones, and money for the sacred plate of the temple at Jerusalem, given by King Ptolemy Philadelphus, were handed over to the artisans of the Great Priest by the *ρίσκοφύλακες* of the king.¹ It is in this same sense that the word *ρίσκοφύλαξ* is used in the Sardian inscription. There is a strikingly close analogy between the history of the *ρίσκος* in the Hellenistic period and that of the *arca* and the *fiscus* of the Roman Emperors, but I cannot enlarge here on this parallel. The *ρίσκος*, then, was the private treasury of the Ptolemies and of the Attalids, as opposed to the treasury of the city of Pergamon and probably to the State treasury of Egypt, if we must suppose that a central *τράπεζα βασιλική* existed in Alexandria. Not all the Hellenistic monarchies used this word to designate the treasury of the king. The Persian treasury was called by the Greeks *γάζα*, and *γάζα* was the name of the treasury of Alexander, of Lysimachus, of the Seleucids, and of all the monarchies which were connected with the traditions of the Achæmenids, e.g. the kingdom of Mithradates the Great and of the later Bosporan rulers.²

Timarchus was, therefore, the private treasurer of Eumenes II, and thus occupied an influential and important position, the same which Philetærus himself had held at the court of Lysimachus. After the death of Eumenes II, the new king Attalus II probably appointed a new treasurer. The old one was not dismissed but sent by the king to Sardes, as the *νεωκόρος* of the temple. The fact that the *νεωκόρος* was not elected by the people but appointed by the king is new and important. It shows that the Attalids subjected the newly conquered cities to the same treatment as the city of Pergamon, i.e. they appointed

¹ Ps. Arist., *Ep. ad Phil.*, 33 (ed. Wendland): ἔδωκε δὲ εἰς κατασκευὴν κρατήρων . . . χρυσίου μὲν ὀκτὴς τάλαντα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ λίθων ἱκανόν τι πλῆθος· ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς ῥισκοφύλακας τοῖς τεχνίταις, ὧν ἂν προαιρῶνται τὴν ἐκλογὴν δίδόναι, καὶ νομίσματος εἰς θυσίας καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τάλαντα ἑκατόν, and further below: ἐν τοῖς βασιλικαῖς ῥισκοφυλάκιοις.

² Strabo, XIII, p. 623, cf. XIV, p. 647; Philarchus, *Hist.*, XIV (*Fr. hist. gr.*, I, 341; Athen., VI, p. 261b) (Lysimachus) and the Lexica (the Persians); Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 225, l. 16: τὸ κατὰ στρατείαν γαζοφυλάκιον (Antiochus II), cf. 54, ll. 21, 22; Th. Reinach, *Mithradates Eupator*, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 71, 398, 409 (Mithradates the Great's γαζοφυλάκια), cf. 340 (Tigranes of Armenia); Latyshev, *Inscr. oræ sept. Ponti Eux.*, IV, 202 (Sauromates I, King of Bosporus, 93-123 A.D., Τιβ[έριος] Ἰούλιος Θαυμα[στὸς δ'] περὶ αὐτὴν γα[ζοφυλάξ]).

the most important magistrates of the city instead of letting them be elected by the people. The rôle of the *νεωκόροι* in the Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor has never been made the subject of a special inquiry.¹ It seems that the part played by these temple guardians in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period was much more important than that of their modest colleagues of Greece in the earlier period. The high standing of the chief *νεωκόρος*, who was at the same time the Megabyzus, at Ephesus is significant (Xen., *Anab.*, V, 3, 6). He was the keeper of the deposits, that is, the chief banker and the guardian of the temple treasury (*θησαυρός*). In Magnesia, where the office appears to have been hereditary in one family, the *νεωκόρος* has the management of the temple money and of the temple lands, and sometimes acts as a representative of the city in very important dealings.² In Roman times the high position occupied by the *νεωκόροι* in Asia Minor, e.g. in Smyrna and in Aezani, may have been an heritage from the Hellenistic period.³ I cannot help thinking that the Hellenistic *νεωκόροι* gradually replaced the native high priests, especially in the management of the temple finances and the temple estates, while the *νεοποῖται* served as a kind of subordinate commission for current affairs. No wonder, therefore, that the Attalids, in their desire to have the large means of the great temples at their disposal, used for this purpose the temple *νεωκόροι*. They did not change the administration of the larger temples of their kingdom; they simply appointed the presidents of these temples, entrusting with this duty the most suitable men at their court. The fact that the new *νεωκόρος* of Sardes was the former treasurer of the king speaks for itself. The appointment was not only a high honour for the man, but also a post of confidence. The wealth of the

¹ Beurlier in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict.*, IV, p. 55, is confused and incomplete; cf. Buckler and Robinson, *Am. J. Arch.*, XVIII (1914), pp. 39 ff.

² *Inscr. v. Magn.*, 93a, l. 30 (after 190 B.C.): the money shall be paid by the neocore: *λογεῖν* | *σάσθω* δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐσομένων προσόδων ἐ[κ] τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρ[ας] πάσης τῆς . . . ; 94, decree in the honour of the neocore, l. 2: ἀ[ν]ήρ κ[α]λὸς καὶ ἀγα[θός] | εἰς τ[ὸν] οἶκ[ον] τ[ὸν] ἱερὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, cf. l. 6; 100a, ll. 20 and 28; 105 (the neocore is acting here as the president of the court which was established to decide the contest between Hieropytna and Itanos).

³ Beurlier, *loc. cit.*

temple had to be well managed to prevent the interests of the rulers from suffering.

This policy towards the temples was, therefore, a repetition of the policy of the Attalids towards the cities. The relations between the Attalids and the cities have been treated often and well, especially by Ghione and Cardinali. But none of the modern inquirers have pointed out the fact that the Attalids not only tried to make the cities pay, under one form or another, a part of their revenues to the king's treasury, but that they were also anxious to keep the finances of the cities under their control and thus in good order. The same line was taken by the Ptolemies in their foreign domains, with the difference that the Ptolemies sent to the cities their special agents, while the Attalids preferred to act through the city magistrates who were their appointees.¹ The case of the *νεωκόρος* of Sardes, the fact that the decree of Sardes in honour of Timarchus uses the same formula as the decrees of Pergamon, the prominent part played by the Strategoi all over Asia Minor in the late Hellenistic and in the Roman periods, which certainly was an inheritance from the early Hellenistic period, and, finally, the appointment by the Attalids of special officials, *οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων*, in the city of Pergamon,² lead me to suppose that the Attalids organized as strict a control of the finances of the Asiatic cities as did the Ptolemies in their parts of Asia Minor and later the Romans in the Oriental provinces generally. For the cities which were not subject but allied to the Attalids they had other means of influence ready at hand. The most powerful was money. We have seen Philetærus using his money to get the important cities on the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmora under his control. The same thing was done by Attalus I, and I have no doubt by the successors of the first Attalids. In conclusion, I

¹ Rostovtzeff, *A large estate*, p. 172 (new documents dealing with the provincial administration of the Ptolemies).

² Cardinali, "La amministrazione finanziaria del comune di Pergamo," *Mem. d. Acc. di Bologna*, X (1915-1916), p. 191. Cardinali has shown that *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων* at Pergamon was a kind of royal inspector of the temple revenues of the city of Pergamon appointed by the king, a splendid parallel to the decree of Sardes. I do not know whether this fact does not imply the existence of a corresponding magistrate for the secular revenues. But of course it may have been sufficient for the kings to use for this purpose the Strategoi.

may draw attention to one very important document which bears on this question, and has been, I think, as yet only half-understood. It is an inscription from Chios enumerating the parcels of land subjected to a δασμὸς αἰδασμος τῶν χρημάτων ὧν ἔδωκε βασιλεὺς Ἀτταλος εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομήν (col. A.), a phrase repeated with a different ending, εἰς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ σιν τοῦ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ (col. B).¹ The date of the inscription is not open to controversy: it is the period after the war of Philip against Attalus I, i.e. after 201. But the meaning of the payment remains uncertain. I cannot agree with Haussoullier in his explanation of this inscription: Chios was never a subject city of the Attalids. It is more likely that Attalus I advanced some money to Chios after the devastations of the war, and that the city levied a supplementary tax (I understand αἰδασμος as ἐπίδασμος)² from the landowners of its territory to repay the loan and the interest. If so, the inscription supplies another example of the way in which the Attalids by their money drew powerful Greek cities into the net of their political influence.³

¹ Zolotas, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, XX (1908), p. 163, no. 3; B. Haussoullier, *Journ. d. Sav.*, 1909, p. 177; *Rev. de Phil.*, 1909, pp. 9 ff.; cf. Büchner, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1900, pp. 1628 ff.

² P. Gärtchen und O. Hoffmann, *Gr. Dialektinschr.*, IV, 2 (1914), pp. 894 ff.; cf. the ἀπογραφὰι of vineyards and of plantations of fig-trees in the inscription of Mytilene, R. Meister, *Studia Nikolaitana*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 3 ff.

³ In *C.R. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.*, 1921, pp. 269 ff. (just issued), M. Th. Homolle has published, from a copy of M. Papadopoulos, an important inscription from Prusa (?) dealing with the relations between the city and a king, probably Eumenes II, about 189 B.C. or a little later. The inscription is a decree of the city in honour of Korragus, a Macedonian, τεταγμένος στρατηγὸς τῶν καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον τόπων, and enumerates his services and the grants made by his master, the king, to the city. Besides a grant, or a restoration, of full autonomy, the city received a large gift of corn, immunity from taxation for three years, and a restitution of landed property to those citizens who were landowners, together with allotments of land from the βασιλικόν to those who were not. This interesting document shows how the Pergamene kings sought to attract the cities of their kingdom by gifts and privileges, how anxious they were to promote the prosperity of these cities, and how large were their resources in corn; cf. the gift of Eumenes II to the city of Miletus, see *Milet*, VII *Bericht*, pp. 27 ff.; *Milet*, *Erg. d. Ausgr.*, I, 3, pp. 244 ff. (Rehm), cf. A. J. Reinach in *R.E.G.*, 21 (1908), pp. 197 ff. The inscription should be compared with Dittenberger, *O.G.I.*, 330 and 339. The name of the king does not appear, but it is more than probable that Eumenes II is meant. That his sway extended to Prusa (if the inscription belongs to that city), is a new and unexpected addition to our knowledge of the troubled political history of this period. It is, however, possible that the inscription belongs to the reign of Attalus II.

XXVIII.

THE LANGUAGES OF ASIA MINOR

by A. H. SAYCE

THE discovery of the cuneiform tablets belonging to the ancient libraries of Boghaz Keui, the Cappadocian capital of the Hittite empire, has opened up new and unexpected vistas in history, geography and philology. It is with the philological facts brought to light by them that I now propose to deal.

The city was called Khattusas, "the Hittite" or "Silver City," and the majority of the tablets are in the official language of the place. We may therefore continue to call it Hittite, though other languages have come to light to which the same title might also be applied. The name given to the language by the writers themselves was "the Language of the Scribes";¹ they also called it, as Prof. Hrozný has shown, *nasilis*, "our language."

It was in fact an artificial literary language of a mixed character. Indo-European, Semitic and even Sumerian elements were embodied, not only in its vocabulary, but also in its grammar. In this respect it resembled English. Prof. Hrozný, to whom we owe the first decipherment of the Boghaz Keui texts, as well as an analysis of the complicated pronominal forms met with in them, believed it to be Indo-European,² and this belief unfortunately influenced to a certain extent his lexical and grammatical views. Dr. Forrer, who has worked through all the texts now at Berlin, tells me that he thinks its parent speech was the sister of the parent Indo-European. From this it will be gathered how largely it has been coloured by Indo-European elements, almost as largely indeed as English has been coloured by Latin.

¹ See *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool), III, 3, Pl. XXVI, No. 1.

² Fr. Hrozný, *Die Sprache der Hethiter*, Leipzig, 1917.

In its essential elements, however, it remains "Asianic." There is a curious piling up of particles and even whole words at the beginning of the sentence, which reminds us of the structure of the American languages. Thus we have such conglomerates as *arakhzenas-wa-mu-z-a*, "numerous + also + me + from + and," *kinuna-ma-wa-za-kan*, "now + indeed + from + them," *kinuna-warat-kan*, "now + them + then." The whole sentence is apt to be of the same "incorporating" type. A sentence, for example, like "The king of Mitanni took it (the city of Barga) from the territory of the grandfather of Abimardas and gave it to the grandfather of Tettes the Khabiru" is expressed as follows: "It + then into the hand the king of Mitanni to + of + Abimarda his grandfather territory + from away gave," where the verbal form is that of a participle or gerundive. The verb, in fact, is still inchoate; there is no clear distinction between tenses, participial forms or persons. *-t*, which generally marks the third person, as in Vannic, can also denote the first person, as in *iyakkkhat* "I made," *eskha-t* "I was"; *-nzi*, *-zi* is used indifferently for the third person singular and plural, and I have even found it denoting the second person; *-i* may represent the third or the second person, possibly even the first. Gerundial forms are common, the most usual being those in *-l*, *-s*, *-(n)das*, *-tes*. It goes without saying that there is no gender in the noun.

On the other hand, there has been much borrowing from literary Assyrian. Hittite properly had no prepositions, postpositions, often used adverbially when attached to verbs, taking the place of them. But it borrowed *ana* "to," *ina* "in," *istu* "from" and *sa* "of" from Assyrian and used them freely. It borrowed also a large number of words, among them the negative *ûl* "not." But we shall never know how far many of these words were graphic only, like *viz.* in English, the pronunciation given to them being that of the native language.

In the case of Assyrian and Sumerian the borrowing was for the most part of a literary character. I say, for the most part, since we have now learned that, as far back as the middle of the third millennium B.C., there was a large Assyro-Babylonian community in eastern Asia Minor which had its centre at Kanis (Kara-Eyük, 18 kil. N.E. of Kaisariyeh). From an early date, therefore, Assyrian words found their way into the languages of

the surrounding populations. But the bulk of the Semitic words in Hittite was of purely literary origin.

It was otherwise with the Indo-European element. The "Asianic" languages were in close geographical contact with the Indo-European languages, and there had been linguistic borrowing on both sides for many centuries. In fact it would seem that the Indo-European languages must have developed in Asia Minor and not in Central Asia or Europe, and Dr. Forrer is perhaps right in holding that here was the home of the parent speech. At all events the ancestors of the Sanskrit-speaking tribes of north-western India were living in the 15th century B.C. on the plateau of Asia Minor, where they were the breeders and trainers of horses. One of the Boghaz Keui texts is an elaborate work by a certain Kikkuli of Mitanni upon the rearing of horses, more especially for racing purposes, and the technical terms and numerals employed in it have Sanskrit and not Iranian or European forms. But besides the horse-breeding nomads there were other speakers of Indo-European languages; Yavan, we are told in *Genesis*, was the brother of the Asianic Meshech and Tubal, and accordingly we find that Indo-European languages of the Western type have left a deep impression upon the Hittite lexicon and grammar, while conversely Greek has been influenced by Hittite.¹ In each case the influence due to geographical or historical contact has extended to the grammar, though not of course to the structural type of the language.

Among words that have thus passed into Greek I may instance *eskhar*, *iskhar*, "blood," used also of divine blood, which is evidently the Greek *ἰχὼρ*, for which no Indo-European etymology has been found. Another word is *κορμός*, for *σκορμός*, a song with music, which Sir W. M. Ramsay has suggested is "an Anatolian word."² His suggestion has been brilliantly verified by the Hittite *iskhami-yazi*, "he sings." So again the enigmatical Homeric *αἶα* is, I believe, explained by the Hittite *awa*, "the ground," *u* and *w* commonly passing in Hittite into *i* and *y*. Similarly *οἶνος*, *vinum*, is the Hittite *uinis*, also dialectically *yanis*. On the other hand, words like *uddâr*, "word," *uera*, "heaven," will have been borrowed by Hittite from Indo-

¹ See *Classical Review*, 1922, pp. 19, 164.

² *J.R.S.*, 1917, p. 270.

European, while there is another class of words like *iskhu*, "to pour," the Greek *χέω*, about which we cannot at present determine on which side the borrowing may have been.

Closely connected with the official Hittite of Boghaz Keui was the language of Arzawa, a country which seems to have lain between Tyanitis and the Mediterranean. Some years ago I drew attention to the fact that *Ἀρζύβιος*, "the Arzawan," is mentioned in a Greek inscription from Kastabala.¹ The two Arzawan letters found at Tel-el-Amarna show that the language of Arzawa (Western Cilicia) differed very slightly from that of Boghaz Keui. Another related language was that of Luwa or Luya, in which I see the Lavia-nsene of classical geography. Luvian, to use Dr. Forrer's terminology, was the colloquial form of the group of languages to which the artificial literary language of Boghaz Keui belonged; it has preserved the fuller and older forms of the grammatical suffixes, its phonology differs from that of Boghaz Keui Hittite in several respects, and above all, it is far more free from the intrusive Indo-European element. Thus the plural of the noun terminates in *-inzi* instead of simple *-s*. It stands to the Boghaz Keui Hittite much in the same relation as that in which the colloquial language of Assyria stood to literary Assyro-Babylonian.

Wholly distinct from the Hittite dialects was what Dr. Forrer has termed Proto-Hittite. This was a prefixal language; *lê-bînu* being for instance "his sons," *lê-pazizintu* "his people," *sê-bînu* "thy daughters," *sê-zuwâdu* "thy wives." Bilingual texts (Hittite and Proto-Hittite) are unfortunately few in number, but, such as they are, they have shown, as Dr. Forrer first pointed out, that *wa-kh-kun* signifies "he + him + marked," *ta-kh-kurwat* "he + him + seized," *tas-te-nuw-a* "not + he + come + shall." Proto-Hittite must have been the language of the ruling dynasty before Boghaz Keui became the capital, since two deified kings worshipped at Boghaz Keui in later days bear the Proto-Hittite names of Telibinus and Khatebinus. Their capital was Kussar, written Kursaura in the earlier texts, the Garsaura of classical geography.² Proto-Hittite is called

¹ *J.H.S.*, XI, 1891, p. 250.

² Arinna, "Welltown," the Phreata of Ptolemy, seems to have been the seat of the court immediately before it moved to Khattusas (Boghaz Keui).

“Hittite” (Khattili) in the inscriptions, and we must therefore see in it the language of the Hittites proper.

Another language to which reference is made in the Boghaz Keui tablets is that of Pala; unfortunately the situation of the city or country is uncertain. On the other hand, the language of the Kharri or Murri of Mitanni is well represented, and is practically the same as that with which the great Mitannian tablet found at Tel-el-Amarna has made us familiar. It was a Caucasian tongue, and the Kharri of Cappadocia were probably either mercenaries or conquerors, as they were perhaps in Mesopotamia. Among the texts in the Kharrian language are fragments of a long poem in fourteen tablets or books by the poet Kessê about the Sumerian heroes Kumer and Gilgames.¹

Hittite civilization does not appear to have extended into Paphlagonia, where there was a different language.² I have failed to find in the published texts any geographical names which would indicate a knowledge of the coastland of the Black Sea, and the statement in one of the tablets concerning Telibinus that “he made these seas subject” (*nus arunas irkhus ieit*) may refer only to the Mediterranean. Mr. Allen has shown that in the Homeric Catalogue, *Iliad*, II, 851-855, ll. 853-855 are a later interpolation,³ and this is borne out by archæology. Hittite culture can be traced from Cappadocia to the Ægean along the central plateau of Asia Minor, by Archelais (Garsaura) and Tyana-Iconium in the south and Ankyra and the Sangarios in the north, to the lands of the Hermos and Mæander; there are no traces of it along the line of the Black Sea. The navigation of the Black Sea belongs to the later Phrygian age.

To the east of the Hittites of Boghaz Keui came the Kaskians, related to the Moschians and similar tribes from the north. To them belong the hieroglyphic inscriptions which represent a second Hittite empire, later than 1200 B.C., with its chief centre at Tyana. It is the Cilician empire of Solinus. The language of the hieroglyphic inscriptions is again different from any of those found at Boghaz Keui and may have affinities with Vannic or Proto-Armenian. An inscription in the

¹ According to Dr. Forrer.

² See Strabo, XII, 553.

³ T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* 1921.

language, but in Aramaic letters, was discovered by the German excavators at Ördek-burnu, north of the Gulf of Antioch.¹

Asia Minor was in fact what the Caucasus has been in later times, the meeting-place of a host of unrelated languages. Strabo tells us² that in the little town of Kibyra alone no less than four different languages were spoken, those of the Pisidians, Solymi, Greeks and Lydians. Though, according to Herodotus,³ the Lydians and Karians were "brothers," the inscriptions that have been found in their respective languages do not bear out the assertion. Nor does the language of the Lydian texts show any genetic relationship to Lycian on the one side or to Etruscan on the other. The structural type is the same; that is all.

On the other hand, linguistic borrowing and interchange must have been frequent as soon as trade or war broke down the barriers of mountain and river which the physical geography of Asia Minor interposed between one community and another. We find the Hittite *bira*, "house," in Lydian, and words denoting such things as wine or the several metals travelled from one end of the peninsula to the other. They could even make their way into the Semitic languages at the time when Syria and Palestine were under Hittite domination. The usual Semitic words for "wine" (Heb., *yâyin*, *tîrôsh*; Ass., *înu*, *sêrâs*, *kurunnu*; Greek, *κάρπινον*) came from Asia Minor, as did the Hebrew word for "priest," *kohen*, the original of which we find in the Hittite *gaennas*, Lydian *kavelu* and *kaves*, Kaskian *kuanis* (written כן in the Ördek-burnu inscription). Where the barriers were slight or non-existent the influence of one language upon another would have manifested itself from an early period, and in this way we can account for the similarities between the Hittite and Western Indo-European vocabularies and grammar, more especially in the case of Greek. The fact opens up afresh the old question as to who the Ionians were as well as of the origin of the Homeric hexameter. One thing, however, is now clear: tribes speaking the Indo-European languages, both of the Eastern and of the Western branches, once lived not only on

¹ For photographs of this text see Lidzbarski: *Ephemeris f. semit. Epigraphik*, III, 1911, pp. 192 *seq.* I believe I now have evidence that the hieroglyphs were polyphonous and that they were used to represent at least two different languages, one Kaskian or Moschian, and the other Cilician.

² XIII, 631.

³ I, 171.

the coasts but also in the highlands of Asia Minor, and it is to Asia Minor that we must look for their development, if not for their origin.¹

¹ Much of the material contained in the foregoing article is still available only in the cuneiform originals published by the Berlin Museum. A small band only of scholars is working upon them, and it will take time before translations can be published on any large scale.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE,
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XXIX.

TWO NEW CAPPADOCIAN GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

by A. SOUTER

AN early inclination to co-operate in Asia Minor research was diverted into other channels, and I should not dare to publish this article now were it not that I have received valued help in the preparation of it from Mr. J. G. C. Anderson and Professor Calder. The subject, however, has ever since undergraduate days had a great interest for me, and when about 1910 an American friend, Mr. H. I. Gardner, told me in Oxford that he was on his way to be a missionary at Hadjin, Turkey in Asia, I asked him if he would be good enough to keep his eyes open for ancient inscriptions, and send me copies of any he was fortunate enough to find.

Mr. Gardner was as good as his word. In summer, 1911, two inscriptions turned up at a place a day and a half's journey north of Hadjin. They were copied by an Armenian, who said they had been discovered in the search for material to build a new church at Shahr (a popular form of Shehir = city), or in the actual excavation of the ground for the foundations of the new church. Shahr is the site of the ancient Komana (of Cappadocia). Despite the importance of this place in ancient times, comparatively few inscriptions have been discovered there. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the Armenians, like all the other natives of Asia Minor, have been much in the habit of incorporating inscribed stones in whole or in part in modern buildings constructed by them. The Armenian who copied our two inscriptions was, of course, an amateur.

Inscriptions from Komana are published in the following periodicals and books:—Greek inscriptions in Ramsay, *Journal*

of *Philology*, XI (1882), pp. 145-160; P. Karolides, *Τὰ Κόμανα καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια αὐτῶν* (Athens, 1882), pp. 49-76; W. H. Waddington, *B.C.H.*, VII (1883), pp. 127-145; *Ath. Mitt.*, IX (1884), p. 204; J. R. S. Sterrett, *An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor*, pp. 234-239; V. W. Yorke, *J.H.S.*, XVIII (1898), pp. 316 ff.; Latin inscriptions in *C.I.L.*, III, Suppl. 6950-6955 (12,210).

I.

Ο Μ Ι Ψ Μ Ι Α Ρ Α Ι Ο Η Μ Ε Σ Σ Ι Ν Κ Ξ Ι Ι Ο Ν Ι Ρ Α Ι Α Ο
Δ Α Ι Κ Ε Ι Ο Ν Σ Ε Β Τ Ο Ν Γ Η Σ Κ Α Ι Θ Α Λ Α Σ Σ Η Σ Κ Α Ι Π Α Ν Τ Ο Σ
Ε Θ Ν Ο Υ Σ Α Ν Θ Ρ Ω Π Ω Ν Δ Ε Σ Π Ο Τ Η Ν Τ Ο Ν Θ Θ Ο Φ Ι Λ Ε Ο
Τ Ο Ν Κ Α Ι Ε Ρ Ε Ν Ν Ι Α Ν Τ Ρ Ο Υ Σ Κ Ι Λ Λ Α Ν Σ Ε Β Α Σ Τ Η Ν
Ε Τ Ο Υ Σ Α
Ι Ε Ρ Ο Π Ο Λ Ε Ι Τ Ω Ν Η Β Ο Υ Λ Η Κ Α Ι Ο Δ Η Ψ Ο Σ Ε Π Ι Λ Ο Υ
Δ Κ Λ Μ Α Ι Σ Ω Λ Ε Ι Ν Ο Υ Ε Π Ι Π Ρ Υ Τ Α Ν Ε Ξ Ω Ν Τ Ω Ν Τ Ε Ρ Ι Α
Υ Κ Ε Ι Λ Δ Ι Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο Ν Κ Α Ι Α Υ Ρ Μ Η Ν Ο Φ Ι Λ Ο Ν Κ Α Ι Φ Λ Μ Ι Θ Ρ Α Τ Ι
Χ Μ Η Ν Ε Π Ι Μ Ε Λ Η Θ Σ Ν Τ Ω Ν Α Υ Ρ Α Ο Κ Λ Η Π Ι Α Ι Φ Λ Μ Ι Θ Ρ Α Τ Ι
Ν Ο Υ Κ Α Ι Α Υ Ρ Μ Ι Α Τ Ι Α Δ Ο Υ Κ Υ Ρ Ι Ν Ι Θ

Αὐτ]ο[κράτορα] Καί[σαρα Γ.] Μέσσι(ο)ν Κ[δύντ]ον
[Τ]ραια(ν)δ-

ν] Δαίκειον Σεβ(αστὸν) τὸν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς
ἔθνους ἀνθρώπων δεσπότην τὸν θ(ε)οφιλέ(σ)[τα-
τον, καὶ Ἐρεννίαν (Ἐ)τρούσκιλλαν Σεβαστὴν

5 ἔτους α' (A.D. 249)

Ἱεροπολεϊτῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ(μ)ος, ἐπὶ λο(γ)[ισ-]
το(ῦ) Κλ(αυδίου) Μα(ρκελ)λείνου, ἐπὶ πρυτάνεων τῶν περὶ
'Α[ὐρ(ήλιον) Λο-

υκείλ(ιον) Διόδωρον καὶ Αὐρ(ήλιον) Μηνόφιλον καὶ
Φλ(άβιον) Μιθρατ[ώ-

χμην· ἐπιμεληθ(έ)ντων Αὐρ(ηλίου) 'Α(σ)κληπιᾶ (κα)ὶ
Φλ(αβίου) Μιθρατι[α-

10 νοῦ καὶ Αὐρ[ηλίου] Μιλτιάδου Κυρινί(ο)[ν].

Inscription in honour of the emperor Decius, who does not figure largely in epigraphic records. The omission of the usual epithets *Εὐσεβῆς* *Εὐτύχης* (= Pius Felix) after the name *Δέκιος* should be noted. The text was presumably engraved below the statues or busts of Decius and his wife. The full

name of the empress, Herennia Cupressenia Etruscilla, is not mentioned by the historians, but it occurs on coins and also in two Latin inscriptions,¹ as well as in a Greek inscription at Baljik Hissar discovered by Ramsay in 1887.²

The dating by the emperor's reign (l. 5) is shown also by other Komana inscriptions, e.g. *ἔτους δ'* of the fourth year of Hadrian.³ The same dating is found for Decius in Syria: *ἔτους β' τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Τραϊανοῦ [Δεκίου]*.⁴

Komana was a well-known religious centre, and like many others had in consequence the title *Ἱερόπολις* (or *Ἱεράπολις*). The form of the dedication shows that its constitution was on the usual Greek model, as appears from other inscriptions also. The *λογιστής*, sometimes called *ἐπιμελητής* (= curator), was an imperial official sent to look after the finances of a city.⁵ In cases of dating by a *λογιστής*, which are somewhat rare, he is usually named in conjunction with the provincial governor who is put first, e.g. in Bithynia-Pontus⁶ and in Cyprus.⁷

The restoration *Μα(ρκελ)λείνου* (l. 7) is due to Mr. Anderson. Eponymous *πρυτάνεις* are common in Greek cities,⁸ and are magistrates in the Roman period. The title is attested for Komana in other inscriptions.⁹ The first prytanis is eponymous and president of the board (hence *περί*). For the formula, cf. *στρατηγοῦντων τῶν περὶ Γάϊον Καλλίστρατον*, *C.I.G.*, 3948.¹⁰ But we should not expect *περί* to be followed by more than one name, that of the *ἀρχιπρύτανις*. "The group of three perhaps means that the prytaneis held office only for four months, all three sets being named *honoris causa* as representing the whole year, instead of the eponymous prytanis being used alone for dating, as would be expected. These eastern cities like ostentatious

¹ *C.I.L.*, III, 4011, IX, 4056 = Dessau, 521; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, VIII, 681.

² *C.B.*, I, p. 246; this inscription has been overlooked by the writer of the article in P.-W.

³ *B.C.H.*, VII, p. 130, n. 4 = *I.G.R.P.*, III, 121.

⁴ *L.B.W.*, 2544 = *I.G.R.P.*, III, 1185.

⁵ *J.H.S.*, XVII, 1897, p. 403; XXV, 1905, p. 44 f.; XLII, 1922, p. 172 f.

⁶ *I.G.R.P.*, III, 39 and 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 977.

⁸ Cf. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung*, pp. 554-556.

⁹ Cf. *B.C.H.*, VII, 1883, p. 129 f.

¹⁰ *C.I.G.*, 3948, and *C.B.*, I, p. 600, n. 472.

display.”¹ At Erythræ the nine *strategoi* held office for four months only, at Pergamum and Temnos for six.² At Temnos the prytanis did not hold office for a year, but perhaps for six months; Keil and v. Premerstein also suggest that the archons at Temnos held office for four months only.³ But there is this difference as compared with the Komana inscription, that at Temnos the first prytanis and the first pair of archons apparently remained eponymous throughout the year. The practice at Komana may have been different: each set may have dated their period and the total number the whole year. But the only references to prytaneis at Komana, apart from the present inscription, give the name of one prytanis only.⁴

The name *Μιθρατώχης* has been found at Komana, as well as that of *Μίθρης*,⁵ and Ramsay explains such names by the strength of Persian influence in Cappadocia, where one month was called Mithre. *Ἀσκληπιᾶς* is the pet form of *Ἀσκληπιάδης* or *Ἀσκληπιόδωρος*. The god called *Ἀσκληπιός* was worshipped at Komana,⁶ and the names *Ἀσκληπιάδης* and *Ἀσκληπιόδωρος* occur in another inscription of the same place.⁷ In l. 9 *Μιθρατι[α]νοῦ* is perhaps right, as the copy suggests it is; if not, we can expand to *Μιθρα(δα)τι[α]νοῦ*. For the name, compare what has been said as to *Μιθρατώχης*, and also *Μιθράτης* (regarded as = *Μιθριδάτης*) in Egypt,⁸ *Μιθριδατιανός*,⁹ and *Μιθροβουζάνης*.¹⁰

2.

Described as being on a stone “like the base of a baptismal font,” therefore doubtless an altar in honour of the god.

¹ J. G. C. Anderson.

² Cf. Liebenam, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

³ Cf. *Inscr. v. Pergamon*, I, 5, as explained by Keil and v. Premerstein in their *Bericht*, I, p. 96, n. 202. This latter inscription is probably of the 2nd century.

⁴ *B.C.H.*, VII, pp. 129, 130; two inscriptions.

⁵ Cf. *J.P.*, XI, 148 = *B.C.H.*, VII, 135; *J.H.S.*, XVIII, 316 f., and *J.P.*, XI, p. 150.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 148 f.; Calder compares Sterrett, *E.J.*, n. 266.

⁸ *C.I.G.*, 4674.

⁹ Cf. e.g. *C.B.*, I, p. 461, n. 295, where the person so named is son of Mithridates.

¹⁰ *Diod.*, XVII, 21; *Arr. Anab.*, I, 16.

ΚΥΡΙΩ
 ΕΡΜΙΕΩΤΗΙ
 ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΟΣ
 ΔΙΕΑΝΔΡΟ
 ΝΕΙΚΟΥ

κυρίῳ
 (Ε)ρμ(η) σωτή[ρι]
 Ἀντίγ(ο)νος
 δις Ἀνδρο-
 νείκου

5

L. 2. Perhaps we ought to read Ἑρμι with the stone, itacism for Ἑρμη. No other instance of Hermes cult at Komana is known to me, but the epithet σωτήρ is applied to Asklepios at Komana.¹

L. 3. The name Ἀντίγονος is already known at Komana.²

L. 4. The formula with δις is not infrequent in Anatolian inscriptions. It is supposed to mean that Antigonos was the name of the father, while Andronicus was the name of the grandfather, of the Antigonos named on the stone.

¹ *B.C.H.*, VII, pp. 132, 133 *bis*.

² *J.P.*, XI, p. 149.

XXX.

EROS UND PSYCHE AUF EINEM BRONZERELIEF AUS AMISOS

von THEODOR WIEGAND

UNZÄHLIG, wie die Äusserungen der menschlichen Liebe, sind die Darstellungen des Eros und der Eroten in der antiken Kunst. Sieht man ab von dem grossen Kreise jüngster Flügelwesen, die in spielerischer Art Hantierungen der Erwachsenen nachahmen,¹ die mit dem Blitze des Zeus spielen, die das junge Mädchen, das Brautpaar oder gar den Herakles schmeichelnd umschweben, sich mit Tritonen, Nereiden und Delphinen neckisch herumtreiben oder wilde Tiere bekämpfen, so begegnet uns Eros in der Einzahl in seinem eigentlichen Element bald als der lebenswürdige und doch quälende Verfolger der menschlichen Seele,² bald als zärtlicher Freund, liebkosend oder in leidenschaftlicher Umarmung mit der Geliebten. Seltener sind dagegen Darstellungen, die Eros und Psyche als stillvertraute Lebensgefährten, frei von heftigem Affekt, in seliger Stimmung vereinigt zeigen.³ Ein besonders schönes Bildwerk dieser Art hat sich auf einer hier zum ersten Mal veröffentlichten Bronze des Berliner Museums erhalten, die aus Samsûn am Schwarzen Meere, der einstigen milesischen Kolonie Amisos stammt (Taf. XII).

Das Relief ist 13·7 cm. hoch bei einer Breite von 12·5 cm. Die grünblau patinierte Oberfläche ist an den meisten Stellen vorzüglich erhalten, grosse Teile der antiken Glättung sind

¹ Über das parodistische Wesen der Eroten vgl. bes. Paul Wolters, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1884, 42, Sp. 9 ff., Furtwängler in Roschers *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. Eros, Sp. 1367.

² R. Pagenstecher, "Eros und Psyche," *Sitz. Ber. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. W.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1911, S. 7.

³ Furtwängler, a.a.O., Sp. 1370 f., für die Terrakotten vergl. Winter, *Typ. Kat.*, II S. 225 ff.

noch vorhanden. Es fehlt der obere Teil des rechten Flügels der Psyche, ihr rechter Unterschenkel und der linke Fuss, ebenso fehlt der linke Unterschenkel und der rechte Fuss des Eros sowie der unterste Teil des Felsens zwischen den beiden Figuren. Auf der Rückseite sind die Tiefen des Reliefs mit Blei ausgegossen. Es zeigt hinten eine Krümmung sowohl in seitlicher als auch in senkrechter Richtung. Das Relief muss also auf einer bauchigen Fläche befestigt gewesen sein. Man könnte hierbei an einen Klappspiegel denken, allein dafür ist die Krümmung zu stark. Vielmehr hat das Relief den Schmuck einer Bronze-Hydria gebildet, von der noch einige Teile vorhanden sind :

1. Der Fuss (Taf. XIII, 1), Höhe 4·5 cm., Durchmesser 15·4 cm. Den Boden bildet eine 9 mm. hohe kreisförmige Platte mit glatter, etwas nach innen abgeschrägter Randfläche. Darüber liegt das mit einem lesbischen Kymation gezielte Ablaufprofil. Die Spitzen des Kymations stossen bis an den Rand vor, wo sie sich leicht verbreitern. Zwischen diesen Spitzen sitzt je eine abwärts gerichtete Palmette, deren drei Blätter sich aus einem zweiteiligen Kelche entwickeln. Abwechselnd sind bei jeder Palmette die beiden seitlichen Blätter einmal nach innen, einmal nach aussen geschwungen. Die Bildung des lesbischen Kymation ist sehr verwandt mit solchen am Athenatempel von Tegea, der um 370 oder spätestens 365 v. Chr. gebaut worden ist (C. Weickert, *Das lesbische Kymation*, S. 71, Taf. 5c). Die Palmettenkelche erinnern an ähnliche Formen des Apollontempels in Delphi, der um 350 entstand (M. Schede, *Antikes Traufleistenornament*, Taf. IX, Nr. 55); für die Palmettenblätter in ihrer Abwechselung darf die Giebelsima des schon vor 332 begonnenen Athenatempels von Priene verglichen werden (Schede, a.a.O., Taf. IX, Nr. 56).

2. Vier kreisförmige Scheiben von seitlichen Henkelansätzen (Taf. XIII, 2), Durchmesser 5·5 cm. Um die Stelle, wo der Henkel angelötet war, sind acht zungenförmige Blättchen mit starker Mittelrippe gruppiert, aus deren Zwischenräumen kleine Blüten spriessen, und zwar wechselt auch hier die Form der dreiblättrigen Blüten ab. Bei den einen entwickelt sich die Blüte aus einfachem Kern mit breiten Seitenblättern, bei den anderen geht sie mit spitzen Seitenblättern von einem Kern

aus, an dessen Rande zwei winzige Akanthusblättchen hervorstachen.

Dass das Bronzerelief einst am Körper einer Hydria befestigt war, lehren eine Anzahl Hydrien, an denen sich ein ähnlicher Schmuck noch unversehrt erhalten hat: das Relief sass unterhalb des senkrechten dritten Henkels. So zeigt es die Hydria des Britischen Museums aus Telos.¹ In gleicher Weise war die Gruppe des Dionysos mit Ariadne auf einem Bronzerelief aus Chalkis bei Rhodos, jetzt im Britischen Museum, verwendet.² Eine Hydria der Sammlung Loeb in München zeigt an derselben Stelle den Raub der Oreithyia durch Boreas.³ Eine Berliner Bronzhydria aus dem griechischen Lokri⁴ zeigt die Gestalt eines schwebenden Eros, der eine Frucht in der rechten Hand hält. Nicht selten sind solche Hydrien als Aschenbehälter verwendet worden. Es erscheinen daher auch Sirenen als Attaschen unter dem senkrechten Henkel.⁵

Auf unserem Relief steht Eros als kraftvoller, breitschultriger Jüngling aufrecht in der Dreiviertelansicht, den rechten Arm stützt er auf einen Felsblock, der Kopf ist nach links und leicht abwärts geneigt. In der erhobenen linken Hand hält er an langem Griff einen Spiegel, der verkürzt dargestellt ist.⁶ Eros ist nur mit dem Mantel bekleidet, der die linke Schulter nebst dem Oberarm sowie den ganzen Unterkörper bis zu der

¹ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes etc.*, S. 47, Nr. 313. Ein übereinstimmendes Relief aus Epirus im Berliner Museum hat P. Wolters (*Arch. Ztg.*, 42, Taf. 1) und nach ihm A. Furtwängler (Roschers *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. Eros, Sp. 370) als Spiegelrelief aufgefasst, da ihm die Hydria aus Telos offenbar unbekannt geblieben war. Ein Hydriare Relief war wohl auch das Fragment *Cat. of Br.*, Nr. 309.

² Walters, a.a.O. S. 47, Nr. 312, vergl. dazu das Relief Taf. 11 unten rechts = *Select Bronzes*, Pl. XXXV. Die Hydria stimmt sowohl im Ornament als auch in der Gestalt des Dionysos so sehr mit den Resten der Berliner Hydria überein, dass auf dieselbe Werkstatt geschlossen werden muss.

³ J. Sieveking, *Die Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*, Taf. 36, 37, S. 78 ff.; dasselbe Motiv kehrt wieder bei der von G. Kazarow publizierten Hydria aus Mesembria *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI (1911), S. 308 ff., Abb. 4.

⁴ *Arch. Anz.*, 1889, S. 94, Nr. 10, O. Rubensohn, *Hellenistische Silbergefäße*, S. 58, Abb. 7.

⁵ Kazarow, a.a.O., S. 311 und S. 315; E. Fölzer, *Die Hydria*, S. 15 ff., *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, S. 94, Pl. XLIV, 7, *Compte rendu St. Petersburg*, 1863, Pl. X; G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel*, S. 130 ff.; Smith, *Cat. Bronzes antiqu. Coll. Pierpont Morgan*, S. 27, Nr. 66, Taf. 41.

⁶ Ähnliche Verkürzungen begegnen öfters auf Vasen des IV. Jahrhunderts vor Chr. Vergl., z. B., Furtwängler-Reichholdt, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Taf. 68, Schale aus Kertsch.

Hüfte verhüllt und dessen ein Ende von der Beuge des linken Armes lang herabfällt. Der junge Gott trägt langes, reich gewelltes Haar, das einen Kranz um Stirn und Schläfen bildet, nach rückwärts aber in Locken endet, deren eine auf der rechten Schulter sichtbar wird.

Psyche ist nahe an den Geliebten herangetreten. Sie hat den linken Arm um seinen Nacken gelegt, sodass ihre Hand auf Eros Schulter ruht, während der rechte Arm in die Hüfte gestemmt ist. Ihre Kleidung besteht aus einem ärmellosen Chiton mit langem Überschlag, der unter der Brust gegürtet ist—es ist jene Tracht, die wir von der Parthenos, von Kore, Hygieia, Nike, den Nymphen und anderen jungfräulichen Gestalten kennen.¹ So ist das athenische Mädchen Silenis auf seinem Grabstein gekleidet (Berlin, *Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, Taf. 31, vom Anfang des IV. Jahrhunderts). In diesem Kleide tanzten in Priene beim Feste der Kore die jüngsten der Mädchen, wie die im Demeterheiligtume gefundenen Terrakotten gelehrt haben (*Priene*, S. 160, Abb. 142, 143). Auf dem linken Oberarm der Psyche ruht das eine Ende ihres Manteltuches, das schräg über den Rücken gelegt ist und an der rechten Hüfte in langem Zipfel herabfällt, die rechte Hand verdeckend. Die Haartracht entspricht ganz derjenigen des Eros.

Mit welcher Sorgfalt das Relief gearbeitet ist, zeigt die reiche Ziselierung. Der Felsen ist bedeckt mit eingepunzten Vertiefungen und einigen augenförmigen Gravierungen. Der Mantel des Eros ist übersät mit einer Menge kleiner feiner Pünktchen, die den rauhen Stoff kennzeichnen.² Bei beiden Gestalten hat der Mantel einen eingepunzten breiten Saum mit einer Reihe von Kreismustern. Das Gewand der Psyche zeigt im unteren Teile des Überschlages in der Mitte zwischen Gürtel und unterem Ende einen horizontalen Strich, der nicht zufällig, sondern antik und beabsichtigt ist; denn die Gravierung der senkrechten Falten geht darüber hinweg. Es handelt sich hier um die Andeutung einer mehrfach abgesetzten Liegefalte. Sorgfältig sind auch die Augensterne und Brauen der Beiden Gestalten

¹ Vergl., z. B., das Asklepiosrelief in München, *Glypt. Kat.*, Nr. 206, Taf. 18, und Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, Taf. 27.

² Zur Kennzeichnung des Gewandstoffes durch eng nebeneinander gravierte Punkte vgl. u. a. Furtwängler, *Sammlung Somsée*, S. 51 ff. zu Nr. 83.

ausgearbeitet, ebenso sind Haar und die Innenseiten der Flügel¹ behandelt, und zwar sind die langen Schwungfedern in der Gravierung deutlich von den kurzen Deckfedern geschieden, während der Flügelrand einen lockenartigen Federbesatz zeigt. Sogar die Fingernägel an Psyche's linker Hand sind graviert. Die männliche Stirn ist bei Eros durch eine feine Querfalte angedeutet, im Gegensatz zu der völlig glatten Stirn des Mädchens.

In starker Symmetrie sind die beiden Figuren zusammengestellt. Die einander vollständig entsprechenden Flügelpaare, nach unten gewissermassen durch die beiderseits herabhängenden Mantelenden verlängert, bilden den ornamentalen Hintergrund, von dem sich die Körper der Gruppe in wundervoll harmonischem Aufbau abheben. Auch im Standmotiv herrscht volle gegenseitige Entsprechung, wie man dies oft bei den besten Spiegelkompositionen findet. Eine grosse rhythmische Linie durchzieht die Körper vollkommen, die verschiedenartige Bewegung der Arme aber und die Neigung der Köpfe, besonders aber die leichte Drehung des Eros in die Dreiviertelansicht bringt eine lebendige Wirkung hervor, ohne die vornehme Ruhe des Ganzen zu beeinträchtigen.

Man könnte den Spiegel in der Hand des Eros wohl als eine Anspielung auf den Thalamos auffassen, widerspräche dem nicht der auf die freie Natur hinweisende Fels. Es ist auch nicht wahrscheinlich, dass Eros der Geliebten den Spiegel vorhält, damit sie sich darin erkenne, denn ihr Blick geht nicht in dieser Richtung. Es bleibt wohl nur die Annahme, dass Eros sich selbst in dem Spiegel betrachtet hat und sich nun im Gespräch zu der Gefährtin zurückwendet.

Das Alter unseres Bronzereliefs kann, wie schon die Ornamente der Hydria gezeigt haben, nicht zweifelhaft sein. Es gehört in das IV. Jahrhundert vor Chr., und zwar in dessen erste Hälfte, wie schon die Gesichtsbildung zeigt. Man wird an die Eirene des Kephisodot erinnert, deren inniger Ausdruck

¹ Sehr eng ist die Verwandtschaft mit den Flügeln des Adlers auf der schönen Bronze mit dem Ganymedraub zu Berlin, *Coll. Sabouroff*, Pl. CXLVII. Dieselbe Dreiteilung der Federn zeigt die fliehende Gorgo auf einem Bronze-Eimer zu Berlin, B. Schröder, 74. *Winckelmannsprog. d. Arch. Ges.*, Taf. II. Verwandt, aber schon stark vereinfacht, sind die Flügel des Jünglings der jüngeren *Columna caelata* von Ephesus, Smith, *Cat.*, II, S. 174, Nr. 1206; Wood, *Discoveries*, S. 188.

ebenfalls mehr durch die Bewegung des Kopfes als durch die Belebung der Gesichtszüge erreicht wird. Der Kopf des Eros lässt, namentlich in der etwas mürrisch wirkenden Lippenbildung mit kurzer Oberlippe, den Vergleich mit dem Athenakopf in Neapel zu, den Wolters, *Jahrbuch* d. J. 1893, Taf. 3, auf Kephisodot d. Ä. zurückgeführt hat (vergl. bes. S. 177). Von der Weichheit praxitelischer Körperformen ist noch nichts zu merken, doch nähert sich die Bildung der Eros sichtlich der Zeit, in der die scharfen Abgrenzungen des straffen Muskelsystems mit zarten Übergängen ausgeglichen werden und der athletische Charakter zurücktritt, etwa wie bei dem Torso der Sammlung Somzée Taf. 12, den Furtwängler (S. 17) an das Ende des V. Jahrh. setzt und attischer Schule zuschreibt. Es bereitet sich in der Erosgestalt schon etwas von der elegischen Stimmung vor, die im weiteren Verlauf über die Kunst des vierten Jahrhunderts eine so starke Macht gewinnt und schliesslich der zartesten Ausdrucksform für Gemütsstimmungen fähig wird. Dass die Anfänge dazu bereits im fünften Jahrhundert liegen, beweisen Gestalten wie der sog. Narkissos, den Sieveking mit Recht als eines der jüngsten Werke der polykletischen Schule bezeichnet (*Münchener Jahrbuch*, V (1910), S. 9 und Abb. 6). Auch das Motiv der aufgestützten Hand und die allgemeine Bewegung des Körpers ist hier schon vorgebildet.¹ Noch bis an das Ende des fünften Jahrhunderts hinaufzugehen hindert uns allein schon das deutliche Interesse an stofflicher Bildung des Gewandes, das in der Faltenführung und den Liegefalten hervortritt.

Die seelische Stimmung ist es, die dem Bronzerelief von Amisos einen so hohen Reiz verleiht. Es ist, als verkörpere es die von Eugen Petersen (*Röm. Mitt.*, XVI (1901), S. 92) ausgesprochene Idee, dass Psyche, durch den Tod freigeworden von der Verbindung mit dem Körper, im Jenseits ihren Eros wiederfindet. So stehen sie bei einander als ein Liebespaar, das die Prüfungen einer bösen Welt siegreich überwunden hat und nun in trauter Verbindung im Gefilde der Seligen wandelt, fern

¹ Ältere Beispiele für dieses Motiv sind z. B. die Athena auf der Metope mit der stymphalischen Vögeln in Olympia (*Olympia*, III, Taf. 36), und die sog. Penelope, Furtwängler, *Samml. Sabouroff*, z. Taf. 15, vergl. die schutzflehende Barberini, *Mon.* IX, Taf. 34, auch das Spiegelrelief zu Athen, *B.C.H.*, XXIV (1900), Pl. XVII.

von ungezügelter Leidenschaft, unter ewig heiterem Himmel, "wo die Sonne ihnen leuchtet, wenn sie für die Erde untergegangen ist und sie auf blumenreicher Wiese ein Dasein edler Musse genießen, wie es nur griechische Phantasie, an Bildern griechischer Lebenskunst genährt, ausmalen konnte" (E. Rohde, *Psyche*, II, S. 210).¹ So war die Anbringung des Reliefs an einem Gefässe, das die Asche eines lieben Verstorbenen aufnehmen sollte—und diese Verwendung unserer Bronzehydria ist weitaus die wahrscheinlichste—besonders sinnvoll. Psyche, die Verkörperung duldender Frauenliebe, hat die Trauer abgelegt und dient hinfort in sanfter Hingebung dem jüngsten und grössten der Götter. Diese Stimmung, literarisch nur durch einige alexandrinische Epigramme und Apuleius überliefert, ist also in der Kunst Jahrhunderte lang früher vorhanden gewesen. Unser Relief ist der edelste künstlerische Ausdruck für den Gedanken der Vereinigung der Seele mit dem Göttlichen,² so wie die Orphiker ihn lehrten und Plato ihn ausgesprochen hat.³

Schon im dritten Jahrhundert vor Chr. vollzieht sich in der Darstellung von Eros und Psyche eine leise und allmählich fortschreitende Wandlung zum rein Sinnlichen. Man kann in der Entwicklung vom vierten Jahrhundert ab bis zur nachchristlichen Zeit geradezu von einer aufsteigenden Stufenleiter der Zärtlichkeiten reden. Die Berliner Bronze Wolters, *Arch. Zeitung*, 42, Taf. 1, zeigt das Paar zwar noch in derselben sanft und diskret aneinander gelehnten Stellung; Psyche ist völlig bekleidet, Eros aber bereits nackt, er streckt liebkosend und begehrend seine Hand nach dem Kinn der Geliebten aus. Eine etwa dem II. Jahrhundert vor. Chr. entstammende kleinasiatische Terrakotte der ehemaligen Sammlung Sabouroff (Taf. 135)⁴ zeigt wiederum diese liebkosende Bewegung des Eros,

¹ So mag auch die Scene auf dem Bronzespiegel, *B.C.H.*, VIII (1884), Taf. 15, aufzufassen sein. Dumont erblickt hier (S. 391) Nike mit Eros, weil die weibliche Gestalt nicht Schmetterlingsflügel trage. Zu dieser Frage vergl. E. Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.*, XVI (1901), S. 76 ff., dazu R. Pagenstecher, *Eros und Psyche*, S. 34 ff. und besonders S. 38. Ganz ablehnend steht dem Gedanken an Nike gegenüber Waser in Roschers *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. Psyche, Sp. 3248.

² Sam Wide, *Griechische Religion*, S. 202.

³ *Phaedr.*, 246 ff., vergl. dazu die schönen Worte Furtwänglers, *Samml. Sabouroff*, II, zu Taf. 135.

⁴ Die Nachweise über ähnliche Gruppen finden sich im Texte Furtwänglers zu dieser Tafel, vgl. dazu Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. Eros, Sp. 1370 ff.

während Psyche, etwas spröde, den Kuss durch Abwendung des Kopfes zu vermeiden strebt. Hier ist auch der Oberkörper Psyches bereits entblösst und die enge gegenseitige Umschlingung kennzeichnet den Übergang zum derb Erotischen. Die im Berliner Museum befindliche kleinasiatische Terrakotta-gruppe der früheren Sammlung Gréau,¹ aus derselben Zeit, lässt Psyche bereits ganz willfährig erscheinen, sie wendet ihr Köpfchen dem Eros zu, den sie mit der Rechten umschlungen hat und berührt mit der Linken sanft seine Hüfte. Endlich bringt die berühmte und so oft wiederholte capitolinische Gruppe,² die sich in römischer Zeit ganz aus dem Typus der älteren Terrakottagruppen entwickelt hat, die Vereinigung der Lippen zum Kuss.

Vor dieser letzten Darstellung ist, in der Reihenfolge der Motive, eine aus Kleinasien stammende Gruppe einzuschieben, die vor einigen Jahren in Smyrna für das Berliner Museum erworben wurde (Taf. XIII, 3). Ihre Höhe beträgt 30 cm. Der Ton ist hell-lederbraun, von dem weissen Pfeifentonüberzug sind Reste namentlich an den unteren Partien, an Brust und Armen erhalten. Beide Flügel der Psyche fehlen, ebenso der äussere Flügel des Eros. Nach dem schmalen Ansatz auf der Schulter der Psyche muss sie Schmetterlingsflügel getragen haben. Die Wange des Eros zeigt rote Farbspuren, sein geflochtenes Diadem und die Brustkette trägt Reste einstiger Vergoldung. Auf der Rückseite ist die Marke [A] vor dem Brande eingeritzt worden. Die Gruppe zeigt denselben Vorgang wie bei der Terrakotte Gréau. Die Lippen nähern sich einander und werden sich im nächsten Augenblick vereinigen, während die Körper fest aneinander geschmiegt sind. Psyche trägt Schuhe und als Schmuck Ohrringe nebst der gekreuzte Brustkette. Ihr Haarschopf wird hinten durch eine Spange zusammengehalten. Eros aber ist der vollendete Zierbengel. Denn ausser dem Diadem in seinen Locken bemerken wir Schmuckringe an seinen Fussknöcheln, am linken Oberschenkel, am rechten Oberarm und Handgelenk,

¹ W. Fröhner, *Terres-cuites d'Asie Mineure de la Collection Julien Gréau*, Taf. 62, p. 54, vgl. *Arch. Anz.*, 1892, Sp. 105, Nr. 11.

² Brunn-Bruckmann, Taf. 375, Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. Psyche, Sp. 3247 (Waser), Helbig, *Führer*, 2, Aufl., S. 465.

während der Körper dieselben kreuzweisen Schnüre wie bei Psyche zeigt, die mit runden Knöpfen verziert sind. Diese Art von Schmuck ist in mehreren Exemplaren aus Gold gefunden worden.¹ Sie ist bis in das ausgehende Altertum üblich gewesen, wie das prächtige Exemplar der Sammlung P. Morgan beweist.² Es ist bezeichnend, dass dieser Frauenschmuck hier von dem verweichlichten Jungen getragen wird, als der uns Eros am Ende der Entwicklung begegnet. Diese sinnliche Ausmalung der Liebesscene wäre unerträglich geworden, wenn nicht vom Beginn der Entwicklung an das Paar dem kindlichen Alter angenähert worden wäre. Durch diese Uebertragung in das Kindesalter ist es möglich geworden, dass in dem Hauptwerk der ganzen Reihe, der kapitolinischen Gruppe, unter den Händen eines wirklichen Künstlers ein durch kindliche Anmut reizvolles, von schwüler Sinnlichkeit gereinigtes und weithin beliebtes Werk entstehen konnte.

¹ Vgl. neuerdings Robert Zahn, *Galerie Bachstitz*, II, Taf. 13, S. 13.

² Walter Dennison, *Gold Treasure of the late Roman Period* (*Studies in Early Christian and Roman Art*, 1918), Taf. 39, 40, vgl. dazu S. 150, Fig. 43.

XXXI.

ZU INSCRIFTEN AUS KLEINASIEN

von ADOLF WILHELM

1. DEN Eingang des in der Inschrift aus Oinoanda aufgezeichneten Briefes des Diogenes an Antipatros hatte H. Usener *Rh. Mus.*, XLVIII, 429, nicht herzustellen vermocht, weil G. Cousins Lesung des Steines, *B.C.H.*, XVI, 2, n. 2, an mehreren wichtigen Stellen nicht zureichte. Aber auch die vollständigere Lesung, die R. Heberdey und E. Kalinka, *B.C.H.*, XXI, 399, n. 56, vorlegten, liess Anfang und Ende des ersten Satzes unergänzt. So hat erst J. William, *Diogenis Oinoandensis fragmenta* (1907), für die Zeilen 3-14 einen zusammenhängenden Text geboten, fr. XV, p. 21 :

1 [Διογέν]ης · Ἀντι-
[πάτρῳ] · χαίρειν.
[Πολλά] μοι σημεία
[τῆς σῆ]ς, Ἀντίπατρε,
5 [ἔξως παρέ]σχηκας δι'
[ὧν τε ἔν]ανχος ἔπεμ-
[ψας ἡμεῖ]ν γραμμά-
[των καὶ ἄλλοτε πρότε-

[ρον ἐξ ὧν] σε πρὸς φιλο-
10 [σοφίαν ὁρῶ] ἐκθύμως ἐ-
[πιβαλόντα] ἐν ἡ[δ]ονῇ δι-
[άγειν. ταῖς] ἀρίστοις ἐπι-
[βολαῖς ταῦτα]ς σὺ χρῶ
[αἰεὶ, ἐγὼ δὲ] ταύτῃ γέ τοι
15 καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ τε
σοὶ κτλ.

Nur durch eine sehr gewaltsame Änderung ist in Z. 11 ἐν ἡ[δ]ονῇ gewonnen, indem an Stelle eines Tau, das Heberdey und Kalinka allerdings als nicht völlig deutlich bezeichnen, ein Delta gesetzt ist. Eine solche Verlesung kann Heberdey und Kalinka keinesfalls, die Verschreibung aber auch dem Steinmetzen nicht wohl zugetraut werden; seine Arbeit wird mit Recht als sorgfältig gerühmt, und die umfängliche Inschrift weist kein ähnliches Versehen auf. Man wird daher eine Lesung suchen müssen, die den überlieferten Zeichen ΕΝΗΤΟΝΗΔΙ besser gerecht wird. Sei es dass der Steinmetz wirklich statt eines

Λ ein Δ eingehauen, sei es dass Heberdey und Kalinka, und schon G. Cousin, der NH. ΕNHΔΟ las, eine zufällige Verletzung des Steines getäuscht hat, wenn sie das vorletzte Zeichen der Zeile für ein Δ, nicht ein Λ nahmen: ich zweifle nicht, dass in ΕNHΤONHΔΙ die Beteuerung νὴ τὸν Ἥ[λ]ι[ον] steckt; sie ist in einem Briefe, der in Rhodos geschrieben ist (II, Z. 9: ταυτεὶ δὴ σοι νῦν ἀπὸ Ῥόδου γράφω) die passendste.

Am Anfange der nächsten Zeile fehlen, da vor ἀρίσταῖς ἐπι- doch wohl nur der Artikel zu ergänzen ist, nicht neun Buchstaben, wie der letzte Herausgeber annimmt, sondern nur sechs; es gilt also auch in den Lücken der anderen Zeilen mit einer geringeren Zahl von Buchstaben auszukommen. In Z. 9 f. genügt πρὸς φιλο[σοφίαν] ἐκθύμως ohne Einschub von ὀρῶ, in Z. 7 f. statt: γραμμά[των καὶ ἄλλο]τε einfach: γραμμά[των (oder γραμμα[τίων] καὶ ὅ]τε, in Z. 8 f.: πρότε[ρον ὁμό]σε statt: πρότε[ρον ἐξ ὧν] σε. In Z. 12 f. hatten Heberdey und Kalinka: ἐπι[βολαῖς] σὺν χρώ[μενος] ergänzt, J. William: ἐπι[βολαῖς ταύτα]is σὺν χρώ; sollte vor σὺν χρώ[μενος] oder σὺν χρώ ein einziges Wort ἐπι[. . . . α]is stehen, so müsste dieses länger sein als ἐπιβολαῖς. Auch ἐπι[θυμία]is scheint zu kurz, und ἐπι[στατεία]is (vgl. fr. LXV, William, II, Z. 5 ff.: διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διάθεσίν σου καὶ ἐπιστατείαν τοῦ τε θαυμασίου Κάρου καὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἡμετέρου) ist deshalb unwahrscheinlich, weil der Steinmetz nach den Beobachtungen Heberdeys und Kalinkas B.C.H., XXI, 427 (vgl. Edw. Mayser, *Gramm. d. Papyri*, I, 46, Anm. 3) in solchen Worten ἐπισ-τ, nicht ἐπι-στ teilt. So erwog ich, ob nicht von freundschaftlichem Verkehre mit Gleichstrebenden die Rede sei: ἐπι[μειξία]is entspräche der Lücke; würde aber der Briefschreiber mit diesem Worte nicht auch sich, mehr als passend ist, gelobt haben? So bietet sich überhaupt kein Wort ἐπιais zu einleuchtender Ergänzung. Kein Wunder, denn auch Heberdeys und Kalinkas Vorschlag ἐπι[βολα]is ist nicht nur zu kurz, sondern, wie ihre Zeichnung lehrt, nicht einmal in Einklang mit den auf dem Steine noch kenntlichen Resten. Ihre Zeichnung zeigt in Z. 13: ΨICCY; deutet sie in grosser Sorgfalt an, dass der erste Buchstabe etwas beschädigt ist, so sind doch seine wesentlichen Teile erhalten; wenn J. William ΓOICCY druckt, so hat er die Andeutung der

Beschädigung übel missverstanden. Ich glaube auf ἐπι[βολαῖς zurückgreifen und die Lücke durch εἰ] τις füllen zu sollen. Steht mir im Augenblicke kein völlig entsprechendes Beispiel zu Gebote (im allgemeinen vgl. Kühner-Gerth, *Satzlehre*, II, 573 f.), so ist doch der Sinn völlig klar: wenn irgend einer unter den jüngeren Männern, die in Rhodos philosophische Studien trieben, hat sich Antipatros von den besten Bestrebungen leiten lassen. Nach εἰ τις wird das nachdrückliche οὐ erst recht verständlich.

Schwierigkeiten bereiten die ersten Worte des Briefes. So sehr in des letzten Herausgebers Ergänzung die Stellung des Vocativs Ἀντίπατρε zwischen [τῆς σῆ]s und [ἐξέως gefällt, so ist doch ἐξέως und jedes Wort ähnlicher Bedeutung vor παρέ]σχηκας zu lang und [τῆς σῆ]s nicht nur im Vergleich mit dieser Ergänzung zu kurz. Versucht man statt [τῆς σῆ]s ein Sachwort als Ersatz für ἐξέως einzusetzen, z.B. [σπουδῆ]s, so bleibt für die Lücke vor παρέ]σχηκας nur ein Füllsel wie z.B. ἥδη; die Rücksicht auf den Raum scheint gleichwohl diese weniger befriedigende Lesung zu erzwingen. Ob in Z. 3 mit William πολλά oder ἰκανά oder μεγάλα ergänzt wird, schlägt für den Sinn wenig; dagegen wird man bedauern, dass gerade das für diesen wichtige erste Wort in Z. 4 verloren ist; der Briefschreiber kann ebensowohl auf Antipatros' Freundschaft wie auf seinen wissenschaftlichen Eifer Bezug genommen haben. In Z. 14 glaubte ich den neuen Satz passend durch δι' ὃ einleiten zu können und so auch die Lücke, der χρώ[μενος] allein kaum genügen würde, angemessen zu füllen.

Ich lese demnach die beiden ersten Sätze des Briefes:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. [Ἰκανά] μοι σημεῖα
[σπουδῆ]s, Ἀντίπατρε,
5 [ἥδη παρέ]σχηκας δι'
[ὧν τε ἕνα]νχος ἐπεμ-
[ψας ἡμεῖ]ν γραμμά-
[των καὶ ὅ]τε πρότε-
[ρον ὁμό]σε πρὸς φιλο-
10 [σοφίαν] ἐκθύμως ἐ-
[σπευδε]s, νῆ τὸν Ἡ[λ]ι-</p> | <p>[ον ταῖς] ἀρίσταις ἐπι-
[βολαῖς εἰ] τις σὺν χρώ-
[μενος· δι' ὃ] ταύτῃ γέ τοι
2. καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ τέ
σοι καὶ τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις
τοῖς Ἀθήνησί τε καὶ
ἐν Χαλκίδι καὶ Θήβαις
5 φίλοις πάλιν ἀπαντη-
σαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχω κτλ.</p> |
|---|---|

Zu den Stellen der Inschrift, deren Lesung, wie S. Südhaus, *Rh. Mus.*, LXV, 310, bemerkt hat, ohne grosse Mühe gefördert werden kann, möchte ich in fr. LVII, p. 54, William, Z. 5 rechnen. Dieses erst von Heberdey und Kalinka entdeckte Bruchstück, *B.C.H.*, XXI, 374, fr. 28, führt Sprüche Epikurs an:

Τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἡ διάθεσις ἧς ἡμεῖς κύριοι.
Χαλεπὸν στρατεία καὶν ἐτέρων ἀρχῇ· τὸ ῥητορεύειν σφυγμοῦ
καὶ ταραχῆς γέμον εἰ πείσαι δύναται. Τί οὖν μεταδιώκομεν
πρᾶ[γ]μα τοιοῦτον οὐ τῇν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν ἄλλοι;

Man schreibt, so zuletzt auch J. L. Stocks in dem Diogenes von Oinoanda gewidmeten Abschnitt des nützlichen Sammelwerkes von J. U. Powell und E. A. Barber: *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, p. 35: καὶν ἐτέρων ἀρχῇ; dem Sinn und der Sprache nach scheint mir: καὶν ἐτέρων ἀρχῇ angemessener. Diese Lesung, die den Satz in lebhafter Anrede enden lässt, wird dadurch empfohlen, dass an nicht weniger als drei Stellen der Inschrift, fr. XVIII, col. III, Z. 3; XXIX, col. II, Z. 9; XXXVI, col. III, Z. 5, καν sicherlich gleich καὶν ist, während XXIX, col. I, Z. 4 f. zweimal καὶ ἐν geschrieben ist. An einer vierten Stelle, fr. XXXVI, col. III, Z. 12, durfte J. William nicht πᾶν drucken, als ob der erste Buchstabe erhalten sei; G. Cousin gab von ihm in seiner Abschrift nur eine senkrechte Linie, und Heberdey und Kalinka nahmen in ihre Zeichnung, fr. 75, p. 418, auch diese nicht auf, lasen aber in ihrer Umschrift [κ]ᾶν, wozu εἰπωμεν in der nächsten Zeile sehr wohl passt. Auch in der Inschrift aus Kyzikos *I.G.R.P.*, IV, 146, ist in Z. 5 καν gleich καὶν, dagegen ist in Z. 4 καὶ ἐν geschrieben; καὶν finde ich auch *I.G.*, II,² 1072, Z. 8, und 1100, Z. 25.

2. Von den zwei Beschlüssen der Kyzikener zu Ehren der Antonia Tryphaina, die auf einem von Dr Long in Tscharikköi bei Artaki entdeckten, später nach Konstantinopel gebrachten Steine stehen, ist der zweite, *I.G.R.P.*, IV, 145, auch in W. Dittenbergers *Sylloge* aufgenommen, zuletzt³ 798, der andere dagegen nach den ersten Veröffentlichungen nur *I.G.R.P.*, IV, 144, wieder abgedruckt worden und daher weniger beachtet. Beide Beschlüsse waren zuerst von J. Millingen, *Ελλ. Φιλολ. Σύλλ.*, τόμ. Ζ', 1872-1873, σ. 7 ff., mit einer seiner eigenen

Aussage nach durch Versehen entstellten Zeichnung, sodann von E. Curtius, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1874, S. 7 ff., nach einem sorgfältigen Facsimile und Abklatsch Dr. Schröders herausgegeben worden. Der zweite Beschluss ist in seiner Gänze erhalten, dagegen weist der erste in der Mitte seiner ersten elf Zeilen erhebliche Lücken auf, weil in den Stein einst zur Aufnahme der Röhre eines Laufbrunnens ein rundes Loch eingehauen worden und infolge dieser Verwendung ein Teil der Inschrift mit Sinter bedeckt war. Unter diesen Umständen konnte J. H. Mordtmann, *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 54 f., obgleich Th. Mommsen, *Eph. epigr.*, I, 256, nach Prüfung von Schröders Facsimile und Abklatsch erklärt hatte, er finde E. Curtius' sorgfältiger Veröffentlichung nichts hinzuzufügen, alsbald dem Steine selbst einige Buchstaben mehr abgewinnen; nach gründlicher Reinigung hat sodann S. Reinach, *B.C.H.*, VI, 612 ff., eine erheblich vollständigere Abschrift der ersten neun Zeilen des ersten Beschlusses vorgelegt. Trotzdem lässt die Lesung desselben noch zu wünschen übrig. Nach der letzten Veröffentlichung, *I.G.R.P.*, IV, 144, lauten die ersten Sätze, Z. 2 ff.

Ἐπεὶ | Ἀντωνία Τρύφαινα βασιλέως Πολέμωνος καὶ βασι-
 λίσσης Πυθοδωρίδος θυγάτηρ τὸν αἰώνιον τοῦ μεγίστο[υ] | θεῶν
 Τιβερίου Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος οἶκον καὶ τὴν ἀθάνατον ἡγεμονίαν
 αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς εὐσεβοῦσα συγκαθιέρωσ[ε] | ⁵ τῇ Πολιάδι Ἀθηναῖ
 ἄγαλμα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Σεβαστῆς Νεικηφόρου καὶ λαβοῦσα παρὰ
 τῆς πόλεως ἱερητεῖαν αὐτῇ | ἐν τῇ πέρσῃ ἀγομένη ἀτελείᾳ τῶν
 Παναθηναίων [ἔδωκεν ἐκ] ἀστοῖς πάντα μὲν τὰ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τῶν
 θεῶν καὶ [κα] | τὰ τὸ ἔθος αὐτῆς ἐκπρεπώσοτον πολλῶν ἱερουργί[αν
 αὐτῇ ἐξέ] πλήρωσεν, τῇ δὲ ἐμφύτῳ φιλανθρωπίᾳ πρὸς | τε τοὺς
 ἐνχωρίους καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐχρήσατο, ὡς ὑπ[έρ] τοῦ σιτισμοῦ τῶν
 ξένων μετὰ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἐπὶ τε εὐσε|βείᾳ καὶ ὁσιότητι καὶ
 φιλοδοξίᾳ, ἐν δὲ τῷ κατ' ἔτο[ς] ἀγῶνι ἀπούσης μὲν αὐτῆς, πάντων
 δὲ συντετελεσμένων | ¹⁰ ἐκπλέως κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνης εὐσέβειαν, καὶ τῶν
 ἀπὸ τῆς [Ἀσίας . . .] ν ἐνπόρων καὶ ξένων τῶν ἐλληλυθότων εἰς τὴν
 πανή|γυριν βουλομένων ἀναθεῖναι αὐτῆς ὄπλον εἰκονικὸν ἐ[ν τῷ
 ναῶ] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπελληλυθότων ἐπὶ τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν | δῆμον
 καὶ ἀξιούντων συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν κτλ.

Zu Ende von Z. 5 ist αὐτῇ[s] schon von J. Millingen gelesen und von E. Curtius und J. Mordtmann übernommen worden. Da in den zwei vorangehenden Zeilen und in der

folgenden nach S. Reinachs Abschrift die letzten Buchstaben fehlen (J. Mordtmann verzeichnet sie dagegen als erhalten), hindert wohl nichts anzunehmen, dass auch am Ende der fünften Zeile ein Buchstabe weggefallen sei; jedenfalls ist αὐτῇ[s] sinngemäss.

Zu Z. 6: [ἔδωκεν ἐκ]άστοις bemerkt S. Reinach: "au lieu d' ἔδωκεν on peut écrire ἔνειμεν ou un mot analogue." Der Ausdruck kehrt aber offenbar in der Aufschrift des Denkmals wieder, das die aus Asien nach Kyzikos zur Messe gekommenen Kaufleute der Fürstin errichten wollen; diese Aufschrift soll nach Z. 13 f. lauten: Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐργασταὶ ἀφειγμένοι εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ ἀτέλειαν τὴν ἀγομένην ἐν Κυζίκῳ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῇ Πολιάδι Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀντωνίαν Τρύφαιναν κτλ. Statt [ἔδωκεν ἐκ]άστοις ist also zu lesen: [τοῖς Σεβ]αστοῖς, und das Zeitwort, on dem πάντα abhängt, ist nicht in der Lücke vor -αστοῖς verloren, sondern in ἐξεπλήρωσεν erhalten; S. Reinach hat das Wort ganz gelesen, J. Mordtmann συνε]πλήρωσεν. Die Redensart, die sich so ergibt, begegnet auch sonst; so heisst es *I.G.R.P.*, III, 473, Z. 19: ἱερασάμενός τε τοῦ πατρός Ἀπόλλωνος τὰ τε πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπλήρωσεν, Z. 41: καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πληρώσαντα; *B.C.H.*, XXVIII, 29, n. 11, Z. 12: πάντα πληρώσας τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβῶς; *Sylloge*³ 814 (67 n. Chr.), Z. 54 f.: πᾶσαν τειμὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐκπεπληρωκυῖα εἰς τὸν τοῦ κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ [Νέρωνος οἶκον], vgl. auch *I.G.R.P.*, III, 739, Sp. II, Z. 59, Sp. IX, Z. 100, und Sp. XIII, Z. 38.

Zu Z. 7 bemerkt S. Reinach: "On lit très-distinctement les mots ἐκπρεπώστον πολλῶν ἱεουργι . . . suivis d'une lacune de 6 lettres. ἐκπρεπώστον est un barbarisme dont il faut prendre son parti, quelque restitution que l'on adopte pour les syllabes suivantes. Peut-être le texte manuscrit copié par le lapicide portait-il ἐκπρεπώσσον."

So unmöglich diese Lesung ist, so hat sie doch auch der letzte Herausgeber beibehalten, ohne anzuführen, dass J. Mordtmann ἐκπρεπῶς ο[ῖ]ον geschrieben hat und St. N. Dragumis Ἐφ. ἀρχ., 1890, σ. 157, ἐκπρεπῶς ὁ[σ]ον wie οὐράνιον γ' ὅσον (Aristophanes *Frösche*, V, 781, vgl. 1136) verstehen wollte. Die Beurteilung der Stelle ist von der der folgenden

Lücke nicht zu trennen. S. Reinach ergänzt in dieser: πολλῶν ἱεουργί[αν αὐτῇ] ἐξεπλήρωσεν und fügt hiezu: "Le participe ἱεουργησάντων donnerait un sens acceptable." Von seinen beiden Vorschlägen bleibt der erste ausser Betracht, weil das Zeitwort ἐξεπλήρωσεν schon in πάντα sein Objekt hat. Ob, wie das zweite voraussetzt, in ἱεουργI der letzte Buchstabe auch H sein kann, wird sich vielleicht vor dem Steine entscheiden lassen. Doch ist mir πολλῶν ἱεουργ[ησάντων] deshalb auffällig, weil das ἱεουργεῖν (L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum sacræ*, II, 1, p. 3), doch Sache der Tryphaina selbst ist; der zweite Beschluss der Kyzikener, *I.G.R.P.*, IV, 145 (*Syll.*,³ 798), sagt Z. 11 ausdrücklich, dass ihre Söhne συνιεουργήσοντες καὶ συνεορτάσοντες τῇ μητρὶ ἐπιτελούσῃ τοὺς τῆς θεᾶς νέας Ἀφροδείτης Δρουσίλλης ἀγῶνας nach Kyzikos gekommen sind. Auch αὐτῇ scheint nicht notwendig, doch könnte durch αὐτῇ immerhin Tryphainas eigene Betätigung bei der Panegyris des Vorjahres deshalb hervorgehoben sein, weil in dem Jahre, in dem der vorliegende Beschluss gefasst worden ist, infolge ihrer Abwesenheit die Fürsorge für die Veranstaltung anderen überlassen war, die "alles der Frömmigkeit der Fürstin entsprechend ausführten." Leider wird die Beurteilung dieser Stelle auch dadurch erschwert, dass die Angaben S. Reinachs über die Grösse der Lücke mit dem von E. Curtius veröffentlichten Abdruck nicht zu vereinen sind. Dieser Abdruck lässt zwischen ἱεου- und -σεν Raum für etwa zwanzig breite Buchstaben, also zwischen ἱεουργι- und ἐξεπλήρωσεν für etwa neun, während nach S. Reinach zwischen diesen Worten nur sechs Buchstaben fehlen. Freilich lässt E. Curtius' Abdruck auch in Z. 6 zwischen Παναθηναίων und πάντα für etwa 18 breite Buchstaben Raum, während die meines Erachtens gesicherte Ergänzung τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς nur 13 beansprucht. Andererseits stimmt der Abdruck in Z. 5 mit der Zahl der verlorenen Buchstaben. In Z. 11 aber findet die Ergänzung ἐ[ν τῷ ναῶ], die E. Curtius von J. Millingen übernahm, in der Lücke, die sein Abdruck lässt, nicht Platz; in Z. 9 wiederum genügt die Ergänzung: ἐν τῷ κατ' ἔτο[s ἀγῶνι? ἀπ]ούσης, die ebenfalls schon J. Millingen zweifelnd vorgeschlagen und E. Curtius beibehalten hat, nicht der Lücke, die dem Abdruck

nach auf etwa 15 Buchstaben zu bemessen ist. Da nach E. Curtius' ausdrücklicher Aussage "die Zeilen ohne bestimmtes Prinzip bald weiter bald enger geschrieben sind," muss der Typendruck irreführen; nur Messung am Stein oder Abklatsch, für jede Zeile besonders durchgeführt, kann die Zahl der fehlenden Buchstaben bestimmen. Leider hilft auch die Zeichnung, die J. Millingen seiner Veröffentlichung beigab, nicht, denn in sie haben sich Versehen eingeschlichen, deren wegen er selbst bitten musste nur seine Umschrift als verlässlich zu betrachten, und in dieser sind die Lücken durch Striche bezeichnet.

In dem augenscheinlich verschriebenen OTON glaubte auch ich zunächst ὁ[σ.]ν erkennen das Wort aber nicht mit St. N. Dragumis zu dem vorangehenden Adverb ἐκπρεπῶς sondern zu dem folgenden Adjektiv πολλῶν ziehen zu sollen, um durch ὁ[σω]ν πολλῶν einen Relativsatz einzuleiten, von dessen Zeitwort die Genetive ὁ[σω]ν πολλῶν ἱερουργι[ῶν] abhängen, z. B. προέστη (vgl. *Syll.*,³ 1115, Z. 5), oder προεστάτει (vgl. *I.G.R.P.*, III, 635, Z. 7: προστατήσαντα ταῖς ἑορταῖς τῶν θυσιῶν). Doch beanspruchen solche Ergänzungen erheblich mehr Raum als S. Reinach der Lücke zuschreibt. Für die Verbindung verweise ich auf Hesiod, *Theog.*, 582: θαῦμα ιδέσθαι κνώδαλ' ὅσ' ἤπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἥδ' ἔθλασσα. Steigerndes ὅσον, wie Plutarch, *Mor.*, p. 790 A: τὸ γράφειν μόνον ἐπιστολὰς τοσαύτας καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν ὅσον ἐργῶδες ἐστὶν (G. Bernardakis druckt, V, p. 39, ohne irgend eine Bemerkung: ὡς ἐργῶδες ἐστὶν) und Prokop, *Goth.*, II, 18, 4 (J. Haury): ἀνέπειθον ὅσον αἰσχρὸν εἶη, würde nur in einem eingelegten Ausruf am Platze sein und ein Zeitwort im Partizip, z. B. προστάσα, zur Ergänzung brauchen, oder ein Sachwort im Dativ, um ἱερουργι[ῶν] abhängig zu machen und ἐξεπλήρωσεν näher zu bestimmen, z. B. δαπάναις oder τελεταῖς, ο[ἱ]ον πολλῶν ἱερουργι[ῶν] προστάσα dagegen mit leichter Aenderung der Lesung eine auch sonst bekannte Fügung, aber eine schwächere Begründung ergeben.

Zu seiner Ergänzung der Lücke in Z. 8 bemerkt S. Reinach selbst: "ὕπερ τοῦ σιτισμοῦ n'est qu'une conjecture qui ne force guère l'assentiment." Mir sind nach ἐχρήσατο die Worte ὡς ὑπέ[ρ τοῦ σιτισ]μοῦ τῶν ξένων μετὰ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἐπὶ τε

εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ὁσιότητι καὶ φιλοδοξίᾳ syntaktisch ebenso unverstänlich wie in ihrer sachlichen Bedeutung. Meines Erachtens leitet ὥς einen Folgesatz ein, in dem ὑπε- einem Infinitiv angehört. So heisst es *I.G.R.P.*, III, 474, Z. 26 : ὥς μεμαρτυρηῆσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ὑπατικοῦ κτλ. ἐφ' αἷς ἐξετέλεσεν ἀρχαῖς ; III, 648, Z. 9 : ὥς πολλάκις τετειμῆσθαι καὶ μεμαρτυρηῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος (in dieser Inschrift liest der Herausgeber in Z. 13 f. irrig : ὑπὲρ δὲ Κτησικλέους καὶ ἀγελαρχιανοῦ καὶ νεικήσαντος ἐν τῇ ἀγελαρχίᾳ καὶ τειμηθέντος κτλ. statt : ἀγελαρχίαν οὐ ; die entsprechenden Ausführungen der längeren Inschrift, III, 649, Z. 14 ff. zeigen, dass nach Κτησικλέους ausgefallen ist : τελέσας ; III, 649, Z. 9 und 14 ; III, 653, Z. 7 ; III, 704, II, A. Z. 17 ; III, 714, Z. 18 (in Z. 13 lese ich statt αὐτ[ὸν ὧ]ς ἀγωνοθετήσαντα vielmehr : αὐτ[όετε]ς, vgl. über αὐτοετής B. Haussoullier, *Rev. de Phil.*, XX, 99 ff.) ; III, 764, Z. 13. Besonders häufig sind solche Wendungen in den Opramoas-Urkunden, *I.G.R.P.*, III, 739, so Sp. II, Z. 21 : ὥς πλεονάκις ὑπ' αὐτῶν τετειμῆσθαι ἐπὶ τε αἷς ἐποιήσατο ἀργυρικάς διαδόσεσι καὶ ἐπιδόσεσι χρημάτων, und Z. 54 ; Sp. III, Z. 77 und 84 ; Sp. IV, Z. 71, V, Z. 33, VII, Z. 43, VIII, Z. 59 (meine Bemerkung, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, III, 60, hat der letzte Herausgeber übersehen) und Z. 89 ; Sp. IX, Z. 31, XIII, Z. 58, XVIII, Z. 9 und Z. 26 : ὥς ὑπὸ πάντων (!) τῶν πόλεων εὐχαριστεῖσθαι καὶ τειμᾶσθαι κτλ., Z. 39 und 57 ; Sp. XIX, Z. 58 und 70, XX, Z. 31 und 79. Weitere Beispiele sind *I.G.*, VII, 2712, Z. 32 f. : ὥς τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῶν δαπανημάτων καὶ ἀδιάλειπτον οὐ μόνον παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πέριξ πόλεσιν θαυμάζεσθαι ; *Am. J. Arch.*, XVIII (1914), 328, Z. 106 ff. ; *B.C.H.*, XXVIII, 20 f., n. 1, B.Z. 25 ; in einer anderen Inschrift aus Panamara ebenda, p. 53, n. 11, wird in Z. 11 ff. : ἱερατεύσαντες φιλοτίμως θαυμάζεσθαι nach φιλοτίμως ausgefallen sein ὥς ; *O.G.I.*, 470, Z. 20.

Ich erwarte also nach ὥς in Z. 8 des Beschlusses zu Ehren der Tryphaina ein Zeitwort : ὑπε-, mit dem μετὰ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἐπὶ τε εὐσεβείᾳ und τῶν ξένων, doch wohl vermittelt der Praeposition ὑπό, zu verbinden sein wird. Den Sinn des Satzes hat E. Curtius einigermassen missverstanden, wenn er an Tryphaina ihre "mit grösster Gastlichkeit (μετὰ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς) verbundene Leutseligkeit gegen Einheimische und Fremde" gerühmt glaubte.

Dass S. Reinach vor τῶν ξένων die Silbe μου als erhalten bezeichnet, spricht gegen sie Lesung ὑπὸ] τῶν ξένων, aber der Sinn des Satzes kann nur der von mir vorausgesetzte sein. Zwischen ὥς und τῶν ξένων lässt E. Curtius' Abdruck siebzehn Buchstaben zu, S. Reinach ergänzt zwischen ὑπε- und -μου nur neun. Mir scheint von den mit ὑπὲρ zusammengesetzten Zeitworten, die gerade im späteren Griechisch beliebt sind, ὑπερευχαριστείσθαι oder, etwas kürzer, ὑπερθαυμάζεσθαι oder ὑπερευλογεῖσθαι in Betracht zu kommen, die der Lücke nach ὥς und mit der vor τῶν ξένων erforderlichen Praeposition ὑπό statt μου aber nicht weniger als 21 oder 18 Buchstaben geben würden.

Auch die Lücke in der nächsten Zeile ist in E. Curtius' Abdruck, der zwischen ετο und ουσης für 17 breite Buchstaben Raum lässt, erheblich grösser als nach seiner Ergänzung, die S. Reinach mit folgenden Worten gebilligt hat: "La conjecture de M. Curtius: ἐν τῷ κατ' ἔτο[s ἀγῶν]ι paraît confirmée par ce qui subsiste sur la pierre"; leider hat er nicht verraten, was auf dem Steine wirklich zu sehen ist. Ich bezweifle aber, dass die Veranstaltung, um die es sich handelt, kurz als ἀγών bezeichnet sein kann. Zu Ehren der als νέα Ἀφροδείτη gefeierten Drusilla hat Antonia Tryphaina allerdings, wie der zweite Beschluss, *I.G.R.P.*, IV, 145, Z. 12, berichtet, in Kyzikos Agone veranstaltet; der erste Beschluss aber gilt einer Ehrung, die der Fürstin von den Kaufleuten erwiesen wird, die an der mit einem Feste zu Ehren des Kaiserhauses und der Athena Polias verbundenen Messe teilnehmen; diese Messe bezeichnet der Beschluss in Z. 14 als πανήγυρις καὶ ἀτέλεια ἡ ἀγομένη ἐν Κυζίκῳ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῇ Πολιάδι Ἀθηνᾶ, in Z. 6 kurz als ἀτέλεια τῶν Παναθηναίων (vgl. meine *Beiträge z. griech. Inschriftenkunde*, S. 196 ff.); von einem Agon ist in diesem zweiten Beschlusse nicht die Rede, und hat ein solcher bei solchem Anlasse stattgefunden, so ist er sicherlich bei der Veranstaltung nicht die Hauptsache gewesen. Um einen passenden allgemeinen Ausdruck zu gewinnen, glaube ich mit Berufung auf den von mir in den *Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akademie*, 1900, philos.-hist. Kl., 4. Abh., S. 2 ff., und in meinen *Beiträgen*, S. 197, erörterten Sprachgebrauch statt ἐν τῷ κατ' ἔτο[s ἀγῶν]ι vielmehr ἐν τῷ κατ' ἔτο[s ἐνιαυτῷ]ι erwarten zu dürfen.

Im Folgenden bestätigt S. Reinach gegen J. Mordtmann, der *αἰτούσης* gelesen hatte, *ἀπούσης*.

In Z. 10 sind in der Lücke nach E. Curtius' Abdruck zwischen *τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς* und *ἐ]μπόρων* etwa 11 breite Buchstaben unterzubringen; das Ny, das J. Mordtmann vor *ἐνπόρων* verzeichnet, schliesst *τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς* [*Ἀσίας πάσης* aus; *πάντων*]*ν* befriedigt nicht; auch wird nach Z. 13: *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐργασταί* schwerlich zu schreiben sein, weil der Ausdruck sonst nicht bezeugt ist: *τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς* [*Ἀσίας ἐργαστῶν*]*ν ἐνπόρων*; E. Curtius hat diese Ergänzung erwogen. Dass in Z. 11 E. Curtius' Abdruck für die Ergänzung *ἐ[ν τῷ ναῷ]* nicht Raum lässt, habe ich bereits bemerkt; der Ort, an dem das zu errichtende Denkmal aufgestellt werden soll, braucht in diesem Zusammenhange nicht notwendig bezeichnet zu sein; so bietet sich, wenn die Lücke ein etwas längeres Wort erlaubt, *ὄπλον εἰκονικὸν ἐ[πίχρυσον]* zur Ergänzung, vgl. *O.G.I.*, 571, Anm. 4, und O. Liermann, *Dissert. Halens.*, X, 52.

Die vorstehenden Bemerkungen zeigen, dass Sicherheit über die Lesung mehrerer Stellen des ersten Beschlusses ohne erneute Untersuchung des Steines oder wenigstens eines Abklatsches nicht zu gewinnen ist, und haben ihren Zweck erfüllt, wenn sie eine solche anregen.

Das Manuskript dieser Abhandlung war längst eingesendet als ein glücklicher Zufall meinen verehrten Freund W. H. Buckler nach Konstantinopel führte. Meiner Bitte den Stein *I.G.R.P.*, N. 144, zu untersuchen, hat er mit einer Bereitwilligkeit entsprochen, für die ich ihm auch an dieser Stelle besten Dank sage. Leider ist ein mir gesendeter Abklatsch der ganzen Inschrift nicht in meine Hände gekommen; für diesen Verlust bietet aber die mir gütigst mitgeteilte Abschrift und ein Abklatsch Ersatz, der die wichtigen Zeilen 6 bis 10 von Anfang bis zur Lücke zeigt. "The squeeze sent from Constantinople was far more complete," schreibt mir W. H. Buckler, "since it showed the exact size of the gap and all the letters around it. However, the restoration of ll. 2-6 and 9-11, being absolutely certain, indicates the number of letters permissible in 1 and 7-8. Also, since most of the letters are shown (close to the gap) only by the plaster or cement sunk in them, they don't appear in any squeeze."

In Bezug auf die von mir nicht besprochenen ersten Zeilen des Beschlusses habe ich zu erwähnen, dass W. H. Buckler in Z. 1 : Ἐπὶ Πανσανίου τοῦ Εὐμένους τοῦ β' (?) ἱππ]άρχῳ (statt Ἐ. Π. τ. Εὐμένους ἱππάρχῳ) liest und die Lesungen, Z. 2 ff. : Εὐμ[ένους] Αἰγικορέυς, β[ασιλίσσ]ης Πυθοδωρίδος, ἀθά[νατον ἡ]γεμονίαν, Σεβασ[τῆς Νει]κηφόρου bestätigt. In Z. 6 bestätigt er meine Ergänzung, indem er mehr als seine Vorgänger, nämlich τ[οῖς Σε]βαστοῖς, auf dem Steine erkennt. Am Ende dieser Zeile bot J. Mordtmanns Abschrift : καὶ κα|τά, die S. Reinachs : καὶ [κα]|τά ; so schien es als stünde das ganz überflüssige und daher bedenkliche καὶ wirklich auf dem Stein ; nach W. H. Bucklers bietet dieser aber nicht καὶ κα|τά, sondern nur κα|τά. Seine Abschrift gibt der Lücke in Z. 7 nach ἱεουργ- vor ν ἐξεπλήρωσεν nur fünf Buchstaben ; OTON zeigt auch der Abklatsch völlig deutlich. Ist OTON verschrieben, vermöge Verhörens, für ἐορτῶν und ist, wenn ich auch die Redensart sonst nicht nachweisen kann, <ἐ>ο<ρ>τ[ῶ]ν πολλῶν ἱεουργ[ημένω]ν zu lesen ? In Z. 8 zeigen Abschrift und Abklatsch das von mir vermutete ὑπό vor der Lücke, bisher ὑπε- gelesen, und von dem folgenden Buchstaben den Anfang eines wagrechten Striches oben, wie von Tau oder Pei ; nach diesem Buchstaben sind der Abschrift zufolge sieben Buchstaben in der Lücke vor -μου verloren. Daher ist ὑπὸ [πάντων ὁ]μοῦ τῶν ξένων etwas kurz. Ich habe auch kein Substantiv gefunden, das dem Sinne nach und in die Lücke passte ; eher als von einem einzelnen Wortführer τῶν ξένων war von ihrer Gesamtheit oder einer Versammlung die Rede wie etwa in dem Epigramm aus Delos, B.C.H., XVI, 150 (J. Geffcken, Griechische Epigramme, 201), v. 3 : Ἑλλάνων πλᾶθύς τε κτλ. Vielleicht ὑπὸ [τοῦ πληθυσ]μοῦ τῶν ξένων ? Vor ὑπό wird das von mir geforderte Zeitwort gestanden haben, das besonders leicht ausfallen konnte, wenn es mit ὑπ- oder ὑπέρ begann. In Z. 9 bestätigt die Abschrift meine Vermutung [ἐνιαυτῶ]ι. In Z. 10 befreit sie uns von allen Schwierigkeiten, denn W. H. Buckler hat nach ἀπὸ τῆς noch OI und vor ἐνπόρων ΗΣ erkannt und einleuchtend ἀπὸ τῆς οἰ[κουμέν]ης ergänzt ; in der Aufschrift des Denkmals, das sie Antonia Tryphaina errichten, nennen sich die Kaufleute nur οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐργασταί.

Schliesslich wird in Z. 11 mein Vorschlag durch W. H. Bucklers Lesung ἐπ[ίχρυσ]ον bestätigt. Somit ergibt sich folgende Lesung der Zeilen 5 ff. des Beschlusses, in der nur die Ergänzung zweier Lücken, in Z. 7—erschwert durch die Verschreibung eines vorangehenden Wortes—und in Z. 8, zweifelhaft bleibt, während sie in allem Uebrigen nunmehr dank der Bemühung W. H. Bucklers gesichert ist :

καὶ λαβοῦσα παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἱερητεῖαν αὐτῇ[ς] ἐν τῇ πέρσῃ ἀγομένη ἀτελείᾳ τῶν Παναθηναίων [τοῖς Σεβ]αστοῖς πάντα μὲν τὰ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τῶν θεῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος αὐτῆς ἐκπρεπῶς (ἐ)ο(ρ)τ(ῶ)ν? πολλῶν ἱερουργ[ημένω]ν? ἐξεπλήρωσεν, τῇ δὲ ἐμφύτῳ φιλάνθρωπία πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐνχωρίους καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐχρήσατο, ὡς (ὑπερευλογεῖσθαι?) ὑπὸ [.]μου τῶν ξένων μετὰ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἐπὶ τε εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ὁσιότητι καὶ φιλοδοξίᾳ· ἐν δὲ τῷ κατ' ἔτος [ἐνιαυτῷ] ἀπούσης μὲν αὐτῆς, πάντων δὲ συντετελεσμένων ἐκπλεως κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνης εὐσέβειαν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰ[κουμένη]ς ἐνπόρων καὶ ξένων τῶν ἐλληλυθόντων εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν βουλομένων ἀναθεῖναι αὐτῆς ὄπλον εἰκονικὸν ἐπ[ίχρυσ]ον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κτλ.]

Der dritte der auf Antonia Tryphaina bezüglichen Beschlüsse der Kyzikener, *I.G.R.P.*, IV, 146, *Syll.*,³ 799, beginnt mit dem Satze :

ἐπεὶδὲ ἡ κρατίστη καὶ φιλοσέ|βαστος Ἀντωνία Τρύφαινα πᾶσαν αἰὲ ὁσίαν τῆς εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν |⁵ εὐσεβείας ἐφευρίσκουσα ἐπίνοιαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἐπισκευὴν | χαριστήριον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καθωσίωκεν, οὐχ ἱστορήσασα ἡμᾶς ὡς παλαιὸν | Κυζίκου κτίσμα, [ἀ]λλὰ ἐπιγνοῦσα νέαν Ἀγρίππα χάριν, τὰ τε συνχωσθέντα τῶν εὐ|ρείπων πρότερον φόβοις πολέμου τῇ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ συνανοίγνουσ[α] εἰρήνῃ μεγί|στῳ καίπιφανεσ(τά)τῳ θεῷ [Γαῖῳ] Καίσαρι ἀρχαίαν καὶ προγονικὴν τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ νεω|¹⁰κόρον ἐπανακτωμένη πόλιν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτῆς τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν οἶκον θαυμά|σας εὐσέβειαν καὶ τῆς ἀδιαψεύστου ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν μνήμη Ῥοιμητάλκῃ | βασιλεῖ Κόττυος υἱῷ ἀποδεξάμενος ἀ(λ)είπτους ἐκείνου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας βουλῆμασιν | καὶ τεθν(ε)ῶτος ἐνέζηκεν ἡ τῶν σπουδασθέντων μνήμη πολλὴν εἰση|νένκατο σπουδὴν ὅπως μὴ κτλ.

Den Stil dieses Beschlusses hat A. Joubin *Rev. Ét. gr.*, VI, 11, mit folgenden Sätzen gekennzeichnet : “Le style pompeux et amphigourique des Cyzicéniens nous était déjà connu par deux décrets publiés par M. Curtius. Mais celui-ci est un

chef-d'oeuvre de complication, poussée jusqu'à l'obscurité et au barbarisme. Sans parler des élégances criardes qui consistent dans l'abus des termes abstraits comme τοῖς ἐκείνου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας βουλήμασιν, ὅσιν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐφευρίσκουσα ἐπίνοιαν, ou l'emploi de mots rares, etc. ou encore dans l'enchevêtrement inextricable des compléments et des propositions (par exemple, τῆς ἀδιαψεύστου ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί τῶν ἐντολῶν μνήμη 'Ροιμητάλκα βασιλεῖ κτλ.), on relève des bizarreries de syntaxe qui forment de véritables incorrections (par exemple, l. 4: ὅσιν τῆς εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν εὐσεβείας; l. 13: καὶ τεθνεῶτος ἐνέζηκεν ἢ τῶν σπουδασθέντων μνήμη—la phrase reste en l'air).” Die Zeilen 10 bis 13 werden, p. 18, als “très obscures” bezeichnet; “le texte est incertain et doit être corrigé.” Aber die von den Herausgebern vornehmlich an zwei Stellen versuchten Änderungen haben die Schwierigkeiten nicht behoben; auch die Sylloge erklärt zu Z. 12: “structuram et conexum orationis turbatum esse manifestum est.” Mag indes die Rede noch so verwirrt scheinen, so muss doch einem Beschlusse, der in so anspruchsvoller Sprache auftritt, eine einigermaßen verständige Fassung gegeben worden sein; es muss versucht werden diese Fassung aufzudecken, und sie lässt sich denn auch meines Erachtens ohne grosse Mühe ermitteln.

In Z. 8 bietet der Stein συνανοίγνουσι, in Z. 12 ΑΕΙΠΤΟΙΣ nach A. Joubin's erster, ΑΕΙΠΤΟΙΣ nach seiner zweiten Lesung, *Rev. Ét. gr.*, VII, 45. Nach seinem Vorschlage stellt man in Z. 8 allgemein ein Partizipium her und schwankt nur hinsichtlich der herzustellenden Form; gegen seine Lesung συνανοίγνουσ[α] hatte W. Dittenberger bemerkt, “ut vix diiudicari potest, utrum -νύουσα an -νύσα incidere voluerit quadratarius, sic -νουσα cum sermonis usu pugnare videtur.” Hiller von Gaertringen als letzter Herausgeber erklärt dagegen συνανοίγνουσ[α]: “mixtum ex -γούσα (K. Meisterhans, *Gr. d. att. Inschr.*,³ p. 191, 17) et -γνύουσα.” Dem ersten Zeitworte καθωσίωκεν muss in dem mit τά τε συνχωσθέντα τῶν εὐρείπων beginnenden zweiten Teile des Satzes ein zweites Zeitwort entsprechen. Ich finde dieses in dem überlieferten συνανοίγνουσι, gleich συνανοίγνυσι, mit ου statt mit υ geschrieben, vgl. E. Mayser, *Gr. d. gr. Pap.*, I, 118. In den Worten: τά τε συνχωσθέντα τῶν εὐρείπων πρότερον φόβοις

πολέμου τῇ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ συνανοίγνυσι εἰρήνῃ bezeichnet das Praesens passend den Beginn der Arbeiten, durch die Tryphaina die aus Furcht vor kriegesischen Verwicklungen absichtlich verschütteten Hafenanlagen der Stadt den Wünschen und Aufträgen ihres verstorbenen Gemahls entsprechend wiederherstellen lässt; bei dem Beginn dieser kostspieligen Arbeiten, die eine grosse Anzahl von Arbeitern längere Zeit beschäftigen werden, trifft der Demos der Kyzikener Massnahmen zur Verhütung einer Teuerung. An dieses zweite Zeitwort συνανοίγνυσι schliesst ein Partizipialsatz: μεγίστῳ καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ (geschrieben: καιπιφανεστῳ) θεῷ [Γαίῳ] Καίσαρι ἀρχαίαν καὶ προγονικὴν τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ νεωκόρον ἐπανακτωμένη πόλιν. Ebenso folgte dem ersten Zeitwort καθωσίωκεν ein Partizipialsatz, dieser allerdings zweigeteilt: οὐχ ἱστορήσασα ἡμᾶς ὡς παλαιὸν Κυζίκου κτίσμα, ἀλλ' ἐπιγνοῦσα νέαν Ἀγρίππα χάριν. Dieser ganze erste Teil des der Begründung des Beschlusses gewidmeten Satzes gilt Tryphainas Verdiensten; der folgende zweite Teil gibt den Gefühlen und Bestrebungen Ausdruck, welche den Demos der Kyzikener in Würdigung der Gesinnung und der Absichten der Fürstin und ihres verstorbenen Gemahls beseelen: ὁ δὲ δῆμος κτλ. πολλὴν εἰσηνένκατο σπουδὴν; mit den unmittelbar vorangehenden Worten ἢ τῶν σπουδασθέντων μνήμη kann das Zeitwort nicht verbunden werden. An ὁ δὲ δῆμος schliessen wieder zwei Partizipialsätze: αὐτῆς τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν οἶκον θαυμάσας εὐσέβειαν und, durch καὶ verbunden, τῆς ἀδιαψεύστου ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν μνήμη Ποιμητάλκᾳ βασιλεῖ Κόττυος νιῷ ἀποδεξάμενος. Zu μνήμη bemerkt Dittenberger: "genetivum τῆς ἀδιαψεύστου ad dativum μνήμη rettulisse videtur scriptor tanquam si unus idemque casus esset"; meines Erachtens ist μνήμη unter Einwirkung der vorangehenden und folgenden Dative verschrieben statt μνήμης und τῆς ἀδιαψεύστου τῶν ἐντολῶν μνήμης als Genetiv des Sachbetriffs zu verbinden mit ἀποδεξάμενος; zu ἀποδεξάμενος ist aus dem ersten Partizipialsatz τὴν εὐσέβειαν αὐτῆς oder, dem Sinn der ganzen Ausführung entsprechend, αὐτήν, Tryphaina selbst, hinzuzudenken. Über ἀποδέξασθαι vgl. Buckler-Robinson, *Am. J. Arch.*, XVIII (1914), 349, und wegen des Genetivs des Sachbetriffs meine Bemerkung, *Anzeiger der Wiener Akademie*, philos.-histor. Kl., 1922, S. 6. Τῶν ἐντολῶν ist als zweiter

Genetiv dem ersten vorangestellt und davor noch ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί eingeschoben, fortgesetzt nach μνημη oder vielmehr μνήμης durch Ῥοιμητάλκα βασιλεῖ Κότυος υἱῷ; die Wortstellung zeigt so eine wohlberechnete Verschränkung.

Nach ἀποδεξάμενος kommt der Hauptsatz wieder zum Vorschein. In ΑΕΙΠΤΟΙΣ oder ΑΕΠΙΤΟΙΣ: ἃ ἐπὶ τοῖς, wie A. Joubin, *Rev. Ét. gr.*, VII, 45, lesen wollte, nicht ohne selbst hinzuzufügen: "Le sens de la phrase n'en est pas plus clair," kann ich nur ΑΕΙΤΕΤΟΙΣ finden; ich freue mich nachträglich zu sehen, dass auch schon A. Joubin, *Rev. Ét. gr.*, VI, 8, auf diese Verbesserung verfallen war, die zwar in der zweiten Ausgabe der *Sylloge*, aber nicht in der dritten erwähnt ist. Die Änderung ist eine ganz unbedeutende, da in der Vorlage der zweite Strich eines Pei, etwas geschwungen, dem flachen Bogen eines runden Epsilon sehr nahe kommen konnte. Mit ἀ(λ)είπτοις, wie W. Dittenberger schrieb, und ἀ(διαλ)είπτοις, wie N. Limnios, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVI, 141 vorschlug, weiss ich nichts anzufangen. Den Satz: τοῖς ἐκείνου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας βουλήμασιν καὶ τεθν(ε)ῶτος ἐνέζηκεν ἢ τῶν σπουδασθέντων μνήμη gibt A. Joubin in seiner Übersetzung, durch die er in sehr anerkennenswertem Bemühen das Verständnis des schwierigen Schriftstücks gefördert hat, folgendermassen wieder: "attendu, en outre, que dans sa volonté survit toujours le souvenir des projets de son époux(?) même défunt." Ich glaube aber nicht, dass diese Worte von dem Willen Tryphainas verstanden werden können, und beziehe sie auf den Demos, der ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου, nämlich des Königs Kotys, τῆς ἐπιθυμίας βουλήμασιν ἐνέζηκεν, oder vielmehr ἐνέζη. Die Verbindung mag sonst nicht belegt sein (der einzige Beleg, den C. B. Hase für ἐνζῶ in Stephanus' Thesaurus anzuführen hatte, Philon *Νομ. ἱερ. ἀλλ.* 108 entfällt nach der Lesung des letzten Herausgebers, L. Cohn, I, p. 89); der Sinn ist offenbar, dass der Demos beständig in den Entschliessungen gelebt hat, welche der verstorbene König Kotys hinsichtlich der ihm am Herzen liegenden Wiederherstellung der Hafenanlagen von Kyzikos beabsichtigt hatte, mit anderen Worten: dass der Demos stets auf die Verwirklichung dieses Wunsches des verstorbenen Königs gerechnet hat. Die Verbindung zwischen der ersten und der zweiten Zeile des auf den Demos bezüglichen Satzes stelle ich

dadurch her, dass ich ἐνέζηκεν, wie man bisher las, in ἐνέζη und κεν d. i. καὶ ἐν (vgl. καὶπιφανες(τά)τω, Z. 9 ; καὶρήνη, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 257 ff., No. 8, Sp. II, Z. 42, dazu meine Bemerkung Beiträge S. 319, gebilligt von H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 414) auflöse. Das Imperfectum ist geeigneter als das Perfectum, einen Zustand zu bezeichnen, "der in der Vergangenheit galt, aber noch in der Gegenwart fort dauert" (J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, I, 184 f.). Es erübrigt nach κ(αὶ) ἐν in η τῶν σπουδασθέντων μνήμη mit Einschub eines Tau zu erkennen: τῇ τῶν σπουδασθέντων μνήμη.

Der ganze lange Satz wird völlig verständlich, wenn in Z. 8 συνανοίγνουσι nicht geändert, in Z. 11 in ΑΕΠΙΤΟΙΣ oder ΑΕΠΙΤΟΙΣ αἰεί [τε] τοῖς erkannt, nach ἐνέζη in Z. 12 κέν in : καὶ ἐν aufgelöst und nach ἐν vor η τῶν σπουδασθέντων μνήμη ein Tau eingefügt, somit in Z. 10 ff. gelesen wird : ὁ δὲ δῆμος κτλ. θαυμάσας κτλ. καὶ κτλ. ἀποδεξάμενος κτλ. αἰεί [τε] τοῖς ἐκείνου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας βουλήμασιν καὶ τεθνεῶτος ἐνέζη κέν (τ)ῇ τῶν σπουδασθέντων μνήμη πολλὴν εἰσηνέγκατο σπουδῇ; dann hängen die Worte ἡ τῶν σπουδασθέντων μνήμη nicht mehr "in der Luft." Die Wendung πᾶσαν αἰεί ὁσίαν τῆς εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν ἐφευρίσκουσα ἐπίνοιαν war überhaupt untadelig. Auch die Verschränkungen in der Stellung der Worte sind begreiflich. Es bleiben meines Erachtens auch nicht Einzelheiten übrig, die in dem Schwulst als "dunkel" oder gar als "barbarisch" bezeichnet werden könnten. Die drei Beschlüsse verdienen eingehendere stilistische Würdigung; E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, I, S. 443 ff., hat sie nicht berücksichtigt.

3. In der Mauer der Akropolis von Sardes an unzugänglicher Stelle verbaut, war G. Kaibel der Stein *Epigr. gr.*, 903, nur durch Le Bas' unzureichende Abschrift, veröffentlicht von H. Waddington, *Inscr. gr. et lat. d'Asie Mineure*, n. 629 bekannt. Eine neue zuverlässige, mit Hilfe von Feldstecher und Fernrohr gewonnene Lesung wird W. H. Buckler und D. M. Robinson, *Am. J. Arch.*, XVII (1913), p. 47, n. 3, verdankt, doch bedarf ihre Umschrift an einer Stelle der Berichtigung. Das Gedicht auf Acholios lautet nach ihrem Abdruck :

Οὗτος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίης | ὑψαυχένα θῶκον | ὑπάρχων
 πυργώσας | καθαροῖς δόγμασιν |⁵ Ἀχόλιος·
 ὦι βουλὴ με|γάλων ἀγαθῶν χάριν | εἰκόνα βαιὴν
 στησαμέν' | εὐνομίης μάρτυρα πι|στοτάτην
 ἦδ' ὅτι λαῖ|¹⁰νέων δαπέδων κρη|πίδα τορήσας
 τεῦξεν | ἐλευθερίης ἐνναέ|ταις τέμενος.

Der Apostroph, den dieser Abdruck zu *στησαμεν* zusetzt, und die gewählte Betonung lehren, dass W. H. Buckler und D. M. Robinson *στησαμένη* verstehen, im Anschlusse an H. Waddington, der in dem vierten Verse des Gedichts *στησαμέν[η τειμὴν ὥπασε θ]ειοτάτην* ergänzt hatte, da in seiner Abschrift die achte Zeile der Inschrift übersehen war. Die letzte Veröffentlichung der Inschrift *I.G.R.P.*, IV, 1510 gibt gar *στησαμένη* als vollständig erhalten. Auf dem Steine ist indes zwar in Z. 9 nach *ἦδ'* vor *ὅτι* ein Apostroph erkannt worden, nicht aber nach *στησαμεν*. Freilich ist nicht nur für einen weiteren Buchstaben nach *στησαμεν* in der Zeile kein Raum; selbst der letzte Buchstabe, Ny, steht knapp an Rande des Steines; alle Zeilen schliessen mit vollen Worten oder Silben; Punkte zwischen der Zeile bezeichnen die Enden der Verse. Wäre *στησαμένη* richtig, so würde zudem der Relativsatz eines Verbuns entbehren. Allerdings verzichten späte Gedichte, die Fassung der in ungebundener Rede gehaltenen Aufschriften der Denkmäler nachahmend, in gesuchter Kürze gelegentlich auf ein die Ehrung oder die Errichtung oder Bedeutung des Denkmals zum Ausdruck bringendes Verbum; da G. Gerlach, *Griechische Ehreninschriften* (1908), in dem den metrischen Ehreninschriften gewidmeten Abschnitte seiner auch sonst mancher Ergänzung und Berichtigung bedürftigen Ausführungen, S. 100 ff., auf solche knappe Fassungen nicht zu sprechen kommt und diese auch sonst meines Wissens nicht beachtet worden sind, seien ohne Absicht der Vollständigkeit einige Beispiele für die Auslassung eines solchen Verbuns aufgezählt. Von Ehreninschriften sei an erster Stelle *I.G.*, IV, 787 (*Epigr. gr.*, 916), angeführt, wie so viele Inschriften in B. Laums *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, übersehen:

Πιτθείδαι Θεόδωρον, ἐπεὶ πόλιν ἡέξησε
 πευκαλίμοις ἀγανῆς μήδεσι προστασίης,
 ναὶ μὴν καὶ κτεάτεσσιν, ἐπεὶ λίπε πᾶσι νέμεσθαι
 ἄργυρον ἐς γενεὴν πᾶσαν ἐπεσσομένην.

Auf dem Steine *I.G.*, III, 625 (*Epigr. gr.*, 817), folgt der Ehreninschrift: Ἡ βουλὴ τῶν φ' καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Πό(πλιον) Ὀρδεώνιον Λολλιανὸν τὸν σοφιστὴν das Epigramm:

Ἀμφοτέρων ῥητῆρα δικῶν μελέτησί τε ἄριστον
 Λολλιανὸν πληθὺς εὐγενέων ἐτάρων·
 εἰ δὲ θέλεις τίνες εἰσὶ δαήμεναι, οὖνομα πατρὸς
 καὶ πάτρης αὐτῶν τε οὖνομα δίσκος ἔχει.

In dem zweiten der Epigramme auf Doktikios aus Laodikeia *Epigr. gr.*, 387, fehlt in Frage und Antwort das Verbum:

Τίς τόδε καλὸν ἄγαλμα; τίνος χάριν; ἢ τίνι φωτῶν;
 Ἡ πόλις ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν Δοκτικίῳ μεγάλων.

Zu den Fragen vgl. z. B. *App. Plan.* 55.

Mehr empfunden wird das Fehlen des Verbuns in dem Relativsatz, der das zweite der Epigramme aus Megara auf Plutarchos *I.G.*, VII, 94, 95, zuletzt abgedruckt in J. Geffckens *Griechischen Epigrammen*, No. 370, schliesst:

Πάντη Πλουτάρχοιο κλέος, πάντη δέ τε θαῦμα
 πάντη τ' εὐνομίας εὐχος ἀπειρέσιον
 υἱός Εὐαγρίοιο, τὸν Ἀλκαθόου ναετῆρες
 πολλῶν ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἀμφὶ Δίκης τεμένει.

So fehlt das Verbum in dem Satze, mit dem das Epigramm *App. Plan.* 87, schliesst: εἴ γε Προμηθεὺς ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης ταῦτ ὑπὸ χαλκοτύπων.

Einen Verstorbenen ehrt das Epigramm der Herme *I.G.*, III, 768a (*Epigr. gr.*, 951):

Ἴππέα Ῥωμαίων τὸν ἐν ἡϊθέοισιν ἔφηβον
 Κήρυκος Ζήνωνος ἀφ' αἵματος υἱός υἱόν,
 Ζήνωνος Ζήνωνα, κλυτῶν προγόνων κλυτὸν ἔρνος,
 πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς Στρατόλας παραμύθιον εἶναι.

Weitere Beispiele liefern, sämtlich Ehreninschriften, die Epigramme der *Appendix Planudea* 35, 47, 56, 69, 322.

Zu der Grabschrift *I.G.*, III, 1321 : 'Αγαθῇ τύχῃ. Τελεσφόραν τὸ σῆμα τὴν Τελεσφόρου hat G. Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, 123, bemerkt : "similis breviloquentiæ exemplum non novi"; unausgesprochen bleibt ἔχει oder κατέχει, καλύπτει, κεύθει oder κρύπτει. Das Epigramm *I.G.*, XIV, 1549 (*Epigr. gr.*, 580), beginnt :

Σῆμα τόδ' Εὐδαίμων Διονυσίῳ ὃν ῥ' ἔταρον ὥς
φίλατο καὶ Μούσαις ἔξοχα φιλαμένωι.

Ein solches Verbum kann indes in dem Epigramme auf Acholios deshalb nicht fehlen, weil *στησαμένη* allein schon dem Sinne nach genügt und ein passendes zweites Verbum sich zwingend zu *στησαμένη* überhaupt nicht hinzudenken lässt. Augenscheinlich ist *στήσαμεν* zu lesen; die Ratsherren der Stadt sprechen. Ganz ebenso sprechen die Stifter anderer Denkmäler, namentlich *I.G.*, XIV, p. 695, 978a :

Ἀδριανὴ σύνοδός σε νέον θεὸν Ἑρμάωνα
στήσαμεν ἄζόμενοι τὸν καλὸν Ἀντίνοον
Νικίου ιδρύσαντος, ὃν ἀρητῆρα θέμεσθα
σεῦ, μάκαρ, ἐς βιοτῆν πρέσβυν ὑποσχόμενον.

Schon das Epigramm auf Aratos (Plutarch, *Arat.* 14) sagt V. 3 ff :

ἄμμες δ' εἰκόν', Ἀρατε, τεὰν νόστοιο τυχόντες
στάσαμεν ἀντ' ἀρετᾶς ἣδὲ δικαιοσύνας
σωτῆρος σωτῆρσι θεοῖς.

Weitere Beispiele für *στήσαμεν* geben die Epigramme *I.G.*, V.1, 493 (*Epigr. gr.*, 949), *Inschriften von Olympia*, 481 (J. Geffcken, *Griech. Epigr.*, 368), *App. Plan.* 42.

So steht auch *θήκαμεν* in dem Epigramm *I.G.*, IV, 365 (*Epigr. gr.*, 885), V. 3 ; *ἐτίσαμεν*, *Epigr. gr.*, p. 537, 903a, V. 6 ; *ἐμέλλομεν* — *γεραίρειν*, *App. Plan.* 45. Vollends kommt die Selbstgefälligkeit der Stifter eines Denkmals zum Ausdruck, wenn das Verbum in der ersten Person nicht der Mehrzahl, sondern der Einzahl erscheint wie in dem Epigramme aus

Dorylaion, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1897, S. 400, No. 44, vgl. *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XVI, Beibl., S. 71 ff. :

Τὸν πρῶτον πατέρα Ἀκαμάντιον εἰκόνι χαλκῇ
φυλῶν ἡ πρώτη Μητρῶς εἰδρυσάμεν.

4. Als Zeugnisse für das Kunstleben in einer Kleinstadt an der Küste Kariens beanspruchen die Inschriften, die sich auf Aufführungen im Theater zu Iasos beziehen, besondere Bedeutung. Diese Inschriften sind zuerst von H. Waddington in *Le Bas' Inscr. gr. et lat. d'Asie Mineure*, n. 252-299 veröffentlicht, von P. Foucart, *De collegiis scenicorum artificum* (1873), p. 56, und O. Lüders, *Die dionysischen Künstler* (1873), S. 124 f., besprochen und sodann von A. Brinck, *Dissert. Halens.*, VII, 71 ff., wieder abgedruckt und eingehend behandelt worden. Eine kleine Auswahl ist in Ch. Michels *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, n. 908-912, nicht eine einzige in Dittenbergers *Sylloge* aufgenommen. Kürzlich hat F. Bilabel, "Die ionische Kolonisation," *Philologus*, Suppl.-Bd. XIV, Heft 1 (1920), S. 146 ff., zu den Inschriften einige Beobachtungen als neu vorgetragen, die längst von A. Brinck vorweggenommen waren. J. P. Mahaffy gebührt das Verdienst, *Athenæum*, No. 3630, May 22, 1897, p. 688 f., mitgeteilt zu haben, dass der Pfeiler ("le montant de la porte du théâtre"), welcher die Inschriften Le Bas-Wadd., n. 252-268, 270-272 trägt, vom Marquis of Dufferin and Ava gelegentlich einer Kreuzfahrt an der Küste Kleinasien in Jahre 1851 erworben und mit anderen Inschriftsteinen, den Beschlüssen Le Bas-Wadd., n. 61-65, über die Asylie von Teos, nach Irland gebracht und jetzt im Schlosse Clandeboye aufgestellt ist. Um die Erklärung des Vermerkes : ἡ πάροδος εὔρεν δραχμὴν, ἡ δὲ θεὰ ἐγένετο δωρεάν, der in diesen Inschriften 252-258 oftmals wiederkehrt, haben sich nach anderen E. L. Hicks in Bemerkungen zu dem Beschlusse der Samothraker für den Dichter Δύμας Ἀντιπάτρου Ἰασεύς, *Inscr. Brit. Mus.*, 444, und *J.H.S.*, VIII, 98, und auch J. P. Mahaffy, a.a.O., bemüht ; ich glaube, da keine der bisher aufgestellten Erklärungen befriedigt, eine neue versuchen zu dürfen.

Es genügt zwei Absätze aus der Urkunde Le Bas-Wadd., n. 252, in Ch. Michels *Recueil*, n. 908, abzudrucken :

Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ μετὰ Νημερτέα οἶδε ἐπέδωκαν· ἀγωνοθέτης Ἀπολλόδωρος Χάρμου Σωσύλον τὸν κωμωιδὸν ἡμέρας δύο, καὶ ἡ πάροδος εὗρεν δραχμὴν, ἡ δὲ θεὰ ἐγένετο δωρεάν. Δύμας Ἀντιπάτρου τῆς ἐπιδόσεως ἥς ἐπένευσεν χορηγῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπάνω ἐνιαυτῷ Σωσύλον τὸν κωμωιδὸν, καὶ ἡ πάροδος εὗρεν δραχμὴν, ἡ δὲ θεὰ ἐγένετο δωρεάν.

H. Waddington erklärte diesen Vermerk folgendermassen : “L’entrée du théâtre était libre ce jour là, le donateur faisant tous les frais de la représentation, parmi lesquels il fallait compter les salaires des hommes ou des femmes, qui composaient le chœur ; le mot *πάροδος* qui signifie tantôt la première entrée du chœur sur la scène, tantôt le premier morceau chanté par lui, doit indiquer ici le chœur lui-même, dont chaque membre recevait une gratification d’une drachme ; dans un seul cas, la gratification paraît avoir été de deux drachmes par tête (n. 254).” In dieser einen Urkunde steht nach H. Waddingtons Umschrift in Z. 11 ff., freilich : *Μενεκλῆς [Ἱεροκ]λείου[s αὐλ]ωιδὸν Μετάνειρον ἐφ’ [ἡμέρας δ]ύο | καὶ εὗρεν ἡ πάροδος δραχμά[s] · ἡ δὲ θε[α ἐγέν]ετο δωρεάν*, die Abschrift lässt aber für die Einschaltung eines Zahlzeichens keinen Raum. A. Brinck hat deshalb, p. 224 f., mit Recht angenommen, dass auch an dieser Stelle *δραχμ[ήν]* zu lesen ist oder wenigstens gemeint war. H. Waddington folgt P. Foucart, wenn er p. 57 *ἡ δὲ πάροδος εὗρεν δραχμὴν* übersetzt : “accepit chorus drachmam” und erklärt : “saltatoribus qui gratuitam operam choris civilibus præbere debebant, una drachma dono dabatur.” Gegen diese Erklärung hat schon O. Lüders Einsprache erhoben, weil *πάροδος* nicht den Chor bezeichnen könne ; “mehr Wahrscheinlichkeit habe am Ende noch die Annahme, dass jeder Schauspieler für das jedesmalige Auftreten eine Drachme erhalten habe, eine allerdings sehr geringe Bezahlung.” A. Brinck hat, p. 220, gegen H. Waddingtons Erklärung des weiteren eingewendet, *εὕρισκειν* könne nicht wohl “empfangen” bedeuten, und die Künstler, um deren Auftreten es sich handle, seien schwerlich alle mit dem Chore zusammen aufgetreten ; er übersetzt *ἡ δὲ πάροδος εὗρεν δραχμὴν* : “das Auftreten wurde mit einer Drachme bezahlt” oder “für das Auftreten wurde eine Drachme gezahlt” ; fügt aber bei : *sed cum ipsum artificem hanc drachmam accepisse incredibile sit,*

cum diserte dicatur spectatores nihil solvisse, equidem fateor me non intellegere quid sibi velint verba illa." So bezeichnete auch A. Müller, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Bühnenaltertümer*, S. 409, die Bedeutung der Formel als noch nicht ermittelt.

Eine andere Erklärung versuchte sodann E. L. Hicks: "Dymas, son of Antipater, as part of the subscription which he promised when choregos last year, [engaged at his own expense to perform at the Dionysia] Sosylos the comedian; now his appearance commanded an entrance payment of a drachma [from each spectator], while the performance cost the authorities nothing. At Athens the charge for admission to the ordinary seats was two obols, one-third of a drachma, payable to the lessee. At Iasos probably the regular charge was much the same, while the comparative poverty of the state did not allow of a 'theoric fund' to make the entrance free for the poorer citizens. . . . In later days, what we call the 'star-system' was in full vogue, and the presence of a favourite performer at Iasos secured a full house and a high admission-fee; so that the performance (θέα) was self-supporting. This explanation has the advantage of simplicity, and it gives a proper sense to παράδος and θέα." In demselben Sinne übersetzt J. P. Mahaffy (*Athenæum*, a.a.O.): ["In consequence of the foreign 'star'"] the entrance money rose to a drachma (per head), so that the performance paid its own expenses and did not burden the public funds."

Gerade diese Auffassung, die E. L. Hicks, "in the absence of a better solution," und J. P. Mahaffy mit dem Geständnis: "but there are difficulties in this rendering," vorgetragen hat, gibt aber den Worten ἡ θέα ἐγένετο δωρεάν eine meines Erachtens unmögliche Deutung; diese Worte können nur besagen, dass das Zuschauen die Zuschauer, nicht aber, dass die Schaustellung die veranstaltende Behörde nichts kostete. Auch die Übersetzung der Worte ἡ δὲ παράδος εἶπεν δραχμήν = "his appearance commanded an entrance payment of a drachma" ist nicht zutreffend. Dass εἶπεν das Erträgnis eines Verkaufes oder einer Verpachtung, namentlich vermöge einer Versteigerung, bedeuten muss, stand mir in Erinnerung an eine Bestimmung des Beschlusses des Demos Peiraieus über die Verpachtung seines "Theaters," den ich *Urk. dramat. Auff.*, S. 235 besprochen

habe, jetzt *I.G.*, II,² 1176, Z. 25 ff.: ἐπειδὴ Θεαῖος κτλ. πεπόηκεν τριακοσίαις δραχμαῖς πλέον εὔρεῖν τὸ θέατρον und an andere Stellen der Inschriften und Schriftsteller (vgl. G. Billeter, *Geschichte des Zinsfusses*, S. 15, und J. Partsch, *Griechisches Bürgerschaftsrecht* I, S. 330 Anm.) fest, noch bevor ich bemerkte, dass U. v. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XL, 147, ein Bruchstück des Hypereides (182 A. 1.): τῆς πυκνὸς τοσούτον εὕρισκούςης "die Benützung der Pnyx zu irgend einem Zwecke trug so viel ein" geradezu mit Berufung auf die Inschriften von Iasos und andere im Index zu Dittenbergers *Syll.*² nachgewiesene Inschriften erklärt hat. Somit muss der Satz bedeuten: die πάροδος trug eine Drachme ein. Mit πάροδος kann aber, wie die umsichtige Besprechung zeigt, die L. Radermacher kürzlich, ohne Berücksichtigung der Inschriften von Iasos, *Zeitschrift f. d. österr. Gymn.*, 1916, S. 590 ff., dem Worte gewidmet hat, nur das Auftreten der betreffenden Künstler gemeint sein. Meines Erachtens ist die Drachme ein Anerkennungszins, den sich die Gemeinde Iasos für die Benützung des Spielplatzes zahlen liess. Wie bei jenen Aufführungen der Zuschauerraum, das eigentliche θέατρον (W. Dörpfeld-E. Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, S. 281 ff.), ohne Zahlung eines Eintrittsgeldes, δωρεάν, zugänglich war, so stellte die Gemeinde Iasos den Veranstaltern der Aufführung die Orchestra und die Skene des "Theaters" gegen Zahlung lediglich eines Anerkennungszinses zur Verfügung. Einen solchen Anerkennungszins, ebenfalls in der Höhe von einer Drachme, hat kürzlich W. H. Buckler in seiner ausgezeichneten Behandlung der Pachturkunden von Mylasa und Olymos, *A.B.S.A.*, XXII, 190 ff., nachgewiesen und die Bedingungen, unter denen derselbe zu zahlen war, p. 213 f., folgendermassen gekennzeichnet: "The lessee was often authorized to assign his lease. If he did so, he continued to pay the nominal rent of one drachme, τὴν δραχμήν, thus keeping alive his liability as lessee. And if, in consequence of the assignee's failure to pay his rent, the land had to be relet, the new tenant paid the same rent as the assignee, namely the amount of the original rent less the one drachme still paid by the original lessee." Die Zahlung eines χαλκοῦς wird als Zeichen der Anerkennung einer Verpflichtung ausbedungen in dem Vertrag der Milesier mit Pidasa, *Delphinion*, S. 350, No. 149, Z. 20 ff., 39 ff. Auch an die eine Drachm

ἐνβάθρον in den Urkunden aus Avroman *J.H.S.*, XXXV, 28 A, Z. 30, 29 B, Z. 32 (vgl. 30 A, Z. 9, B, Z. 10 und die Bemerkungen von Ellis H. Minns, p. 58) wird erinnert werden dürfen. Über die Bedingungen der Verpachtung des Zuschauerraumes eines "Theaters" unterrichtet uns am besten der erwähnte Beschluss des Demos Peiraeus; von dem Spielplatz des "Theaters" ist in den Bestimmungen, die in ihm erhalten sind, nicht die Rede.

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XXXII.

EIN KLEINES HISTORISCHES MONUMENT

von ROBERT ZAHN

ZWISCHEN den reichen Schätzen antiken Goldschmuckes in der zweiten Sammlung des Herrn Friedrich L. von Gans in Frankfurt a. M., die nach dem Tode des Besitzers in die Galerie Bachstitz¹ im Haag übergegangen ist, befindet sich ein für den flüchtigen Betrachter zunächst unscheinbarer goldener Finger-ring, über dessen Herkunft nichts bekannt ist. Der einfache glatte, im Querschnitt rundliche Bügel (Taf. XIV, 4; 1 : 1)² ist hohl und mit Schwefel ausgegossen.³ Oben ist ein ovales Plättchen aus Goldblech eingelassen, dessen erhabenes Bild wohl durch Pressen in einer Form hergestellt und mit dem Stichel ein wenig nachgearbeitet ist (Taf. XIV, 5; 1 : 1; Taf. XIV, 6; 4 : 1). In rechteckiger Umrahmung sehen wir die Büste einer Frau mit zweifellos porträthaften Zügen und einer sehr merkwürdigen Kopftracht. Das Gesicht begrenzt ein Wulst, der über dem Nacken sich aufrollt. Es ist zunächst nicht klar, ob damit ein Teil des Haares oder eine hinten mit grosser Schleife zusammengefasste Binde gemeint ist. Über die Wange fällt ein hakenförmiges Gebilde, bei dem man sich wieder fragt, ob es sich um einen Ohrring oder eine Locke handelt. Quer über den Kopf laufen strahlenartig zwei Reihen von Ringelchen, die offenbar Gurte oder Bügel mit Edelsteinbesatz

¹ *Galerie Bachstitz's-Gravenhage*, Bd. II, *Antike Kunst* (R. Zahn, "Die Sammlung Friedrich L. von Gans"), S. 17 ff., No. 59, Taf. 17.

² Höhe 0.02 m., Breite, 0.03 m.

³ Artemidor, *Oneirocr.*, II, cap. 5, sagt von goldenen Ringen: ἀεὶ δὲ ἀμείνορες οἱ ὁλόσφυροι, οἱ γὰρ κενοὶ καὶ θεῖον ἔνδον ἔχοντες δόλους καὶ ἐνέδρας σημαίνουσι. Vgl. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the British Museum*, Introduction, S. XXXI; Henkel, *Die römischen Fingerringe der Rheinlande*, S. 278; Kenner, *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, XXIX (1863), S. 305 Anm.

andeuten sollen. Wir denken an die ähnlich geschmückten Hauben byzantinischer Kaiserinnen.¹ Über der Stirn befindet sich ein von Strahlenkranz umgebenes, mit weissem Schmelze gefülltes Rund. Ähnliche Zierate, aber ohne die umgebenden Strahlen, bemerken wir auf den Schultern, offenbar Fibeln. Oben und unten, längs den Schmalseiten des Rechteckes steht je eine grössere Scheibe mit Strahlenkreis, deren Inneres wieder weissen Schmelz zeigt. Von ihr gehen zwei Tiervorderteile aus, nach links ein Pferd mit Zügel, nach rechts ein Löwe. Beide Tiere tragen durch gereihte Ringelchen angedeutete Halsketten. Parallel zu den senkrechten Langseiten des Rahmens laufen Reihen von je fünf Buckeln mit leichter Vertiefung, in der wieder etwas weisser Schmelz zu bemerken ist. Zwischen ihnen stehen ganz zu linearem Ornamente zusammengeschrumpfte gegenständliche Blüten, deren äussere Blätter, zu einfachen Bogen geworden, die Buckeln von beiden Seiten umschliessen.

Die Verbindung der beiden halben Tierkörper, die zwischen sich einen Gegenstand halten oder tragen, erinnert uns zunächst an die bekannten persischen Säulenkapitelle.² Das Motiv lässt sich in der orientalischen Kunst weit zurück verfolgen. Wir begegnen ihm schon in der Entwicklung des Wappens der alten babylonischen Stadt Lagasch (Tello), dem Bilde des löwenköpfigen Adlers, dessen Krallen in den Rücken zweier von einander abgekehrter Löwen geschlagen sind.³ Auf dem Siegesdenkmale des Eannatum, der sogenannten Geierstele, sind daraus zwei mit einander verbundene Löwenvorderteile geworden, die den Vogel zu tragen scheinen.⁴ Auch die ältere östliche griechische

¹ Linas, *Les origines de l'orfèvrerie cloisonnée*, I, S. 288 ff.; Graeven, *Jahrbuch der K. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XIX (1898), S. 288 f.; Delbrück, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVIII (1913), S. 310 ff., Taf. IX ff.

² Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, V, S. 491 ff., Fig. 312; S. 780 f., Fig. 465, 466. Benndorf-Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbashi-Trysa*, S. 66 ff.

³ Ed. Meyer, "Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien," *Abh. der K. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissensch.*, 1906, S. 82, Anm. 4, und *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 3. Aufl., § 370. Ludwig Curtius, "Studien zur Geschichte der altorientalischen Kunst," I, *Sitzungsber. der K. Bayr. Akademie d. Wissensch.*, philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse, 1912, 7. Abh., S. 21 ff. Vgl. auch Ward, *The Seal Cylinders in Western Asia*, S. 30 ff., 408.

⁴ Heuzey et Thureau-Dangin, *Restitution matérielle de la stèle des vautours*, Taf. I. Vgl. Ed. Meyer, *Sumerier usw.*, S. 82 ff., mit Abbildung, und *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, § 386; Morris Jastrow, jr., *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und*

Kunst kennt diese Bildungen. So sehen wir gerade Löwe und Pferd verbunden auf einem Skarabäus der früheren Sammlung Luynes, der sich jetzt in Paris befindet,¹ zwei Flügelstiere auf einem Steine derselben Form in der Sammlung Millingen,² Löwe und Eber auf einem altertümlichen kyprischen Skarabäus aus Marion,³ Löwe und Stier auf einer wohl lydischen Münze aus Kroisos' Zeit, verschiedene Zusammensetzungen dieser Art auf lykischen Prägungen des V. Jahrhunderts.⁴ Das Motiv setzt sich dann in der griechisch-römischen Kunst fort. Pasten der frühen Kaiserzeit in Berlin zeigen uns Steinbock und Stier, die zusammengewachsen die Göttin Ceres tragen.⁵ Ein

Assyriens, No. 73, Text Sp. 50; Frank, "Babylonisch-assyrische Kunst," in Seemanns *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, II, S. 42, 6.

Man könnte sich auch vorstellen, dass das andere altbabylonische Motiv, die wappenartig gestellten, einander kreuzenden Tierkörper (Curtius, a.a.O., S. 17 ff.) sich gelegentlich in dieser Richtung weiterentwickelt hat. Ferner sei an das Zeichen des Gottes Ninib, den Kalben mit den ansetzenden Köpfen oder Vorderteilen von Löwen erinnert (Jastrow, a.a.O., Nos. 28, 29, 36, 37, 39, 46, Text Sp. 13 und 34; Ward, a.a.O., S. 402, 408; O. Weber, "Altorientalische Siegelbilder" [Der alte Orient, 17. und 18. Jahrg.], No. 115).—Vgl. auch unten S. 447 Anm. 2.

¹ Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, III, S. 105.

² Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Taf. LXVIII, 1; Furtwängler, a.a.O., I, Taf. VII, 43, dazu III, S. 104, über die Herkunft der Bildung aus Persien.

³ Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, Taf. XXXII, 32.

⁴ Head, *Historia numorum*,² S. 646 und 689 f.

Hier mag auch eine griechische Bronzelampe mit Säulengriff aus Südrussland erwähnt werden (*Otschet der Kaiserl. Archäol. Kommission*, 1904, S. 129, Abb. 235). Der Ring am oberen Ende des Griffes ist von zwei Pferdebüsten umgeben. Vgl. auch Savignoni, *Monumenti antichi*, VII, S. 329 ff., 336 ff.

Ferner sei auf primitive Bronzeanhänger in Form zweier verbundener Tierprotomen aus Rhodos, Olympia und Italien verwiesen: Furtwängler, *Olympia*, IV zu No. 477; Cook, *Zeus*, I, S. 331 f.; Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, II, Taf. CLX, 3, und CXCI, 10. Vgl. auch das Motiv auf altitalischen Gefäßen und anderen Geräten: Déchelette, *Rev. arch.*, 1909, I, S. 339, 347, 356 = *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique*, II, 1, S. 426 ff. Ähnliche ägyptische Amulette aus Fayence und aus Gold, Vorderteile von Löwen: De Ridder, *Collection de Clercq*, VII, No. 1827, Taf. XIII; *Rev. arch.*, n.s., VII, 1863, S. 210.

⁵ Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium*, No. 3612-3622, Taf. XXVIII.

Es seien auch einige Gemmen mit Bildern von Kultstatuen in der Art der ephesischen Artemis angeführt: Cades, *Impronte*, Band 5, Classe F, No. 46, von den Hüften der Göttin springt nach l. das Vorderteil eines Einhornes, nach r. das eines Pferdes vor. Cades, ebenda No. 50 = Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, I, Taf. XLIV, 2, II, S. 211, an den Kopfputz setzen rechts und links zwei Protomen wohl von Löwen an (ebenso bei dem Steine der Sammlung Heyl in Darmstadt, Furtwängler, a.a.O., I, Taf. LXIV, 80, II, S. 295 f.). Die unten rechts und links von der Figur hervorkommenden halben Tiere sind keine Rehe, wie Furtwängler angibt, sondern deutlich Hündinnen. Merkwürdig ist ein mykenischer Stein aus Cypern, der einen Dämon mit halben, an den Hüften angewachsenen Hundeleibern zeigt: Furtwängler, a.a.O., Taf. LXV, 1.

Kameo derselben Sammlung bringt den in dieser Weise gedoppelten Capricornus und zwischen dessen Köpfen ein Oval mit dem Bilde des Augustus.¹ Sehr ähnlich erscheint diese Komposition als Beiwerk auf einem schönen Wiener Kameo, dessen Darstellung auf den Seesieg bei Aktium bezogen wird.² Die Böcke, die einen von einem Kranze umgebenen Schild tragen, setzen rechts und links an einen Globus an, wie auf Münzen des Tiberius, die dazu die erläuternde Inschrift DIVO AVGVSTO S.P.Q.R. OB CIVES SERVATOS tragen.³ Kommen schon diese zuletzt genannten Gebilde dem unseres Ringes nahe, so trifft dies noch viel mehr zu für die Gruppen des unteren Streifens der einen der beiden zusammengehörigen, dem Dolichenus geweihten dreieckigen Bronzeplatten von Kömlöd im Budapester Museum.⁴ Zwei Stiovorderkörper sind mit einander verbunden und an der Stelle der Zusammenfügung erscheint, wie bei dem Ringe, wieder eine Scheibe mit eingezeichneter Rosette. Über den Tieren steigt, nur in halber Gestalt sichtbar, ein gewappneter Mann auf, offenbar der Gott selbst.⁵ Ich stehe nicht an, in der Rosettenscheibe die Sonne zu erkennen.⁶ Gerade so ist sie, mit Flügeln versehen, auf einem hethitischen Cylinder dargestellt.⁷ Die Stiere tragen die Sonne, sie stehen typologisch betrachtet an Stelle der Uräus-

¹ Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 11074, Taf. LXVI.

² Arneth, *Die antiken Cameen des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinettes in Wien*, Taf. XII, 2, S. 23; R. von Schneider, *Album auserlesener Gegenstände der Antikensammlung des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, S. 17 f., Taf. XLIV, 2; Rossbach, *Aus der Anomia*, S. 205 ff., Taf. III.

³ Cohen, *Description des médailles impériales*,² I, S. 104. Ein schönes Exemplar bei Hirsch, *Sammlung Weber*, II, Auktionskatalog XXIV, No. 852, Taf. V.

⁴ Beste Abbildung bei Desjardins, *Monuments épigraphiques du Musée National*, Budapest, 1873, Taf. VI, darnach bei Domaszewski, "Die Religion des römischen Heeres," *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XIV (1895), S. 59 f., Taf. IV, 1b, und bei Cook, *Zeus*, I, S. 616, Fig. 488. Seidl, *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., XII (1854), Taf. III, 2 = Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, IV, Sp. 53 ff., Abb. 17. Vgl. Kan, *De Jovis Dolicheni cultu*, Diss. Groningen, 1901, S. 43 f.; Loeschcke, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 107, S. 69; Fredrich, "Juppiter Dolichenus," XXXIV. *Programm des Gymnasiums zu Cüstrin*, 1911-1912, S. 14, und die an diesen Stellen angeführte weitere Litteratur.

⁵ Vgl. Fredrich, a.a.O., S. 14, auch über die Attribute in den Händen.

⁶ Im Gegensatze zu Fredrich, a.a.O., der in ihr die Andeutung des siderischen Charakters des Stieres sieht.

⁷ Lajard, *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, IV, Taf. XIII, 9 = Cook, a.a.O., S. 209, Fig. 155d, Ward, a.a.O., S. 411, No. 1310.

schlangen und der Flügel in orientalischen Bildern.¹ Und auch die Verbindung mit dem darüber aufsteigenden Gotte ist nur eine römische Umbildung einer alten orientalischen Komposition. Denn so erheben sich auf mesopotamischen und von ihnen abhängigen persischen Denkmälern Schamasch, Assur und Ahuromazda in halber Gestalt aus oder über der durch einen geflügelten Reif oder eine Scheibe wiedergegebenen Sonne.² Sehr richtig hat Fredrich³ bemerkt, dass die Stiere auf dem Bronzerelief das Sternbild des Tierkreises bezeichnen. Aus ihm "stieg für die Babylonier die Sonne einst im Frühjahr, und wie sie meinten, auch am Schöpfungsmorgen und an jedem Morgen empor." Wir werden also ohne weiteres auch in dem Zeichen unseres Ringes die Sonne erkennen. Als eine von vielen feinen Strahlen umgebene Scheibe erscheint sie zum Beispiel auf den Münzen der von dem grammatischen Sonderlinge Alexarchos, dem Bruder des Kassandros, auf der Akte gegründeten Stadt Uranopolis.⁴ Der Löwe ist wegen

¹ Als eine Vorstufe der Darstellung dürfen wir vielleicht das Bild eines assyrischen Cylinders in Berlin betrachten: O. Weber, a.a.O., No. 268a.

² Vgl. z.B., Lajard, a.a.O., Taf. XIII, 28, 31, 30, 33; Jastrow, a.a.O., Nos. 49, 50, Text Sp. 36 mit Verweisungen, No. 56, Sp. 42, ferner Ward bei Jastrow, Sp. 108 f., zu Nos. 200, 205, 215, 217 (vgl. auch 222, Gott in der Mondsichel), und Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, S. 224 ff., 238 f., 251 f., 338 ff., 367, 385, 396; Weber, a.a.O., Nos. 464, 464a, 475, 506; Cook, a.a.O., S. 207 ff., Fig. 152, 153, 155, besonders Fig. 154, in Kilikien vom Satrapen Tiribazos geprägte Münzen (Head, a.a.O., S. 722, 724, 728, 730).

Sehr beachtenswert ist die Übernahme des Typus durch die griechische oder etruskische Glyptik. Ein Skarabäus der früheren Sammlung Cook (Cecil H. Smith and C. Amy Hutton, *Catalogue of the Antiquities, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Collection of the Late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre.*, London, 1908, S. 16, No. 49, Taf. II) zeigt einen mit dem Oberkörper über die geflügelte Sonnenscheibe emporragenden beschwingten Dämon, dessen Geschlecht nicht deutlich ist. Die Arme sind nach den Seiten ausgestreckt. Die grosse gekrümmte Nase gibt dem Gesichte ein hässliches Aussehen (etwa Gorgo?). Vom Schädelbogen gehen Spitzen aus (gesträubte Haare oder Strahlen?). Über die mit Chiton bekleidete Brust laufen Kreuzbänder.

³ A.a.O., S. 14 mit Hinweis auf Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, S. 63, 88, 93, 504. In der Beziehung auch auf den Mond kann ich Fredrich nach dem oben Gesagten nicht folgen.

⁴ Head, a.a.O., S. 206; B.M.C., *Macedonia*, S. 133 f.; *Berlin, Kgl. Museen, Beschreibung der antiken Münzen*, II, S. 162, 1, Taf. VI, 56; Cook, a.a.O., S. 290 f., Fig. 210; Svoronos, *B.C.H.*, XVIII (1894), S. 106; schöne Exemplare bei Hirsch, *Auktionskatalog XIII, Sammlung griech. Münzen aus dem Nachlass eines bekannten Archäologen*, Nos. 990-993, Taf. XIV, Katalog XXI, *Sammlung Weber*, I, Nos. 1158, 1159, Taf. XIV. Zu Alexarchos vgl. Herakleides Lembos bei Athen, III, 98e = *F.H.G.*, III, S. 169, 5; Strabo, VII, 35. Für das Münzbild beachtenswert ist die Stelle bei Clemens, *Protr.*, IV, cap. 54 = p. 16, 17, S.: τί με δὲ καταλέγειν Ἀλέαρχον;

seiner feurigen Natur seit uralter Zeit im Orient das Tier der Sonne. Wenn sie in seinem Zeichen steht, entwickelt sie ihre höchste Kraft. Im Löwen ging sie nach dem gewöhnlichen Glauben bei der Geburt der Welt auf, er ist also in der astrologischen Sprache ihr "Haus."¹ Wie auf dem Dolichenusrelief die Stiere, so werden wir auch auf dem Ringe den Löwen, den Träger² der Sonne, als das Sternbild fassen. Der andere Träger, das Pferd, scheint nach seiner verschiedenen Völkern geläufigen nahen Beziehung zum Sonnengotte³ keiner weiteren Erklärung zu bedürfen. Aber die eben ausgesprochene Deutung des Löwen empfiehlt, auch sein Gegenstück am Himmel zu suchen. Nun liegt im Tierkreise dem Löwen gegenüber der Wassermann,⁴ in den die Sonne in der Mitte des Januar tritt. Offenbart sie in jenem ihre Macht, so bedeutet das Verweilen im Wassermanne ihre Schwäche, aber auch den Beginn des Aufstieges zu neuer Kraftentfaltung. So sind diese beiden Sternbilder die wichtigen Stationen im Kreislaufe der Sonne.

γραμματικός οὗτος τὴν ἐπιστήμην γεγονώς, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἀριστοῦ ὁ Σαλαμίνιος, αὐτὸν κατεσχυσάμενος εἰς ἥλιον.

¹ Macrobi., *Sonn. Scip.*, I, 21, 24 f.; *Saturn.*, I, 21, 16 ff.; Plut., *Quaest. conviv.*, IV, 5, 6; Aelian., *de nat. an.*, V, 39, und XXI, 7; Joh. Lyd., *de mens.*, I, 20; Tertullian., *adv. Marcionem*, I, 13. Vgl. weiteres bei Jensen, a.a.O., S. 66, 478; Jeremias, in Roschers *Myth. Lex.*, III, Sp. 253 ff.; Cumont, ebenda II, Sp. 3041, und *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I, S. 79 ff., 101 f.; Dieterich, *Abrahamas*, S. 58 ff.; Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder*, S. 68, 70; Cook, a.a.O., S. 230 f., 571, Anm. 2, 625 f. Über die "Häuser" der Planeten, besonders das "Haus" der Sonne vgl. Macrobi., *Saturn.*, I, 12, 10, und 21, 16; Servius zu Verg. *Georg.*, I, 33; Aelian., *de nat. an.*, XII, 7; Cumont, *Textes, ect.*, I, S. 102, 2; Boll, *Sphaera*, S. 203, Anm. 1, 233 f., 333, und "Stern Glaube und Sterndeutung"² (*Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*, No. 638), S. 74, 80; Cook, a.a.O., S. 231 mit Anm. 3.

² Macrobius, *Sonn. Scip.*, I, 21, 24, braucht das Wort *gestare*: "*cancro gestante tunc lunam*." Vgl. aus dem Kreise der ägyptischen Kunst antithetisch gestellte Löwen, die zwischen sich die Sonnenscheibe tragen, bei Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik*, S. 20, Typ. V, 1, Taf. IV, 5, 3, auch den persischen Stein bei De Ridder, *Collection de Clercq*, VII, No. 2505, Taf. XVI.

³ Rapp, Roschers *Myth. Lex.*, I, Sp. 1998 f.; Cook, a.a.O., S. 333 ff., mit Litteraturverweisen. Für die Perser: Clemen, "Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion" (*Religionsgeschichte Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XVII, 1), S. 60 f., 76 f., 82 f., 149; auch Cumont, *Textes, ect.*, I, S. 126, 360, II, S. 61, mit Anm. 6 (aus Dion Chrys., XXXVI, 41). Vgl. ferner Dussaud, *Rev. arch.*, 1903, I, S. 369 ff.; Dölger, "Sol Salutis" (*Liturgiegeschichte. Forschungen*, Heft 4/5), S. 2, 18 Anm. 1 29 Anm. 5. Auf dem assyrischen Relief von Malthea mit der Götterprozession steht der Sonnengott Schamasch auf einem gezäumten Pferde (Perrot-Chipiez, a.a.O., II, S. 642 ff., Fig. 313, und öfter abgebildet).

⁴ Macrobius, *Sonn. Scip.*, I, 12, 4: "*Aquarius adversus Leoni est et illo oriente mox occidit.*"

Für die bildliche Darstellung in der Art, die wir auf dem Dolichenusrelief sehen, eignet sich nun die Gestalt des Wassermannes nicht so gut, wie die der vierfüssigen Tiere im Zodiacus. Aber jenem liegt das Vorderteil des Pferdes, das später als Pegasos gedeutet wurde, ganz nahe.¹ Dieses wurde nun mit dem Löwen vereinigt, wobei die enge Verbindung des Pferdes mit der Sonne überhaupt gewiss auch wesentlich mitgesprochen hat.² Wenn auf unserem Ringe dasselbe Zeichen zweimal angebracht ist, so sollen damit, falls es sich nicht um eine mechanische

¹ Aratus, *Phaenom.*, V, 281 ff., 693 ff.; Boll, *Sphaera*, S. 117, 119. Beachte auch Pferdevorderteil mit Stern auf Münze von Rhaukos: Svoronos, *B.C.H.*, XVIII 1894, S. 119, Fig. 41 (vgl. S. 124).

² Wie hier die tragenden Gestalten Sternbilder sind, so auch der doppelte Capricornus auf den oben genannten Kameen und Münzen (vgl. S. 444 Anm., 1-3), deren Bild erst durch die Verbindung mit den betreffenden Gruppen unseres Ringes und des Reliefs von Kömlöd in seiner vollen Bedeutung klar wird, und Steinbock und Stier auf den Berliner Pasten mit Ceres (S. 443 Anm. 5, vgl. Furtwängler, a.a.O., zu No. 3612). Letzterer deutet wohl auf die Ludi Cereales, 12.-19. April hin, jener vielleicht auf die am 13. Dezember abgehaltene Feier für Tellus und Ceres in Carinis (vgl. Marquardt-Wissowa, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, III, S. 216).

Es sei ferner darauf hingewiesen, dass auch die griechische Darstellung des von vorn gesehenen Heliosgespannes mitunter zu zwei an einander stossenden Pferdevorderteilen und dem von Strahlen umgebenen Helioskopfe zwischen ihnen zusammenschrumpft, eine Bildung, von der nur noch ein kleiner Schritt zu der oben behandelten ist. Den Anfang zeigen die Phalera aus Elis im Brit. Museum (Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery*, No. 2108, Taf. XL; *J.H.S.*, XIX, 1909, S. 160, Fig. 3; Cook, a.a.O., S. 336, Taf. XXIV) und die der Sammlung Nelidow (Pollak, *Klassisch-antike Goldschmiedearbeiten*, No. 533, Taf. 20). Weiter fortgeschritten ist die Entwicklung auf einer Phalera aus Südrussland (*Izvestija der Kais. Archäol. Kommission*, Heft 29, S. 39, Fig. 45) und ganz vollzogen ist sie auf Erzeugnissen der kalenischen Reliefkeramik (Pagenstecher, *Die kalenische Reliefkeramik*, S. 22, No. 1, Taf. VI, S. 76, No. 115. Omphalosschale im Museum von Sèvres, *Rev. arch.*, I, 1844, S. 779, Taf. XIX, 3). Dass solche Bildungen schon früher vorkommen, zeigt der altgriechische Goldring im Brit. Museum (Marshall, *Catalogue of Finger Rings*, No. 31, Taf. I). Auch eine Elektronprägung von Kyzikos mag verglichen werden (v. Fritze, *Nomisma*, VII, 1912, Taf. IV, 35). Den Verlauf der bildlichen Tradition im Gebiete der jüngeren orientalischen Kunst zeichnet Herzfeld, "Der Thron des Khosró," *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XLI, S. 105 ff.

Auf dem Boden eines grossen attischen Tonkessels des älteren schwarzfigurigen Stiles von der Akropolis (Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, I, No. 606, Taf. 32) sind um ein Rund die Vorderteile dreier Löwen und dreier gezäumter Pferde mit einander wechselnd angeordnet. Nach der untergeordneten Stelle, an der diese Komposition hier erscheint, mögen wir annehmen, dass sie nur noch dekorative Bedeutung hat. Anders aber ist es, wenn dieselben Tierprotomen um ein Gorgoneion gestellt als Schildzeichen auf einer unsignierten Vase des Amasis in Berlin erscheinen (Adamek, "Unsignierte Vasen des Amasis," *Prager Studien*, V, Taf. I. Vgl. auch das Bruchstück einer Preisamphora bei Graef, a.a.O., II, No. 923a, Taf. 59). Da möchte man doch vielleicht an das von der Triskelis umgebene Gorgoneion auf sizilischen Münzen des Agathokles und an ähnliche Gebilde auf spanischen Münzen und einer punischen Stele denken, die man mit der Sonne in Verbindung bringt (Cook, a.a.O., S. 307 ff.; Furtwängler in Roschers *Myth. Lex.*, I, Sp. 1726 f.).

Wiederholung handelt, wohl die beiden Hälften der Sonnenbahn ausgedrückt werden. Eigentlich erwarten wir der Sonne gegenüber den Mond.

Die Zierstreifen an den Langseiten des Rechteckes gehören in formaler Hinsicht zu den aus der Reihung der Blüten und Knospen des Lotos entwickelten Schmuckbändern.¹ Da aber die Buckeln, die die Knospen vertreten, gegenüber den Blüten so auffallend stark betont sind, könnte man denken, dass ihnen eine besondere, über das Ornamentale hinausgehende Bedeutung zukommt. Ich möchte für sie an die ihnen so ähnlichen Kugelreihen oder Sternbänder, die auf assyrischen Bildwerken namentlich an der Lehne des Ischthartrones angebracht sind, erinnern.² Eine merkwürdige Parallele auch zu der ganzen Anordnung des Ringbildes scheinen zwei sehr alte orientalische Tonnachbildungen von Kapellen zu bieten, die eine im Heiligtume des Gottes Enlil in Nippur gefunden,³ die andere in einem Grabe der frühgräkophönikischen Periode zu Amathus.⁴ Die Übereinstimmung beider Stücke ist so gross, dass man für sie denselben Herstellungsort annehmen muss. Jenes enthält das roh ausgeführte Bild des Gottes, dieses das einer wohl weiblichen Gottheit (etwa seiner Gemahlin Ninlil?). Auf der rechteckigen Umrahmung ist über dem Bilde der mit der Sonne vereinigte Halbmond, an den Seitenleisten je eine Reihe knopfartiger Scheiben aufgesetzt. Auch sie mögen mit den oben genannten Sternreihen in Verbindung gebracht werden.

Das Beiwerk des Ringbildes weist uns also mit allem Nachdrucke nach dem Osten, der alten Heimat des Sonnen- und

¹ Vgl. *Galerie Bachstitz*, II, S. 4, zu No. 6, und S. 18 B, Anm.*).

² Relief von Malthaia, s. oben S. 446 Anm. 3; Stele des Asarhaddon von Sendschirli in Berlin (*Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, XI, v. Luschan, "Ausgrabungen von Sendschirli," I, S. 18, Fig. 4, Taf. I; neue Zeichnung bei Weissbach, "Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb," *Wissenschaftl. Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, herausgeg. von Th. Wiegand, Heft 6, S. 27, Abb. 10; ferner Jastrow, a.a.O., Nos. 48, 204; Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum alten Testamente*, II, Abb. 70, 91, 104; O. Weber, a.a.O., No. 465. Auch an die häufig vorkommende Wiedergabe des Siebengestirns durch einfache Kugeln sei erinnert (Ward, a.a.O., S. 410 f.).

³ Jetzt im Museum der University of Pennsylvania: Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, S. 103, darnach bei Jastrow, a.a.O., No. 9, Sp. 5. Vgl. Val. Müller, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXXIII (1918), S. 159 f., Abb. 3.

⁴ Ohnefalsch-Richter, a.a.O., Taf. CXCIX, 1, 2, S. 480 f. Die Fundumstände dieses Stückes sprechen wohl gegen allzu frühe Ansetzung des anderen.

Sternkultes. Dürfen wir nun auch die von solchen Symbolen umgebene Frau dort suchen? Die zeitliche Ansetzung des Ringes ergibt sich aus der Übereinstimmung seiner Form mit einem im Berliner Antiquarium befindlichen Exemplare, das einen Stein mit dem Bilde des Sextus Pompeius von der Hand des Agathangelos enthalten hat.¹ Die Ringform gehört also dem Ende der römischen Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit an. Nun spielte während der Regierung des Augustus im Partherreiche eine Frau eine hervorragende und verhängnisvolle Rolle: Musa, die Gemahlin des Königs Phraates IV.² Sie war eine italische Sklavin, die Augustus selbst dem Könige mit anderen reichen Geschenken geschickt hatte. Durch ihre Reize wusste sie bald dessen Herz zu gewinnen, und als sie von ihm Mutter eines Sohnes, des späteren Phraates V. (Phraatakes), geworden war, wurde sie zur rechtmässigen Gattin erhoben. Ihr Einfluss auf den Gemahl war so gross, dass er auf ihr Betreiben seine älteren Söhne als Geiseln nach Rom schickte, ihren eigenen Sohn aber zum Thronfolger bestimmte. Auch jetzt war der Ehrgeiz der Frau noch nicht gestillt. Sie half dem Prinzen, dem der Vater zu lange lebte, bei dessen Beseitigung (3/2 vor Chr.) und wurde endlich des Sohnes Gemahlin³ und Mitregentin. Doch die Empörung der Grossen gegen den Unebenbürtigen und gegen die Ausländerin bereitete der Herrlichkeit ein jähes Ende (3/4 nach Chr.). Die Münzen zeigen auf der Vorderseite das Bild des Sohn-Gemahles, auf der

¹ Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine*, No. 6984, mit Abbildung der Form und Angabe der Litteratur, Taf. 52; ders., *Die antiken Gemmen*, I, Taf. XLVII, 40, und *Archäol. Jahrbuch*, III, 1888, S. 123 ff., über den Ring S. 126 = *Kleine Schriften*, II, S. 167 ff., 170. Der Ring ist auch hohl und war einst mit einer Masse gefüllt. Der Stein ist jetzt herausgenommen und modern gefasst.

² Josephus, *Antiqu. Jud.*, XVIII, 4, 2. Vgl. Spiegel, *Iranische Altertumskunde*, III, S. 128 ff.; Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden*, S. 116 ff.; Justi, "Geschichte Irans", in Geiger und Kuhn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, S. 503; Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, I, S. 1129, 1140 ff., II, S. 740 f., 753; *Greek Coins in the Brit. Museum*, Wroth, *Parthia*, S. xl f.; Head, *Hist. num.*², S. 820.

³ Zur Beurteilung dieses Schrittes, den Josephus für einen dem Vatermorde gleichzuachtenden Greuel ansieht, vgl. Gutschmid, a.a.O., S. 118, und Gardthausen, a.a.O., I, S. 1141. Nach dem Awesta galt eine solche Ehe für besonders verdienstlich, und es ist anzunehmen, dass Phraates durch strenge Befolgung seiner Lehren sich die Zuneigung des Volkes, besonders der Priester erwerben wollte. Siehe im allgemeinen Spiegel, a.a.O., II, S. 300, III, S. 678 f., und Clemen, a.a.O., Index unter "Verwandtenheirat," besonders S. 65, mit Litteratur in Anm. 5.

Rückseite das der Königin, geschmückt mit reicher Krone und Diadem und versehen mit der Umschrift $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \text{ Οὐρανίας—Μούσης βασιλίσσης}$.¹ Mit dieser Thea Urania ist natürlich die persische Himmelsgöttin gemeint, Anāhita oder gräcisiert Anaitis, die auch Herodot (I, 131) als Οὐρανίη bezeichnet. Ihr Wesen war bereits in achämenidischer Zeit durch semitische Gottheiten stark beeinflusst.² Vor allem scheint ihre bildliche Vorstellung aus der babylonischen Kunst entlehnt zu sein.³ Nach ihren verschiedenen Eigenschaften wurde sie dann in der Berührung mit der hellenischen oder hellenisierten Welt bald der Artemis, bald der Aphrodite⁴ und auch noch anderen Gottheiten angeglichen. Diese altiranische, semitiserte, hellenisierte Göttin sollte also Musa für die verschiedenen Untertanen des Reiches auf Erden verkörpern. Solche Vergöttlichung des Herrschers kannten die alten Perser allerdings nicht, aber es finden sich bei ihnen namentlich in der Verehrung des Hvarenô des Königs, des ihm eigenen himmlischen Lichtglanzes, gewisse Ansätze, die auf diesen Weg führen konnten.⁵ Und sie mögen

¹ Gutschmid, a.a.O., S. 116, mit Anm. 5, dem Wroth, a.a.O., S. xli, folgt, verbindet offenbar Μούσα mit Οὐρανία , wogegen die Anordnung der Inschrift wie auch sprachliche Gründe sprechen. Eine Parallele zu der Fassung der Aufschrift bietet die auf Münzen der syrischen Königin Kleopatra: $\text{Βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας Θεᾶς Εὐετηρίας}$ (Wroth, a.a.O.; Head, a.a.O., S. 769).

² Windischmann, "Die persische Anāhita," *Abhandlungen der Bayr. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, I. Cl., VIII. Bd., 1. Abteil., München, 1856 (mir gegenwärtig nicht zugänglich). Gutschmid, *Kl. Schriften*, III, S. 263 ff. (Besprechung der vorhergehenden Schrift), vgl. auch S. 190 ff. Spiegel, a.a.O., II, S. 54 ff. Ed. Meyer in Roschers *Myth. Lex.*, I, Sp. 330 ff., unter Anaitis; Höfer, ebenda III, Sp. 2060 ff., unter Persike. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, I, S. 148 ff., 230 ff., und öfter, ders. in Pauly-Wissowa, I, Sp. 2030 f., unter Anaitis, und in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, S. 414 f., unter Anāhita, ferner *Rev. arch.*, 1905, I, S. 24 ff. Clemen, a.a.O., Index unter Anāhita. Allotte de la Fuye, "Monnaies de l'Élymaïde," *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, VIII, S. 191 ff. Sarre in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, S. 84 ff. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, S. 634 ff.

³ Vgl. die in der vorhergehenden Anmerkung angeführte Litteratur. Wie Ishtar mitunter von Sternennimbus umgeben, auf einem Löwen oder Greifen stehend erscheint (Ward, a.a.O., S. 248 ff., 384), so sehen wir auf einem schönen persischen Cylinder aus Südrussland (*Compte-rendu*, 1882, Taf. V, 3. S. 64) eine Göttin, in der Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen* III, S. 120, Abb. 81) gewiss mit Recht Anāhita erkennt.

⁴ Vgl. ausser Herodot besonders Berossos bei Clemens, *Protrept.*, V, 65, 3, und bei Agathias, *de rebus Justiniani*, II, 24 = Müller, *F.H.G.*, II, S. 498, Frg. 2; 508, Frg. 14a = Clemen, *Fontes historiae religionis persicae*, S. 67, 101; Jamblich bei Photius, *Bibl.* 94.

⁵ Spiegel, a.a.O., II, S. 42 ff., III, S. 596 ff., 600; Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, I, S. 284 f.; Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, I, 2. Aufl., S. 476, mit Anm. 1; Clemen, *Die griech. und lat. Nachrichten über die pers. Religion*, S. 95, mit Anführung der Litteratur, 131, 175, 180, 193, 197.

sich schon in der Achämenidenzeit durch die Berührung mit den unterworfenen Völkern, den Semiten Mesopotamiens und den Ägyptern, denen jene Vorstellung des Königs als eines sichtbaren Gottes seit uralten Zeiten geläufig war,¹ weiter entwickelt haben. In der Zeit der Arsakiden und der Sassaniden war der Glaube jedenfalls auch den Iranern nicht mehr fremd.² Ausser den genannten Einflüssen hat bei seinem Einwurzeln gewiss auch das Beispiel der hellenistischen Fürstenhöfe³ mitgewirkt.

Vergleichen wir nun die Prägungen⁴ mit dem Bilde unseres Ringes, so ergeben sich auffallende Übereinstimmungen. Wir müssen allerdings dabei von den griechischem Stile näher stehenden Tetradrachmen absehen und uns an die barbarischen Typen der Drachmen halten (Taf. XIV, 7; 2 : 1).⁵ Das über dem Nacken schematisch zu einer Schnecke aufgerollte Haar erklärt uns diese Partie am Kopfe des Ringes.⁶ Auch der die

¹ Christliebe Jeremias, "Die Vergötterung der babylonisch-assyrischen Könige," *Der alte Orient*, 19. Jahrg., Heft 3/4, 1919.

² Vgl. S. 450, Anm. 5, besonders Spiegel, III, S. 600, und Clemen. Auch auf den Arsakidenmünzen ist der König mitunter als Θεός bezeichnet: Head, a.a.O., S. 819; B.M.C., *Parthia*, S. 275 ff.

³ Kornemann, "Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte," *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, I, 1902, S. 51 ff.; besonders S. 91 f., über die Mischung iranischer und hellenistischer Vorstellungen in Kommagene. Kaerst, a.a.O., S. 476 ff. Gruppe, "Griechische Mythologie" (Iwan Müller, *Handbuch*, V, 2), S. 1503 ff. Bevan in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia*, IV, S. 525 ff.

⁴ Tetradrachmen, Drachmen und Bronzemünzen: A. v. Petrowicz, *Arsaciden-Münzen* (Katalog seiner Sammlung), S. 102 f., Nos. 16-19, Taf. XV, 9-12. B.M.C., *Parthia*, S. 139 ff., Taf. XXIV.

⁵ Nach dem Exemplare des Brit. Museums, a.a.O., No. 25, Taf. XXIV, 2. Diesem Typus verwandt ist das Bild der Musa auf einer Granatgemme, Babelon, *La gravure en pierres fines* S. 193, Fig. 145.

⁶ Vgl. zu dieser Stilisierung eine sicher parthische Gemme aus Cypern mit dem Bilde eines Mannes bei A. Palma di Cesnola, *Salamina*, Taf. XV, 65, S. 124, 1.

Ich möchte nicht unterlassen, auf die grosse Ähnlichkeit der Haartracht und ihrer Wiedergabe an Werken der altorientalischen Kunst hinzuweisen. Man vergleiche zum Beispiel die Göttin Gula auf einem in Susa gefundenen Grenzsteine (*Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, I, S. 170 ff., Taf. XIV), besonders aber hethitische Skulpturen aus Sendschirli: *Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, Berlin, XIII, v. Luschan, *Ausgrabungen*, u.s.w., Heft III, S. 207, Abb. 98; S. 218, Abb. 43, Taf. XXXXIb; S. 222, Abb. 122, 123. Ausser dem hinten spiralförmig aufgerollten Haare erscheint die halbkugelige Kopfbedeckung, auf dem Grenzsteine von Susa auch die Locke vor dem Ohre (vgl. unten). Dieselbe hat auch eine Sphinx von Sendschirli (a.a.O., Heft IV, S. 331, Abb. 240, Taf. LV) und noch die Göttin auf einem sassanidischen Relief von Naksch i Rustem (Sarre-Herzfeld, a.a.O., S. 84, Abb. 38. Vgl. unten S. 452, Anm. 3). Ich möchte solche Übereinstimmungen nicht für zufällig halten.

Wange überschneidende Haken erscheint auf diesen Münzen. Er bedeutet eine kleine Locke, nicht den Ohrring, wie eine Vergleichung mit den Tetradrachmenstücken lehrt, auf denen dieser neben jener deutlich zu erkennen ist.¹ Auf dem Ringbilde trägt die Frau allerdings nicht die hohe Krone, sondern eine halbkugelige, reich verzierte Kopfbedeckung, bei der wir oben an die Tracht byzantinischer Kaiserinnen gedacht haben. Diese hat aber schon Delbrück aus dem Orient hergeleitet gerade unter Hinweis auf parthische Darstellungen.² Besonders wichtig ist es endlich, dass auf einigen Prägungen die Buckeln, die das Diadem³ schmücken, wieder von den Blütenbogen

¹ Besonders an dem Stücke bei Petrowicz, a.a.O., No. 17, Taf. XV, 10. Vgl. die vorhergehende Anmerkung.

² *Röm. Mitt.* XXVIII (1913), S. 352. Diese Kopfbedeckung erinnert auch an die reich geschmückte Tiara, die mitunter der Partherkönig auf den Münzen trägt. Ähnlich ist ferner die der Bronzefigur einer nackten Göttin aus römischer Zeit, die aus Mesopotamien stammt und als Gerätegriff gedient hat. Strzygowski (a.a.O., S. 638, Abb. 635, 636) sieht in ihr Anāhita—man könnte sie ebensogut Astarte nennen—und erinnert an die Kopftracht der byzantinischen Kaiserinnen. Vgl. auch oben S. 451, Anm. 6.

³ Der Kopfschmuck, den Musa auf den Münzen trägt, besteht aus zwei Teilen, einem reich mit Edelsteinen und Perlen besetzten hohen, leicht konischen Gebilde und einem deutlich absetzenden breiten Stirnreife, an dem die hinten zu grosser Schleife gebundenen Bänder befestigt sind. Die Bogenreihe scheint zu letzterem zu gehören, dafür spricht die Form des Diademes, das der Sassanide Schapur I (238-269 nach Chr.) auf dem schönen Steine des Gothaern Kabinetts trägt (Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, Taf. L, 50, und LXI, 57, II, S. 245, dazu Nachtrag III, S. 459; Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, Taf. 59, 15, S. LXII). Sehr verwandt ist die Tracht der dem Könige Narses gegenüber stehenden Gestalt auf einem Felsrelief von Naksch i Rستم, die Sarre, a.a.O., S. 84 ff., zu Taf. IX und Abb. 38, sehr einleuchtend für Anāhita erklärt. Der obere Teil, die eigentliche Krone, hat die in der sassanidischen Zeit übliche ausladende Form mit dem Zinnenrande, unten läuft wieder der Reif mit den Bogen um. Diese Zweiteilung des Kopfschmuckes entspricht übrigens altorientalischem Brauche. Auch bei den Figuren des grossen Monumentes des Antiochos von Kommagene auf dem Nimrud Dagħ ist das offenbar mit reichem Juwelenbesatze zu denkende breite Diadem deutlich von der hohen Tiara getrennt (vgl. Humann-Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, S. 254 ff., 300, mit Anm. 4, Taf. XXIX ff.).

Ich glaube, dass Musa jene Krone nicht als Königin, sondern als Thea Urania trägt. Auf Bronzemünzen des Gotarzes (Petrowicz, a.a.O., S. 124, No. 52, Taf. XVIII, 19; B.M.C., *Parthia*, S. 172, No. 102 ff., Taf. XXVII, 18) erscheint auch mitunter der von einem konischen Aufsatze bedeckte Kopf einer Frau, die für die Königin gehalten wird. Es kann aber gerade so gut das Bild der Göttin selbst sein. Ebenso zeichnet der Polos hellenistische Fürstinnen in ihrer göttlichen Eigenschaft aus. Jener cylindrische oder leicht kegelförmige Schmuck ist nichts anderes als die alte Götterkrone, wie sie Ishtar trägt. Von ihr ist sie auf Anāhita übergegangen. In diesem Zusammenhange ist auch die von Lukian gegebene Beschreibung der Kopffier der Atargatis, jener grossen, der Ishtar wesensgleichen syrischen Göttin, deren Kultzentrum Bambyke-Hierapolis war, heranzuziehen (*de Dea Syria*, cap. 32. Vgl. Ed. Meyer, *Roschers Myth. Lex.*, I, Sp. 651; Cumont in *Pauly-Wissowa*, I, Sp. 1896, IV, Sp. 2236, V, Sp. 240; Paton in *Hastings, Encyclopaedia*, ect., II, S. 164 ff.; Cook, a.a.O.,

umgeben sind (vgl. Taf. XIV, 7). Es liegt also dasselbe Zierband vor, wie an den Seiten des Rahmens auf der Ringplatte. Professor Herzfeld erinnert mich daran, dass an der Krone des Dareios auf dem bekannten Felsrelief von Bisutun und ebenso an dem Diadem eines fragmentierten, in Babylon gefundenen Kopfes eines Gottes Rosettenscheiben mit stilisierten Blüten wechseln.¹ Bei diesen Beispielen handelt es sich vielleicht nur um das früher erwähnte Ornament.² Dass bei dem parthischen

S. 549 ff., 582 ff.): ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτίνάς τε φορέει καὶ πύργον καὶ κεστόν, τῷ μούρνῃ τὴν Οὐρανίην κοσμέουσι. Ἐκτοσθε δὲ οἱ χρυσός τε ἄλλος περικέεται καὶ λίθοι κάρτα πολυτελέες, τῶν οἱ μὲν λευκοί, οἱ δὲ ὕδατώδεις, πολλοὶ δὲ οἰνώδεις, πολλοὶ δὲ πυρώδεις. Ἐτι δὲ ὄνυχες οἱ Σαρδῶοι πολλοὶ καὶ ἰάκινθοι καὶ σμάραγδοι, τὰ φορέουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Αἰθίοπες καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Βαβυλώνιοι. Τὸ δὲ δὴ μέζονος λόγον ἄξιον, τοῦτο ἀπηγγέσμαι· λίθον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ φορέει, λυχνὶς καλέεται, οὐνομα δὲ οἱ τοῦ ἔργου ἢ συντυχίῃ. Ἀπὸ τούτου ἐν νυκτὶ σέλας πολλὸν ἀπολάμπεται, ὑπὸ δὲ οἱ ὁ νηὶς ἅπας οἶον ὑπὸ λυχνοῖσι φαίνεται· ἐν ἡμέρῃ δὲ τὸ μὲν φέγγος ἀσθενεῖ. Ἰδέην δὲ ἔχει κάρτα πυρώδεα. Besonders wichtig ist die Angabe, dass die Göttin auf dem Kopfe den Kestos trage, wie sonst die Urania. Man hat sie durch Interpretation oder Konjekturen beseitigen wollen, da der Kestos doch kein Kopfschmuck sei (Cumont, a.a.O., IV, Sp. 2243, 12; Paton, a.a.O., S. 166, rechts unten; Cook, a.a.O., S. 583, Anm. 1). Ganz mit Unrecht, denn sie wird vollkommen bestätigt durch einige Stellen der merkwürdigen hermetischen Schrift Kyranides (vgl. Christ-Schmid, *Gesch. der griech. Litteratur*,⁵ II, S. 876). Es wird in στοιχεῖον K (Mély, *Les lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen age*, tome II, *les lapidaires grecs*, S. 26) unter anderem die Herstellung eines Amuletriemens beschrieben und zum Schlusse (§ 20) heisst es ausdrücklich: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ζωγραφούμενος ἢ πλασσόμενος ἱμᾶς ὡς διάδημα, ὃ καλεῖται κεστός. Dann wird in § 24 ff. fortgefahren: ἔστι δὲ οὗν ἕτερον σκέυος, ὃ φοροῦσιν αἱ βασίλισσαι, τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ ὅσα δύναται οἱ ἄλλοι ὁμοίως. Beim Besatze dieses Riemens spielen verschiedene Steine, die mit bestimmten Bildern versehen sein müssen, eine Rolle; an erster Stelle steht aber, wie oben am Kopfschmucke der Atargatis, der Lychnites (vgl. Babelon bei Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, II, S. 1465). Und schliesslich wird gesagt (S. 27, § 27): τοῦτο τὸ μυστήριον φορούμενον ἔνθεον ποιεῖ τὸν φοροῦντα καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων προσκυνεῖσθαι καὶ σέβεσθαι ἄξιον· πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἔνδοθεν αὐτὸ φοροῦσιν ἢ ἐντὸς τοῦ διαδήματος ὡς κεστόν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τινος ὁραθῇ. Den um die Krone gelegten Kestos zeigt uns wohl das Bild der Atargatis auf Münzen des syrischen Dynasten 'Abdhadad von Bambyke (um 332 v. Chr. Vgl. Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, I, Sp. 651; Head, a.a.O., S. 777), besser aber noch eine altsyrische, in Beirut gefundene Bronzestatue einer sitzenden Göttin, die sich früher in der Sammlung H. Hoffmann befand (Froehner, *La collection H. Hoffmann*, Verkaufskatalog, Paris, Mai 1888, No. 367, Abb. S. 94. Val. K. Müller, *Der Polos*, S. 23, Form 86) Sie trägt einen cylindrischen, oben durch rosettenartig eingekerbten Deckel geschlossenen Aufsatz ("un kalathos, dont le haut est façonné en bouton côtelé," also kein Blattkranz, wie Müller glaubt), darum ist unten ein Reif mit grossen Buckeln, offenbar wieder Edelsteinen, gelegt, eine vortreffliche Parallele zum Schmucke der Musa.

Es sei schliesslich darauf hingewiesen, dass auch die Urania auf den Münzen von Uranopolis (oben S. 445, Anm. 4) einen kegelförmigen, von einem Sterne gekrönten Aufsatz trägt.

¹ Sarre-Herzfeld, a.a.O., S. 197, Abb. 91: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientalgesellschaft*, Heft 3, 1899, S. 3, Abb. 2.

² Es ist jedoch nicht ausgeschlossen, dass auch diesen Zierstreifen eine tiefere Bedeutung zukommt. Auf dem hethitischen Relief von Saksche-Gözü (Humann-

Diademe dagegen die auffallenden Buckeln, die wir uns am Originale als grosse Edelsteine denken werden, einen sinnvollen religiösen Schmuck darstellen, dafür spricht die Wiederkehr des eigentümlichen Motives neben dem Sonnenzeichen auf dem Ringbilde. Bekanntlich wurden die verschiedenen Edelsteine zu den einzelnen Planeten in Beziehung gebracht.¹ Für die Umrahmung der Büste überhaupt verweise ich schliesslich auf die gerade auf parthischen Prägungen beliebte Einschliessung des Bildes in ein durch die Schriftreihen begrenztes rechteckiges Feld.

Unser Ring erweist sich demnach als eine parthische Arbeit. Seine Form setzt ihn in das Ende des letzten vorchristlichen oder den Anfang des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts. Für den hohen Rang der Dargestellten spricht die Tracht wie auch das umgebende bedeutsame Beiwerk. Ein Motiv desselben kehrt am Diademe der Königin Musa auf Münzen wieder. Nach all dem scheint es mir nicht zu gewagt, diese Frau, die wie keine andere in die Geschicke Parthiens eingegriffen hat, in dem Bildnisse des Ringes zu erkennen. Dass das Gesicht hier vollere Formen zeigt, als auf den Münzen, fällt kaum ins Gewicht, wenn wir die künstlerische Stufe aller dieser Erzeugnisse in Betracht ziehen. Auch zwischen dem Typus der Drachmen und dem der Tetradrachmen bestehen ja nicht geringe Verschiedenheiten.² Jene die Königin begleitenden

Puchstein, a.a.O., Taf. XLVII, und öfter abgebildet) werden die vier Rosetten neben dem Sonnenzeichen Planeten darstellen (Jeremias in Roschers *Myth. Lex.*, IV, Sp. 52, unter "Ramman"). Astralen Charakter möchte ich ihnen auch auf dem hethitischen Cylinder bei Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, I, Taf. I, 5 zuerkennen. Und wenn auf einem anderen Cylinder dieses Kreises (Ward, a.a.O., S. 411, No. 1308) neben vier Gottheiten ein senkrechtes Band von vier grossen, durch Blütenbogen umschlossenen Rosetten (wie auf den oben genannten Diademen) erscheint, so handelt es sich gewiss nicht nur um ein nichtssagendes Ziermotiv. Noch in später Zeit ist die Rosette Symbol der Planeten (Fredrich, a.a.O., S. 12). Für die stilisierte Blüte, die mit der Rosette verbunden wird, sei noch das eigentümlich gebildete Sonnenzeichen auf einem Grabrelief von Sindschirli aus der Zeit des Barrekub angeführt (v. Luschan, *Ausgrab.*, IV, S. 325 ff., Taf. LIV). An die geflügelte Scheibe setzt oben und unten ein solches pflanzliches Gebilde an. Auf den Diademen des Zeus Oromasdes und anderer Figuren des Monumentes vom Nimrud Dagh sind, worauf mich Herzfeld hinweist, die Blüten in bedeutungsvolle geflügelte Blitze verwandelt (Humann-Puchstein, a.a.O., Taf. XXIX, 5, 6; XXXI, 1, 3; XXXIX, 1, 1a = Cook, a.a.O., S. 748, Fig. 546).

¹ Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, III, Sp. 2533/34, unter "Planeten."

² Solche Beobachtungen lassen sich öfter namentlich bei den Münzen machen. Ich erinnere an die verschiedenen Bildnisse des Honorius, *Ämtliche Berichte aus den Kgl. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXVIII, No. 1, Okt. 1916, Sp. 38 f.

Himmelszeichen sind bei ihrem göttlichen Charakter als Thea Urania ganz am Platze. Nennt sich ja auch der sassanidische Grosskönig Schapur in einem Briefe an Konstantin "particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae."¹ Als Himmelsgöttin trägt Musa auch vorn auf ihrer Haube das Zeichen der Sonne, und die Reihen der Ringelchen drücken vielleicht wieder Sterne aus.²

Ein kleines historisches Monument dürfen wir also unseren Ring nennen, den ein Getreuer und Günstling der Königin getragen haben mag. In Rom führten unter Claudius diejenigen, die freien Zutritt zum Kaiser hatten, als Zeichen dieses Rechtes einen Ring mit seinem goldenen Bilde.³ Es ist nicht undenkbar, dass dieser Brauch aus dem Orient gekommen war.⁴

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, 5, 2 = Clemen, *Fontes etc.*, S. 84.

² Grosse Sterne schmücken öfter die Tiara des Partherkönigs (vgl. B.M.C., *Parthia*, S. LXXXVI; Allotte de la Fuye, *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, VIII, S. 201 f.), ebenso die des armenischen Königs, auch des kommagenischen Herrschers (Cook, a.a.O., S. 749, Fig. 548-550). Die der phrygischen Mütze gleichenden Tiaren des Zeus Oromades und eines Ahnen des Antiochos vom Denkmale des Nimrud Dagh sind ganz mit Sternen besät (Humann-Puchstein, a.a.O., Taf. XXXVI, 1, S. 300, Taf. XXXIX, 1, S. 325 f.). Als ein schönes hethitisches Beispiel nenne ich die rundliche, mit Sternscheiben gezierte Haube einer Göttin mit Spiegel auf einem Orthostaten des Burgtores von Sendschirli (*Ausgrabungen*, III, S. 218, Abb. 113, Taf. XXXXIb = Ward, a.a.O., S. 263, No. 784).

³ Plinius, *Hist. nat.*, XXXIII 3, 41. Es mag auch an den Brauch im römischen Heere der Kaiserzeit erinnert werden, nach dem verdienten Militärpersonen Ringe verliehen wurden. Erhaltene Stücke mit dem Bilde des Kaisers sind wohl mit Recht damit in Verbindung gebracht worden (Marshall, *Catalogue of Finger Rings*, S. XX f.; Henkel, a.a.O., S. 331 ff., 335). Über Gnadenerweisungen der orientalischen Herrscher vgl. im allgemeinen H. K. E. Köhler, *Kleine Schriften*, VI, S. 139 ff.

⁴ Über orientalische Einflüsse im Zeremoniell der amici Augusti, Friedländer, *Röm. Sittengeschichte*, 9.-10. Aufl., IV, S. 56 ff.; auch Ciccotti in Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane*, I, S. 448, der Friedländers Ansicht etwas einschränken will.

ANATOLIAN STUDIES. No. X.

ADDENDUM.

With reference to the inscription printed on p. 154, M. Grégoire writes (3rd May, 1923): "M. J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, dans son excellente étude *De oud-christelijke Monumenten van Ephesus*, Den Haag (The Hague), 1923, p. 64-65, mentionne notre inscription qui lui avait été communiquée avant la publication du *Recueil*. Il renvoie à quelques travaux récents sur le procès de Jésus, notamment à celui de F. Doerr, *Der Prozess Jesu in rechtsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*, Leipzig 1920, et au comm. du P. Lagrange, *L'Évangile selon St Marc*, 2^e éd. Paris 1920. Il ajoute très judicieusement (p. 65): 'Cette inscription est remarquable parce qu'elle semble insister sur les prérogatives de la métropole d'Éphèse, fortement réduites dès 372 (cf. l'inscr. 100 de notre *Recueil*); elle est remarquable encore à cause du fait que dix ans plus tard, entre 451 et 457, à la suite du concile de Chalcédoine, Smyrne, humiliée par le proconsul, sera émancipée, ecclésiastiquement, de l'autorité d'Éphèse.' "

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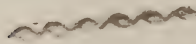
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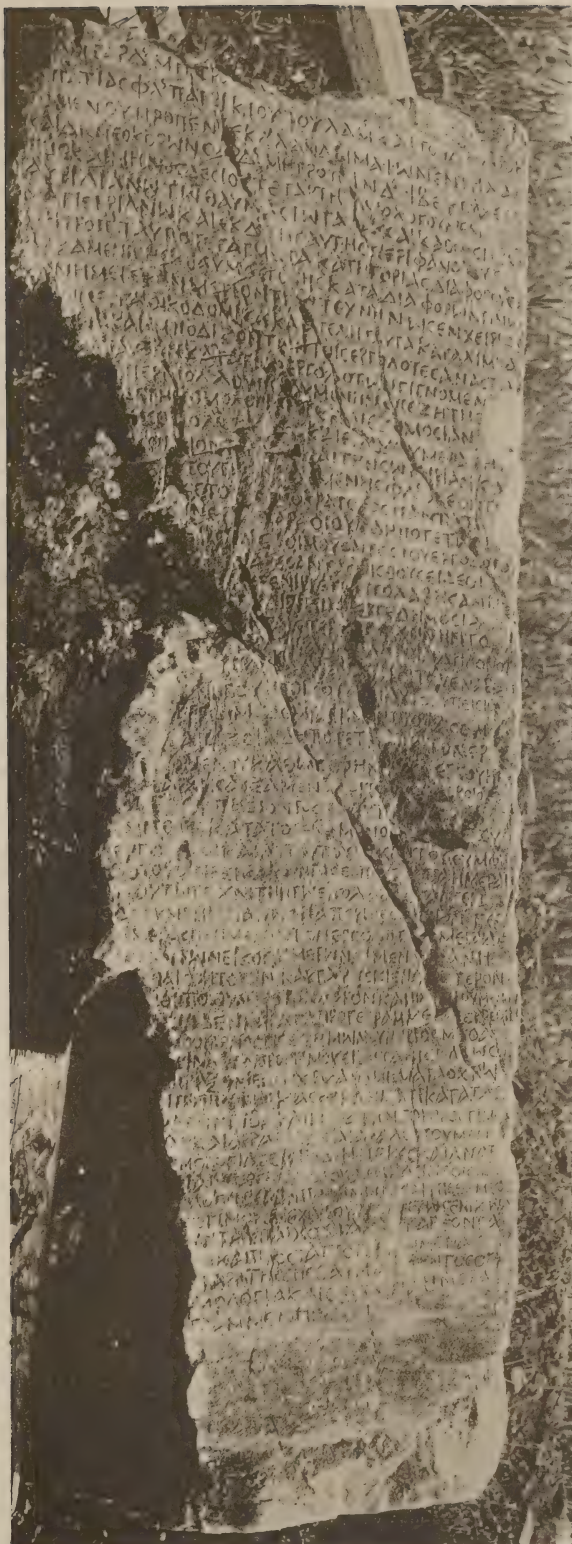
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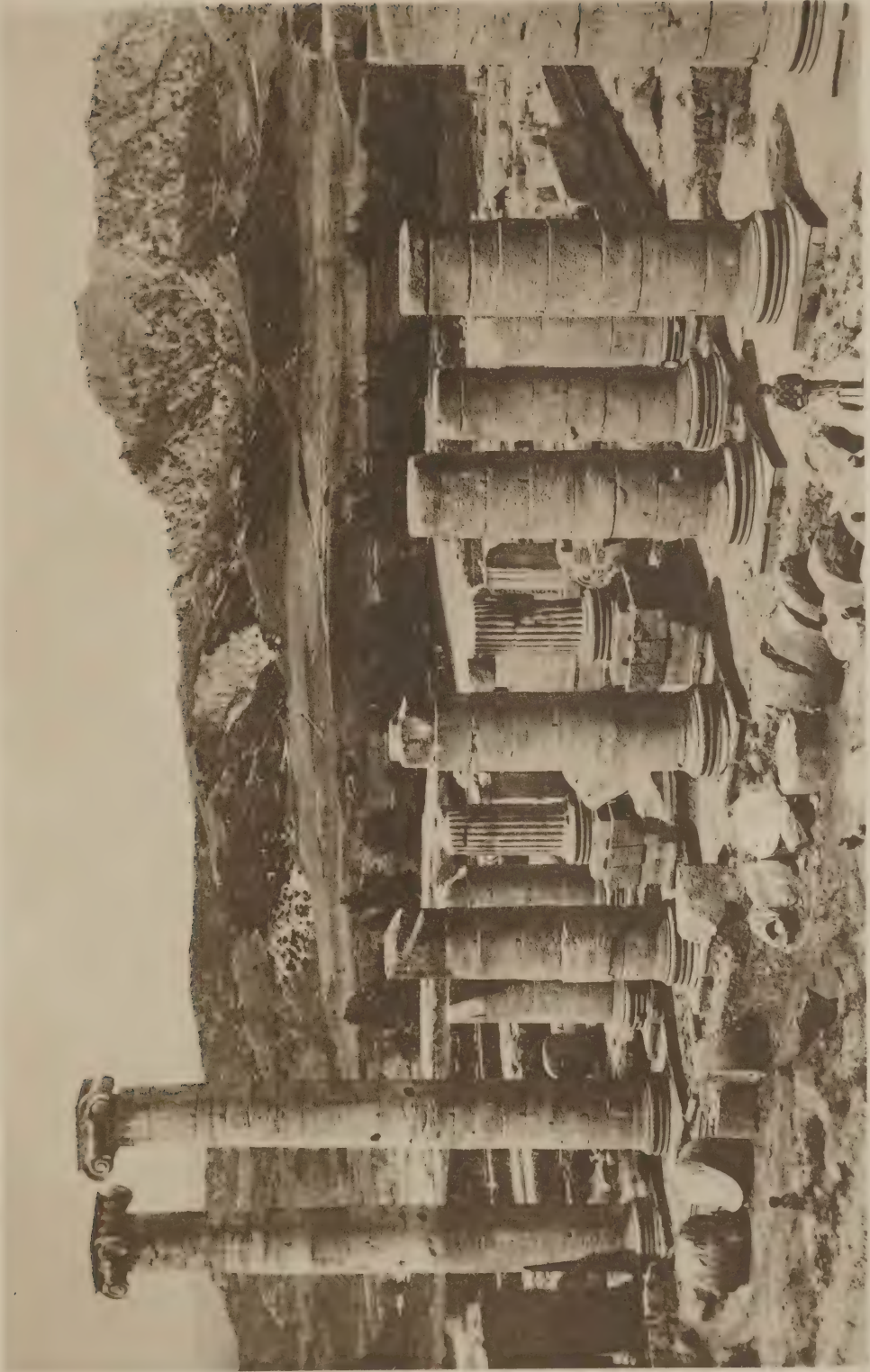




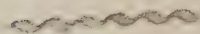
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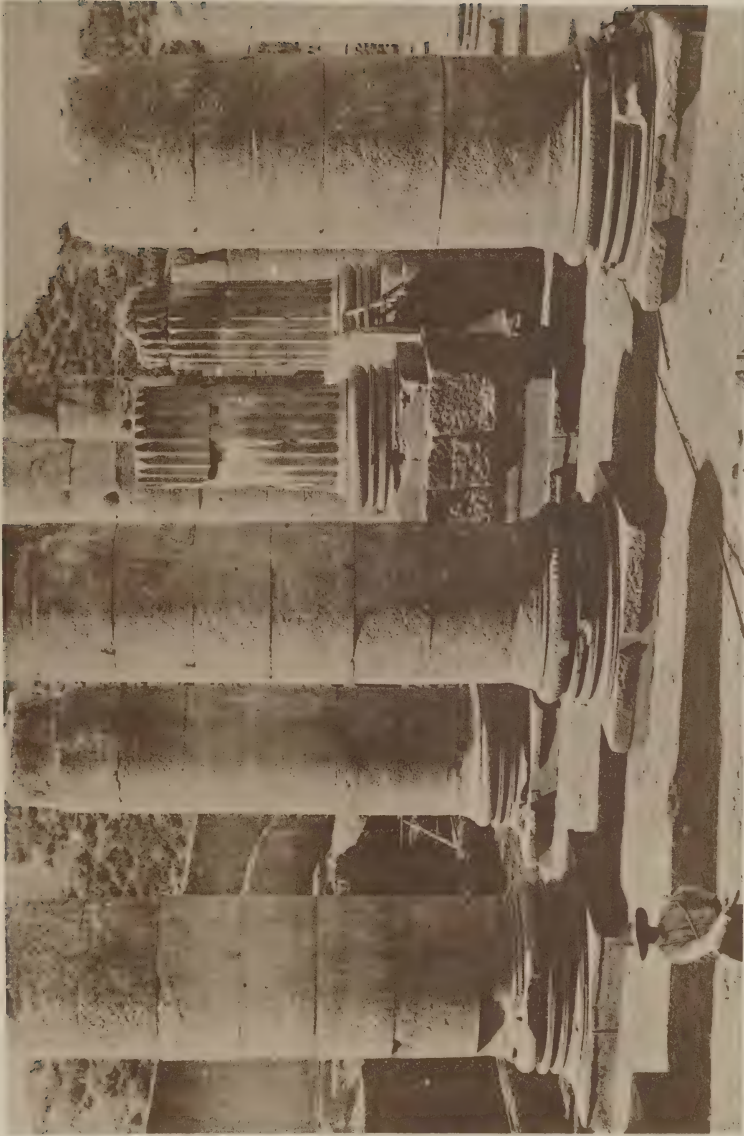
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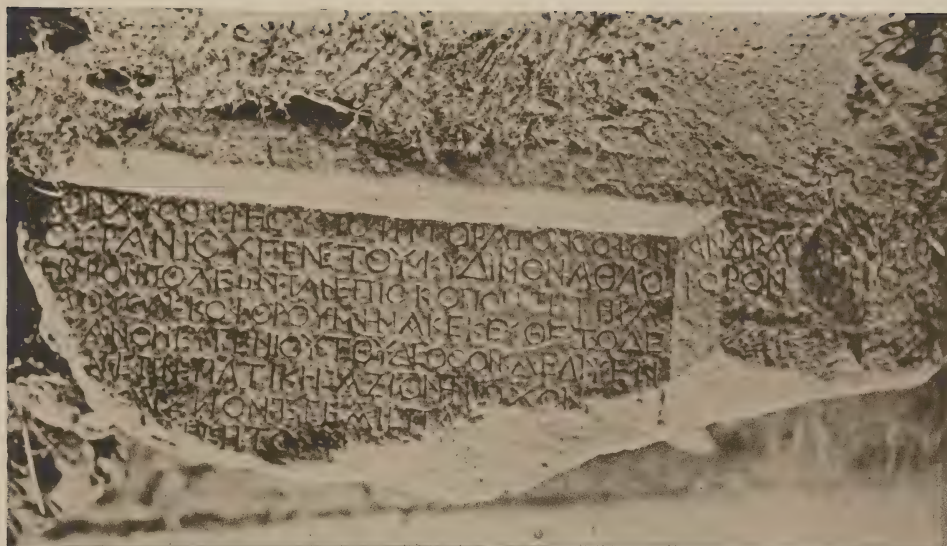
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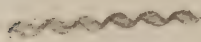


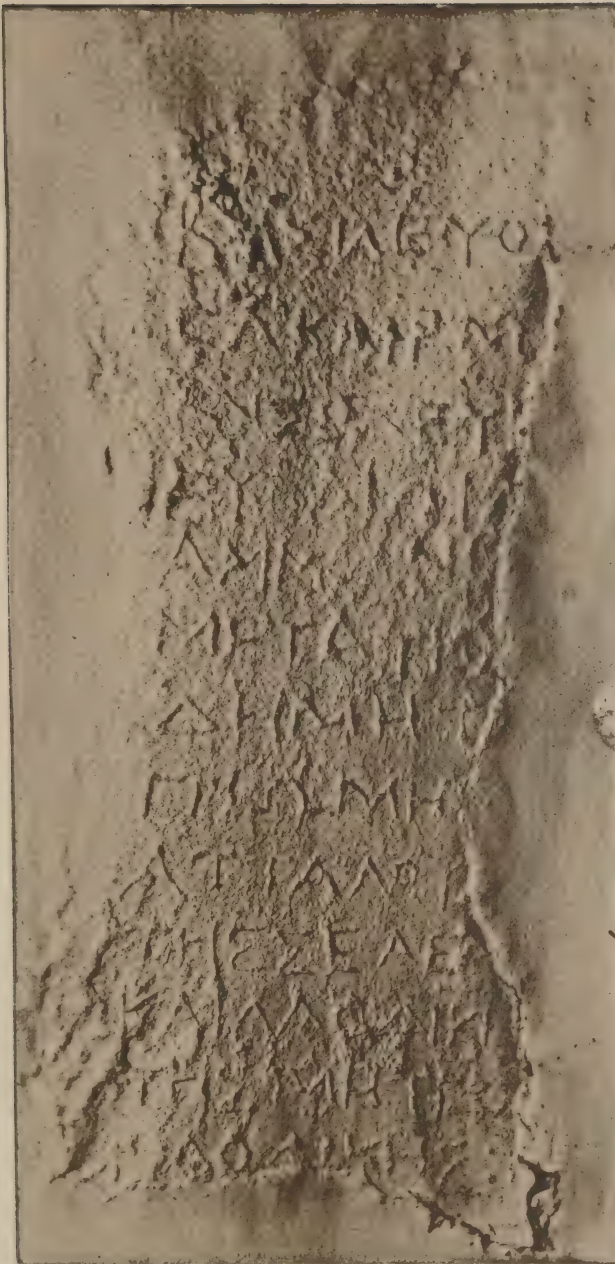
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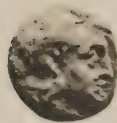
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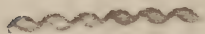


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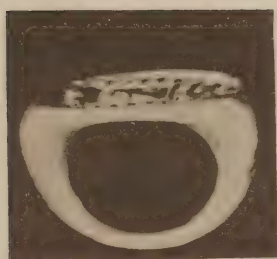
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